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## INDEX

Volume XII: Numbers 289-313, January 7-June 24, 1945

- Abdul Aziz (King of Saudi Arabia). *See* Ibn Saud.
- Abdul Ilah (Regent of Iraq), visit to U. S., address by Mr. Phillips, 1036.
- Academy of Political Science, New York, N.Y., addresses: Mr. Haley, 638. Mr. Mason, 616.
- Acheson, Dean: Addresses, statements, etc.: Bretton Woods proposals, 352, 409, 469, 507, 738. Economic policy for peace, 507. Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations, 686. Lend-lease act, proposed extension, 189. Mexican water treaty, statement before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 302. Designation as member of Board of Foreign Service Personnel and Board of Examiners of the Foreign Service, 427. Participant in radio broadcasts, 282, 401.
- Act of Chapultepec: Discussion of, 525, 550, 603. Text, 339.
- Administrative instruction (Gen. Admin. 22) on foreign aviation experts, 715.
- Advisory Committee, Emergency, for Political Defense, 3, 53, 304, 925.
- Afghanistan: Civil-aviation agreements; air transit, air transport, and interim (1944), acceptance, 968. U.S. Minister (Palmer), appointment, 200, 588. Africa. *See* French North Africa; French West Africa. Agreements, international. *See* Treaties.
- Agricultural experiment station in Guatemala, agreement with Guatemala (1944), supplemental memorandum of understanding, 874.
- Agricultural Sciences, Inter-American Institute, convention establishing (1944), ratification by—Dominican Republic (1944), 108. Honduras, 656.
- Agricultural workers, agreement with—Bahamas, amending 1943 agreement, 460. Jamaica (1944, 1945), 460. Newfoundland (1944), 812.
- Agriculture, farmer's stake in world cooperation, radio interview with Mr. Clayton, 620.
- Aguiar, Jorge, appointment as consultant to Library of Congress, 1168.
- Ahmed Maher Pasha (Prime Minister of Egypt), death, message from Mr. Grew to U.S. Minister, 304.
- Air carriers, U.S. and foreign, application of anti-trust laws to agreements between, 141.
- Air Coordinating Committee, organization of (D.O. 1317), 828.
- Air law, international, private, article by Mr. Litchford, 11.
- Air services transit agreement, multilateral. *See* Civil aviation.
- Air transport agreement, multilateral. *See* Civil aviation.
- Airline monopolies, opposition to, statement by Mr. Clayton, 614.
- Airlines, foreign, consideration of requirements of, by FEA, WPB, and State Department, 1089.
- Air-transport routes, military, agreement with Canada, 309.
- Air-transport services, bilateral agreement, U. S. with—Canada, text, 305. Iceland, text, 170. Ireland, text, 172.
- Alaska, death of former Governor (Riggs), statement by Mr. Grew, 107.
- Alcohol (industrial), sugar, and molasses, arrangements for purchase in Cuba by FEA and by Commodity Credit Corp., 656.
- Alexander, Field Marshal Sir Harold, message from President Truman on unconditional surrender of German Armies in Italy, 865.
- Alien Property Custodian: Annual report: Letter of transmittal from Custodian (Markham) to President Truman, 1028. Letter of transmittal to Congress from President Truman, 1029. Functions and duties regarding German and Japanese property, (Ex. Or. 9567 amending Ex. Or. 9005 and 9193), 1065.
- Aliens in Germany (1939), article by Mr. Odell and Mr. Billigmeier, 164.
- Aliens leaving U.S., Federal regulations concerning, 987.
- Al-Koudsi, Nazem (Syrian Minister): Credentials as Syrian Minister to U.S., 517. Declaration by United Nations, remarks on signing, 681.
- Allen, George V., designation in State Department, 839.
- Alliance and mutual assistance, treaty between U.S.S.R. and France (1944), text, 39.
- Allied Commission for Italy, remarks by acting president (Macmillan), 539.
- Allied Military Government: Establishment, 539. Venezia Giulia, agreement between U.S., U.K., and Yugoslavia regarding, 1059.
- Allied Representatives (U.S., U.S.S.R., U.K., France), assumption of supreme authority with respect to defeated Germany, text of declaration, 1051.
- Alling, Paul H., appointment as U.S. Diplomatic Agent at Tangier, 1089.
- Aluminum Co. of Canada, agreement with Metals Reserve Co., statement by Mr. Clayton, 698.
- American Association for the Advancement of Science, Cleveland, Ohio, paper by Mr. Boggs, 183.
- American Chamber of Commerce in France, New York, N.Y., address by Mr. Culbertson, 299.
- American Labor Party, New York County Committee, New York, N.Y., address by Secretary Stettinius, 622.
- American Marketing Association, Philadelphia, Pa., remarks by Mr. Fetter, 501.
- American republics (*see also* Commissions; Conferences; Inter-American system; Treaties; and the individual countries): Axis aggression, opposition to, annual report, in part, 1943-44, of Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 53.
- Civil Aviation Conference, significance of, address by Mr. Morgan, 33.
- Cultural leaders, visit to U.S. from: Bolivia, 315; Brazil, 475, 913, 946; Chile, 834, 873, 932; Colombia, 692; Costa Rica, 912; Cuba, 1059; Dominican Republic, 914; Haiti, 632; Honduras, 831; Mexico, 784; Panama, 656; Peru, 1059; Venezuela, 1167.

## American republics—Continued.

- Diplomatic relations with Argentina, decision to resume, 670.
- Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 3, 9, 53, 304, 925.
- Exchange of experts under travel-grant program, 64.
- Fellowships in teacher education, change in U.S. regulations, 836.
- Green-coffee ceiling prices, request by 14 coffee-producing countries for increase in, and refusal by U.S., 512.
- Inter-American relations, addresses by Mr. Loom, 96, 708.
- Ministers for Foreign Affairs, request of Argentina for meeting of, letter from Secretary Stettinius to Pan American Union, 91.
- Non-recognition of governments established by force, resolution of Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 9.
- Radio broadcast on America's good neighbors, 547.
- Americans United for World Organization, Wilton, Conn., address by Mr. O'Donnell, 580.
- Amir Faisal (Viceroy of the Hejaz and Saudi Arabian Minister for Foreign Affairs):
  - Declaration by United Nations, remarks on signing, 682.
  - Exchange of messages with Mr. Grew on declaration of war against Axis, 408.
- Amos, Paul S., article on Okinawa and the Liuchius, 743.
- Anglo-American armies, junction with Soviet forces, statements by President Truman and Mr. Grew, 808.
- Anglo-American Caribbean Commission:
  - Results of sixth meeting, 514.
  - U.S. Section, 716.
- Anglo-American cooperation for expansion of world trade, remarks by Mr. Fetter, 501.
- Anglo-American oil agreement (1944), withdrawal from Senate, 63.
- Anglo-Ethiopian agreement (1944), text, 200.
- Anti-trust laws, applicability to agreements between U.S. and foreign air carriers, 141.
- Appleby, Paul H., resignation as chairman of U.S. Delegation to International Wheat Council, 79.
- Arab American Affairs, Institute for, Inc., New York, N.Y., address by Mr. Phillips, 1036.
- Arbitration, commercial, in the treaties and agreements of the U. S. S. R., article by Mr. Hilton, 890.
- Argentina (*see also* American republics):
  - Acting Minister of Foreign Relations (Ameghino), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 667.
  - Ambassador to U.S. (Barra Garcia), credentials, 912.
  - Asylum to war criminals, attitude toward, reported by Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 55.
  - Declaration of war against Germany and Japan:
    - Announcement, 538.
    - Text of decree and of correspondence with Pan American Union, 611.
  - Diplomatic relations, decision by American republics to resume, 670.
  - Exports from U.S., amendment of Federal Regulations, 713.
  - Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, request for meeting of, letter of Secretary Stettinius to Pan American Union, 91.
  - Pan American Union, correspondence, 450, 611.
  - Resolution of Mexico City conference concerning:
    - Discussion by Mr. Rockefeller, 695.
    - Draft text, 450.
  - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
    - Prisoners of war convention (1929), adherence, 878.
    - Red Cross convention (1929), adherence, 878.
    - Vegetable and fuel oils, exchange of, with U.S., 1116.
  - UNCIO, admission, 1007.
  - U.S. Ambassador (Braden), appointment, 785, 880, 904.
  - U.S. policy toward, discussion in radio broadcasts, 548, 1007.

## Armistice:

- U.K. and U.S.S.R. with Finland (1944), text, 261.
- U.S., U.K., and U.S.S.R. with Hungary, text, 83.
- Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, designation in State Department, 68.
- Art Advisory Committee, report of meeting, 259.
- Assistant Secretaries of State, authorization to prescribe and issue regulations, orders, and instructions for Foreign Service (D.O. 1310), 428.
- Assistant Secretary for economic affairs, Office of:
  - Economic Foreign Policy, Executive Committee on, secretariat, transfer from Office of Economic Affairs (D.O. 1305), 148.
  - "Inter-Agency Economic Digest", transfer to, 462.
- Association of American Colleges, annual meeting, Atlantic City, N.J., address by Mr. MacLeish, 47.
- Asylum, Bulgarian political leader, 1023.
- Asylum to war criminals:
  - Denial, by neutral countries, 190, 482.
  - Resolutions of Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace concerning, texts, 344, 347.
- Athens, inquiries on U.S. citizens, service for, 160.
- Athlone, Earl of (Governor General of Canada), visit to U.S., 506.
- Atrocities, German:
  - Aliens, 164.
  - Displaced persons, 491, 953, 1014.
  - Jews, 164, 499, 969.
  - Prisoners of war, 683, 811.
- Australia:
  - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
    - Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), acceptance, 963.
    - Marine transportation and litigation, with U.S., 621.
    - Sanitary convention (1944), accession, 941.
    - Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), accession, 941.
    - Shipping, continuance of control for United Nations purposes (1944), accession, 628.
  - UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 576.
- Austria:
  - Displaced persons in Germany, 492.
  - U.S. policy toward, statement by Mr. Grew, 397.
- Automotive traffic, regulation of inter-American, convention on (1943), ratification by Brazil (1944), 108.
- Aviation (*see also* Civil aviation):
  - Military air-transport routes, agreement with Canada, 300.
  - Military-aviation mission, agreement with Guatemala, signature, 300.
- Avila Camacho, Manuel (President of Mexico):
  - Address at Mexico City conference, 273.
  - Correspondence, with President Roosevelt on Mexican-American Commission for Economic Affairs, 155.
- Avila Camacho, Maximino, death, messages from President Roosevelt and Mr. Grew, 252.
- Awa Maru (ship), sinking of:
  - Exchange of communications between U.S. and Japan regarding, 1033.
  - Report, 692.
  - Safe-conduct for transport of relief supplies for Allied nationals interned in Far East, 188.
- Axis countries (*see also* Germany; Japan; Prisoners of war):
  - Asylum to war criminals from:
    - Neutral governments, attitude regarding, 190, 482.
    - Resolution of Mexico City conference, texts, 344, 347.
  - Declaration of war against. *See* Argentina; Brazil; Saudi Arabia.
  - Discussion of, on radio broadcast, 480.
  - Loot and assets, U.S.-U.K.-French negotiations with Switzerland, 601.
  - Loot and assets in Western Hemisphere, resolution of Mexico City conference, 926.
  - Mexico City conference, measures to eliminate Axis influence in Western Hemisphere, article by Mr. Mann, 924.



## Axis countries—Continued.

- War criminals:  
 Chief of Counsel (U.S.) for prosecution of Axis criminality, appointment of Justice Jackson, 866.  
 Discussions between U.K. and U.S., 81.  
 Prosecution of, report from Justice Jackson to President Truman, 1071.  
 Punishment of, statement by Mr. Grew, 154.  
 Radio broadcast on, 480.  
 Resolutions of Mexico City conference on admission and surrender of, texts, 344, 347.

Bahamas, agricultural workers, agreement with U.S., amending 1943 agreement, 460.

Baker, George W., designation in State Department, 465.  
 Balkans, relief supplies for civilians, 921.  
 Ball, Eric G., appointment as visiting professor to Brazil, 329.

Bank, International, for Reconstruction and Development. *See* Bretton Woods Proposals.

Bar Association, American, addresses by Mr. Hackworth and Mr. Sandifer, 124, 145.

Bar Association, Boston, Mass., address by Mr. Eagleton, 650.

Bar Association, Inter-American, addresses by Mr. Hackworth and Mr. Sandifer, 124, 145.

Barber, Willard F., designation in State Department, 466.  
 Baruch, Herman B., appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Portugal, 209.

Baudet, Philippe (Chargé d'Affaires of France), note to Secretary Stettinius on adherence by France to United Nations Declaration, 17.

Baydur, Hüseyn Ragıp, credentials as Turkish Ambassador to U.S., 775.

Bechhoefer, Bernhard G., designation in State Department, 840.

Belgium:  
 Ambassador to U.S. (Silvercrans), credentials, 421.  
 Displaced persons in Germany, 493, 497, 498.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.

Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil aviation, air transit agreement (1944), signature, 714.  
 Civil aviation, convention (1944), signature, 714.  
 Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), signature and acceptance, 714, 873.  
 European inland transport, signature, 910.  
 Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease, with U.S., statements and correspondence, 763.  
 Monetary agreement, with U.K. (1944), 66.  
 UNCTO, list of members of Delegation, 609.

Belt Ramirez, Guillermo, of Cuba, report as rapporteur on organization of San Francisco conference, 801.

Benés, Edvard (President of Czechoslovakia), tribute to, from President Roosevelt, 599.

Benninghoff, H. Merrell, designation in State Department, 427.

Berle, Adolf A., Jr., appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Brazil, 110.

Bermuda, relaxation of restrictions on travel to, 913.

Bernadotte, Count, of Sweden, activities respecting German surrender offer, 863.

Bilbo, Theodore G. (U.S. Senator), exchange of letters with Mr. Grew on acceptance of civil-aviation agreements as executive agreements, 1101.

Billigmeier, Robert H., articles:  
 Aliens in Germany, 164.

Jews in Germany, 969.

Blacklist. *See* Blocked Nationals.

Blaisdell, Thomas C., Jr., appointment as Chief of Mission for Economic Affairs, London, letter from President Roosevelt, 440.

Blakeslee, George H., designation in State Department, 839.

## Blocked countries:

- Accounts of U.S. citizens, free operation of, 642.  
 Powers of attorney, provision for sending to, 657.  
 Blocked Nationals, Proclaimed List:  
 Revision VIII, Cumulative Supplements 5, 6; 67, 196.  
 Revision IX and Cumulative Supplements, 1, 2, 3, 4:  
 423, 607, 871, 1167.

Bloom, Sol, tribute to, by Secretary Stettinius, 622.  
 Boal, Pierre de L.:  
 Addresses:

- Relations among the American republics, 96.  
 Security and inter-American relations, 708.  
 Article on substance of foreign relations, 243.  
 Boards. *See* Commissions.

Boggs, S. W., articles:  
 Mapping effects of science and technology on human relations, 183.  
 "This Hemisphere", 845, 954.

Bohan, Merwin L., designation in State Department, 840.

Bolivia (*see also* American republics):  
 Cultural leaders, visit to U.S., 315.

Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 100.  
 UNRRA (1943), ratification, 461.

Bombay, India, elevation to rank of Consulate General, 695.

Bombings of Swiss towns, statement by Mr. Grew, 300.

Bonds. *See* Falsification.

Bonnet, Henri:  
 Credentials as French Ambassador to U.S., 41.

Remarks on adherence by France to United Nations Declaration, 19.

Booty. *See* Loot.

Bordeaux, France, opening of U.S. Consulate, 110.

Borton, Hugh, article on Formosa, 1018.

Boundaries in Europe, statement by Mr. Grew, 902.

Boundary and Water Commission, International, jurisdiction under U.S.-Mexican water treaty (1944), article by Mr. Clayton, 71.

Braden, Spruille:  
 Participant in radio broadcast, 547.

U.S. Ambassador to Argentina, appointment, 785, 880, 904.

Bradshaw, J. G., visiting professor to Colombia, 197.

Brazil (*see also* American republics):  
 Allied victory, contribution to, telegram from President Truman to President Vargas, 904.

Cultural leaders, visit to U.S., 475, 913, 946.

Declaration of war against Japan, 1060.

Minister for Foreign Relations (Velloso), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 665.

Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Automotive traffic, inter-American, convention on regulation (1943), ratification (1944), 108.

Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), acceptance, 1006.

Civil-aviation convention (1944), 1006.

U.S. Ambassador (Berle), appointment, 110.

U.S. Consulate at Florianopolis, closing, 965.

Visit of Acting Foreign Minister (Velloso) to U.S., 410.

Visiting professors from U.S., 208, 329, 381, 386, 644.

Bread-rationing for Italy, 29.

Bretton Woods conference:  
 Message of President Roosevelt to Congress on proposals of, 220.

Resolution on enemy assets and loot, implementation of by Switzerland, 601.

Bretton Woods Proposals for International Monetary Fund and for International Bank for Reconstruction and Development:

Addresses: Mr. Acheson, 352, 469, 469, 507, 738; Mr. Clayton, 439, 476, 979; Mr. Mason, 616; Mr. O'Donnell, 589; Mr. Taft, 578, 826; Mr. Young, 376.

Discussion:  
 Foreign Affairs Outline, 562.  
 Radio broadcast, 402.

- Bretton Woods Proposals—Continued.  
 Message of President Roosevelt to Congress, 220.  
 Statement by Mr. Stettinius, 506.  
 Bridgeport (Conn.) Peace Council, address by Mr. Taft, 1115.  
 Briggs, Ellis O., assignment to U.S. Embassy at Chungking, 169.  
 Brown, Courtney C., designation in State Department, 176.  
 Bucaramanga, Colombia, closing of U.S. Consulate, 995.  
 "Building the Peace":  
 Foreign Affairs Outlines, 558.  
 State Department radio broadcasts, 82, 237, 282, 354, 401, 441, 480, 547, 623.
- Bulgaria:**  
 Displaced persons in Germany, 493.  
 Inquiries on U.S. citizens in, 252.  
 Protection of political leader (Dimitrov) by U. S. Representative at Sofia, 1023.  
 Restoration of communications facilities, 546, 1078.  
 Bunn, Charles, address on legal policy for trade, 142.  
 Bureau of the Budget, letter to President Truman from Director (Smith) on lend-lease appropriation estimate, 1062.  
 Butler, George H., designation in State Department, 588.  
 Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, membership in United Nations:  
 Letter from President Truman to Secretary Stettinius, 806.  
 Question concerning, 530.  
 Statements by Secretary Stettinius, 690, 1007.  
 Byrnes, James F., Director of Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, 448.
- Cale, Edward G.**, designation in State Department, 176.  
 California, University of, degree conferred on Secretary Stettinius, 859.  
 Camagley, Cuba, closing of U.S. Consulate, 1089.
- Canada:**  
 Allied victory, exchange of messages between President Truman and Prime Minister King, 903.  
 Ambassador to U.S. (Pearson), credentials, 174.  
 Civil aviation, discussions with U.S., 110, 160.  
 Combined Boards, joint statement with U.S. and U.K. on decision to maintain, 120.  
 Governor General (Earl of Athlone), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 662.  
 Permanent Joint Board on Defense, Canada-U.S., disposition of U.S. defense facilities in Canada, 162.  
 Prime Minister (King), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 662.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil aviation, air-transport services, bilateral, with U.S., text, 305.  
 Civil-aviation agreements: air transit and interim (1944), acceptance, 67, 100, 198.  
 Defense facilities, disposition of, with U.S. (1944), text, 162.  
 Double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion, with U.S. (1944), ratification, 199, 423.  
 Extraterritorial rights in China, relinquishment, with China (1944), ratification, 637.  
 Fourth Protocol, with U.S.S.R., for provision of war supplies, 723.  
 Military air-transport routes, with U.S., 309.  
 Mutual aid, with India (1944), 32.  
 Sanitary convention (1944), 103.  
 Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.  
 UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 729.  
 Visit of Governor General (Earl of Athlone) to U.S., 506.  
 Visit of Prime Minister (King) to President Roosevelt, 494.  
 Carey, Jane Perry Clark, article on displaced populations in Europe in 1944 with particular reference to Germany, 491.
- Cargo availability for Argentina, amendment of Federal Regulations, 713.  
 Caribbean Commission. *See* Anglo-American Caribbean Commission.  
 Carr, Robert M., designation in State Department, 386.  
 Carrels:  
 Barriers to international trade, statement by Mr. Clayton, 933.  
 Discussion of, in radio broadcast, 407.  
 Provision against, in Economic Charter of the Americas, 613.  
 Resolution of Mexico City conference, texts, 348, 452.  
 Statement by Secretary Stettinius, 508.  
 Carter, Clarence E. (editor of "Territorial Papers"), article on publication of documentary records of U.S. territories, 1109.  
 Caster, Kenneth E., visiting professor to Brazil, 386.  
 Center for International Understanding, San Francisco, Calif., address by Mr. Acheson, 507.  
 Central America. *See* American republics and the individual countries.  
 Central Secretariat of Secretary's Staff Committee and Coordinating Committee, change in name from Joint Secretariat (D.O. 1320), 878.  
 Central Services, Division of, transfer of certain functions to Division of Protocol (D.O. 1321), 894.  
 Chalmers, Philip O., designation in State Department, 503.  
 Chamber of Commerce, Newburgh, N.Y., address by Mr. Taft, 955.  
 Chamber of Commerce, Topeka, Kans., address by Mr. Holmes, 179.  
 Chapin, Selden, designation in State Department, 840, 1017.  
 Chapultepec, Act of, 339, 525, 550, 693.  
 Charter of the United Nations:  
 Interim arrangements, text, 1142.  
 Statute of the International Court of Justice; Organization of the Court, text, 1134.  
 Text, 1119.  
 Charts. *See* Maps and charts.  
 Cherbourg consular district, inquiries on U.S. citizens, service for, 268.  
 Child, Charles, designation in State Department, 111.  
 Chile (*see also* American republics):  
 Ambassador, note and remarks on United Nations Declaration, 231, 235.  
 Cultural leaders, visit to U.S., 834, 873, 932.  
 Nitrogen, synthetic, disposal and operation of plants, discussions with U.S. Government, 644.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), acceptance, 1057.  
 Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 231.  
 Falsification of currency, public-debt bonds, and credit documents, with Peru (1935), ratification, 874.  
 Financial agreement, with Switzerland (1944), ratification by Switzerland, 314.  
 Naval mission, with U.S., 917.  
 Transmission of judicial writs, with Peru (1935), ratification, 874.  
 UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 730.  
 Valdivia, closing of U.S. Consulate, 466.  
 Visit of President Rios to U. S., statement by President Truman, 1086.  
 Visiting professors from U.S., 353, 469.
- China:**  
 Ambassador to Great Britain (Koo), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 662.  
 Briggs, Ellis O., assignment to U.S. Embassy at Chungking, 169.  
 Chiang Kai-shek, Generalissimo, message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 663.  
 Committee of Jurists, address by delegate Wang Chung-hui, 673.

## China—Continued.

- Cultural leaders, visit to U. S., 65, 714.  
 Cultural-relations program, U. S. technical experts, return to U. S., 107, 461.  
 Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, joint amendments offered at San Francisco conference by sponsoring powers, 851.  
 Opium, limitation of production, exchange of notes with U. S., 1331.  
 Shen-yen Chen, invitation to study in U. S., 385.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
   Civil-aviation agreements: air transport and interim (1944), acceptance, 1057.  
   Extraterritorial rights, relinquishment by Canada (1944), ratification, 637.  
   Sanitary convention (1944), 109.  
   Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.  
 UNCIO:  
   Address by Mr. Soong, 795.  
   Delegation, list of members, 600.  
   Security Council, voting procedure, 600, 1047.  
   Sponsorship, 394.  
 Visit of Mr. Jayne, 1166.  
 Churchill, Winston:  
   Combined Boards, joint statement with U. S. and Canada on decision to maintain, 120.  
   Crimea Conference, joint report on, 213.  
   Meeting with President Truman and Marshal Stalin, statement by President Truman, 1095.  
   Okinawa, U. S. victory on, message to President Truman, 1151.  
   Surrender of Germany, message from President Truman, 887.  
   Warning to Germany against maltreatment of prisoners of war, joint statement with President Truman and Marshal Stalin, 811.  
 CINA, comparison with International Civil Aviation Organization, article by Mr. Latchford, 411.  
 CITEJA (International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts), articles by Mr. Latchford:  
   Comparison with International Civil Aviation Organization, 411.  
   Coordination with new international civil-aviation organizations, 310.  
   Creation and activities, 11.  
 Citizens. See United States citizens.  
 Citizenship, cards of identity for use on Mexican border, 1069.  
 Civic Commerce Association, Minneapolis, Minn., address by Mr. Taft, 534.  
 Civil aviation:  
   Acceptance of agreements as Executive agreements, exchange of letters between Senator Bilbo and Mr. Grew, 1101.  
   Air Coordinating Committee, organization (D. O. 1317), 828.  
   Anti-trust laws, applicability to agreements between U. S. and foreign air carriers, 141.  
 Articles by Mr. Latchford:  
   Acceptance of agreements as executive agreements, 1104.  
   CITEJA, coordination with new international civil-aviation organizations, 310.  
   Comparison of Chicago aviation convention (1944) with Paris and Habana conventions, 411.  
   Private international air law, 11.  
   Discussions between U. S. and Canada, 110, 160.  
   Foreign experts, instructions regarding visits to U. S. (Admin. Instr., Gen. Admin. 22), 715.  
   Foreign-airlines requirements, consideration by FEA, WPB, and State Department, 1089.  
 Monopolies, opposition to, statement by Mr. Clayton, 614.  
 Provisional international organization, establishment, 1056.

## Civil aviation—Continued.

- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
   Air services transit agreement (1944), acceptances and signatures: Afghanistan, 968; Belgium, 714; Canada, 160, 198; Costa Rica, 426; Cuba, 874; Czechoslovakia, 873; El Salvador, 942, 1057; Ethiopia, 478; Guatemala, 169; Iceland, 873; India, 941; Liberia, 873; Netherlands, 108; New Zealand, 874; Newfoundland, 224; Norway, 169; Poland, 644; Turkey, 1058; U. K., 1057; Union of South Africa, 1057; U. S., 198.  
   Air transport agreement (1944), acceptances and signatures: Afghanistan, 968; China, 1057; Costa Rica, 426; Cuba, 874; El Salvador, 942, 1057; Ethiopia, 478; Guatemala, 169; Iceland, 873; Liberia, 873; Netherlands, 108; Turkey, 1058; U. S., 198.  
   Air-transport services, bilateral agreements, U. S. with—  
     Canada, text, 305.  
     Iceland, text, 170.  
     Ireland, text, 172.  
 Convention, international (1944):  
   Letter of transmittal from President Roosevelt to Senate, text, 437.  
   Ratifications and signatures: Belgium, 714; Brazil, 1006; Costa Rica, 426; Cuba, 874; Czechoslovakia, 873; El Salvador, 942; Guatemala, 169; Norway, 169; Poland, 644; Union of South Africa, 1057.  
   Report by Mr. Grew to President Roosevelt, 436.  
   U. S. attitude, 198.  
   Interim agreement (1944), acceptances and signatures: Afghanistan, 968; Australia, 968; Belgium, 714, 873; Brazil, 1006; Canada, 67; Chile, 1057; China, 1057; Colombia, 968, 1057; Costa Rica, 426; Cuba, 874; Czechoslovakia, 873; Egypt, 874; El Salvador, 942, 1057; Ethiopia, 478; France, 1057; Guatemala, 169; Haiti, 1057; Iceland, 1057; India, 941; Iraq, 1057; Ireland, 941; Lebanon, 1057; Liberia, 873; Mexico, 968; Netherlands, 108; New Zealand, 874; Norway, 169; Panama, 942; Peru, 968; Poland, 644; Portugal, 1056; Turkey, 1058; U. K., 1057; Union of South Africa, 1057; U. S., 198.  
   Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, establishment, 1056.  
   Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944). See Sanitary.  
 Civil Aviation, International Conference:  
   Addresses:  
     Mr. Acheson, 511.  
     Mr. Morgau, 33, 701.  
   Comparison of Chicago aviation convention (1944) with Paris and Habana conventions, article by Mr. Latchford, 411.  
   List of countries signing documents concluded at, 67, 1169.  
   Civil strife, rights and duties of states in the event of, convention on (1928), ratification by Honduras, 874.  
   Civilian internees. See Prisoners of war.  
   Civilian Supplies, Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of, 448.  
   Civilian supplies for liberated areas of northwest Europe, summary of report of Mr. Rosenman, 860.  
   Civilian-supply problems in Europe, article by Mr. Stillwell, 917.  
   Claims convention, with Mexico (1934), final payment by Mexico of instalments due under, 43.  
   Clark, General Mark, message from President Truman on unconditional surrender of German armies in Italy, 865.  
   Clark-Kerr, Sir Archibald (British Ambassador to U. S. S. R.), consultation with other Allied representatives and Polish groups on reorganization of Provisional Polish Government, 1095.

- Clayton, Frank B., article on U.S.-Mexican water treaty, 71.  
 Clayton, William L.:
- Addresses and statements:
  - Airline monopolies, opposition to, 614.
  - Aluminum Co. of Canada, negotiations, 698.
  - Bretton Woods Proposals in post-war economic policy, 433.
  - Cartels, 613, 933.
  - Economic cooperation for peace, 476.
  - Farmer's stake in world cooperation, 620.
  - Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations, 689.
  - Foreign economic policy of State Department, 979.
  - Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, 334.
  - Small business, relation to foreign trade, 698, 760.
  - Trade, private barriers to, 613, 933.
  - Trade Agreements Act, renewal, 752, 1024.
  - U. S. telecommunications facilities, 602.
  - Participant in radio broadcast, 401.
- Close, Ralph William (South African Minister to U.S.), death of, statement by Mr. Grew, 503.
- Coal, shortage in Europe, 922.
- Cochran, William P., Jr., designation in State Department, 829.
- Code of Federal Regulations:
- Cargo availability, shipments to Argentina, 713.
  - Control of persons entering and leaving the U.S., amendment respecting aliens leaving, 987.
  - Fellowships in teacher education, change in title, 836.
- Cody, Morrill, article on work of cultural-relations attaché, 574.
- Coffee, green, request by 14 American republics for increase in ceiling prices and refusal by U.S., 512.
- Cole, Felix, appointment as U.S. Minister to Ethiopia, 315.
- Collado, Emilio G., designation in State Department, 176.
- Colombia (*see also* American republics):
- Cultural leader, visit to U.S., 692.
  - Minister of Foreign Relations (Lleras), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 665.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), signature and acceptance, 968, 1057.
  - Commercial agreement with Venezuela (1936), renewal, 834.
  - UNRRA (1943), ratification, 478.
  - U.S. Consulate at Bucaramanga, closing, 995.
  - Visiting professor from U.S., 197.
- Combined Boards:
- Joint statement with Canada and U.K. on decision to maintain, 120.
  - Relief for European civilians, reference of plans to, 919.
  - Representation on, 461.
  - Statement by President Roosevelt on decision to maintain, 119.
- Combined Chiefs of Staff, designation of Mr. Matthews as representative of Combined Civil Affairs Committee, 263.
- Combined Civil Affairs Committee:
- Relief plans referred to, 917.
  - Representative (Matthews) designation, 263.
- Combined Food Board, 119.
- Combined Liberated Areas Committee, establishment of, 919.
- Combined Production and Resources Board, 119.
- Combined Raw Materials Board, 119.
- Comité International Technique d'Experts Juridiques Aériens. *See* CITEJA.
- Commerce, Baltimore Association of, address by Mr. Bunn, 142.
- Commerce Department, joint announcement with State Department, French Supply Council, and FEA on resumption of private export trade to French North and West Africa, 852.
- Commercial agreement, Colombia-Venezuela (1936), renewal, 834.
- Commercial agreements, provisional, Egypt with—
- Ireland (1930), extension, 978.
  - United Kingdom (1930), extension, 978.
- Commercial arbitration in the treaties and agreements of the U.S.S.R., article by Mr. Hilton, 890.
- Commercial aviation convention (1928), comparison with 1919 and 1944 conventions, article by Mr. Latchford, 411.
- Commercial Policy, Division of, establishment of Foreign Trade Branch in (D.O. 1303), 68.
- Commercial Policy, Office of:
- Establishment and functions (D.O. 1306), 176.
  - Name changed to Office of International Trade Policy (D.O. 1312), 462.
- Commission on Post-War Economic and Social Problems, established by Mexico City conference, discussion by Miss Parks, 734.
- Commissions, committees, etc., international:
- Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 3, 53, 304, 925.
  - Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, 514, 716.
  - Art Advisory Committee, 259.
  - Boundary and Water Commission, U.S. and Mexico, 71.
  - CITEJA (International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts), 11, 310, 411.
  - Combined Boards, 119, 461, 919.
  - Cotton Advisory Committee, 52, 301, 475, 545, 772.
  - Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 3, 53, 304, 925.
  - Food and Agriculture Organization, United Nations, 225, 599, 685.
  - Inter-Agency Committee to Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, 448.
  - Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, 92, 732.
  - Inter-American Judicial Committee, 194.
  - Inter-American Neutrality Committee, 194.
  - Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, 452.
  - Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation, 155.
  - Office of education, 932.
  - Permanent Joint Board on Defense, Canada-U.S., 102.
  - Political Defense, Advisory Committee for, 3, 53, 304, 925.
  - Post-War Economic and Social Problems, 734.
  - Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, 1056.
  - Reparations Commission, 434, 807, 931.
  - Rubber Study Group, 198, 128, 161.
  - War Crimes Commission, United Nations, 123, 154, 483, 1073.
  - Wheat Council, 79.
- Committee of Jurists. *See* Jurists, Committee of.
- Commodities Division, consolidation with War Supply and Resources Division and establishment of new Commodities Division (D.O. 1319), 830.
- Commodity agreements, U.S. policy regarding, address by Mr. Haley, 638.
- Commodity Credit Corporation, Cuban sugar crop, arrangements to purchase, 656.
- Commonwealth Club of California, San Francisco, Calif., address by Mr. Acheson, 469.
- Communications. *See* Postal; Telecommunications.
- Conference of Private Organizations on the Bretton Woods Proposals, Washington, D. C., address by Mr. Acheson, 352.
- Conferences, congresses, etc. (*see also* name of conference):
- International:
- Civil Aviation, 33, 67, 310, 411, 436, 511, 701, 1169.
  - Crimea Conference, 213, 321, 393, 530, 600, 864.
  - Food and Agriculture, United Nations, 225.
  - Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, 60, 192, 273, 277, 333, 339, 393, 398, 400, 449, 525, 547, 613, 624, 670, 675, 693, 732, 924, 1035.
  - Inter-American Radio Conference (3d), 954.
  - Jurists, Committee of, 533, 643, 668, 672, 759.

- Conferences, Congresses, etc.—Continued.
- International—Continued.
- Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, 3, 91, 194, 732, 925.
- Rubber Study Group, 108, 128, 161.
- Telecommunications, 386, 500.
- United Nations Conference on International Organization, 214, 217, 223, 253, 382, 394, 433, 435, 441, 530, 576, 600, 605, 608, 650, 660, 724, 789, 851, 903, 928, 949, 1007, 1043, 1119, 1163.
- United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, 220, 352.
- UNRRA Council, third session, 1114.
- National:
- Books for Devasted Libraries, 366.
- Congress, U. S.:
- All-American Flag Line bill (S. 326) statement by Mr. Clayton before Aviation Subcommittee of Senate Commerce Committee, 614.
- Anglo-American oil agreement (1944), withdrawal from Senate, 63.
- Assistant Secretary in charge of congressional relations, duties, 993.
- Doughton bill. *See* Trade Agreements Act, renewal.
- House Banking and Currency Committee, statement by Mr. Acheson on Bretton Woods Proposals, 409.
- House Foreign Affairs Committee:
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, statements by Mr. Acheson, Mr. Clayton, and Secretary Stettinius, 685.
- Lend-Lease act, statement by Mr. Acheson on proposed extension, 189.
- House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, letter from Secretary Stettinius on shipping under lend-lease agreement with France, 500.
- House Military Affairs Committee, statement by Mr. Plitt on prisoners of war and Red Cross conventions, 809.
- House of Representatives, new members, support of President, 181.
- House Ways and Means Committee, statements by Secretary Stettinius, Mr. Clayton, Mr. Rockefeller, and Mr. Taft on renewal of Trade Agreements Act, 748, 905.
- Legislation, listed, 110, 209, 269, 316, 388, 428, 466, 518, 588, 716, 785, 840, 881, 914, 946, 965, 1039, 1090.
- Lend-Lease:
- Appropriation estimate, letter from President Truman to Speaker of House, 1061.
- Reports (18th and 19th), letters of transmittal, 317, 952.
- U. S. and France, letter from Secretary Stettinius on shipping, 500.
- Lend-Lease Act, extension:
- Statement by Mr. Acheson before House Foreign Affairs Committee, 189.
- Statement by the President on signing, 773.
- Messages from President Roosevelt:
- Anglo-American oil agreement, withdrawal from Senate, 63.
- Annual message, 22.
- Bretton Woods Proposals, 220.
- Civil aviation convention, letter of transmittal, 437.
- Crimea Conference, report on, 321.
- Trade Agreements Act, renewal, 531.
- United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture, transmittal of first report, 536.
- UNRRA, 2d quarterly report, letter of transmittal, 684.
- Messages from President Truman:
- Alien Property Custodian, report of, letter of transmittal, 1029.
- Japan, plans for victory over, 999.
- Lend-lease report (19th), letter of transmittal, 952.
- President Truman's first address, 721.
- Presidential succession, 1150.
- Congress, U. S.—Continued.
- Military training, compulsory, statement by Mr. Grew before Postwar Military Policy Committee, 1063.
- O'Mahoney bill, S-11, statement by Mr. Clayton on agreements in restraint of trade, 933.
- Philippine independence (S. J. Res. 93), statement on by President Truman, 867.
- Publications, listed, 44, 110, 209, 269, 316, 388, 428, 466, 518, 588, 657, 716, 785, 840, 881, 914, 946, 965, 1039, 1090.
- Senate Commerce Committee, Aviation Subcommittee of, statement by Mr. Clayton concerning All-American Flag Line bill (S. 326), 614.
- Senate Finance Committee, statements by Mr. Clayton and Mr. Taft on renewal of Trade Agreements Act, 1024, 1079.
- Senate Foreign Relations Committee, statements by Mr. Stettinius, Mr. Acheson, and Mr. Grew on Mexican water treaty, 122, 302, 303.
- Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, statement by Mr. Clayton on telecommunications facilities, 602.
- Senate Judiciary Committee, subcommittee of, statement by Mr. Clayton on cartels, 933.
- Senate Small Business Committee, statements by Mr. Clayton, 698; 700.
- Senate special committee investigating petroleum resources and subcommittee of Senate Judiciary Committee, statement by Mr. Clayton on cartels, 933.
- Senators, new, letter to President Roosevelt supporting United Nations Organization, and statement by Mr. Grew, 121.
- Trade agreements act, renewal:
- House passage, statement by Mr. Grew, 955.
- Senate approval, statement by Mr. Grew, 1149.
- Statements before House and Senate committees by Secretary Stettinius, Mr. Clayton, Mr. Rockefeller, and Mr. Taft, 748, 905, 1079.
- Striking out of bargaining power by Senate Finance Committee, statement by Mr. Grew, 1080.
- UNCIO, budgetary problems, 802.
- Congressional relations, Assistant Secretary in charge of, responsibility (D.O. 1322), 993.
- Consular offices. *See* Foreign Service.
- Consulates and Embassies, U. S., surveys of, 387, 458.
- Continuity of U. S. foreign policy, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 1012.
- Control Council, for government of Germany:
- Functions, 1054.
- Plans, 214, 480, 900.
- Controls, Office of, 148.
- Conventions. *See* Conferences; Treaties.
- Cooperative education, agreement with Ecuador, 438.
- Cooperative fellowship program, second Peruvian-U. S., agreement for (1944-1945), 218.
- Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Office of. *See* Office of Inter-American Affairs.
- Copenhagen, Denmark, opening of U. S. Mission (later Legation), 1032, 1168.
- Coppock, Joseph D., designation in State Department, 994.
- Cordier, Andrew W., address on functions of peace and security Organization, 253.
- Corliss, James C., designation in State Department, 466.
- Costa Rica (*see also* American republics):
- Cultural leader, visit to U. S., 912.
- Gift of property to U. S., 1167.
- President (Picado), message of condolence on death of U. S. President, 664.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Civil-aviation agreements: air transit, air transport, and interim (1944), 426.
- Civil-aviation convention (1944), 426.
- UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 730.
- Visiting professors from U. S., 208, 938.

- Cotton Advisory Committee, International:  
 Article by Mr. Evans, 52.  
 Fourth meeting, 301.  
 Lists of delegates, 475, 545.  
 Resolution on international collaboration, 772.  
 World supplies, data, 773.
- Council for a Lasting Peace, Milwaukee, Wis., address by Mr. Holmes, 727.
- Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, Ill., address by Secretary Stettinius, 593.
- Council on Foreign Relations, New York, N. Y., address by Secretary Stettinius, 605.
- Court of Justice, International. *See* International Court of Justice.
- Coville, Cabot, article on Formosa, 1018.
- Cox, Oscar, statement on resolution of Mexico City conference on problems of looted and enemy property, 350.
- Credentials. *See* Diplomatic representatives in the U.S. Credit documents. *See* Falsification.
- Crime. *See* War criminals.
- Crimen Conference:  
 List of participants, 213.  
 Membership in United Nations by two Soviet republics, proposal, 600.  
 Message from President Roosevelt to Congress on, 321.  
 Message to Cordell Hull, 216.  
 Polish question, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 1008.  
 Repatriation of Allied prisoners of war, Soviet allegations concerning, 864.  
 Report, by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, 213.  
 Report, by Secretary Stettinius, 393.  
 Representation in General Assembly of proposed Organization, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 600.  
 Statement by Mr. Grew, 217.  
 Trusteeship principle, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 600.
- U.S.S.R., request for three votes in Assembly of United Nations Organization, 530.
- Voting procedure in Security Council:  
 Discussion at San Francisco conference, 1047.  
 Proposed text, 394.  
 Statement of Secretary Stettinius, 600.
- Croats. *See* Yugoslavia.
- Crowley, Leo T. (Foreign Economic Administrator), joint statements on lend-lease and reverse lend-lease agreements with France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, 363, 765, 876.
- Cuba (*see also* American republics):  
 Appointment of Cuban librarian (Aguayo) as consultant to Library of Congress, 1105.  
 Closing of U.S. Consulate at Camagüey, 1089.  
 Cultural leader, visit to U.S., 1059.  
 Minister of State (Cuervo), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 695.  
 Sugar, molasses, and industrial alcohol, arrangements for purchase by Commodity Credit Corp. and by FEA, 656.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil-aviation agreements: air transit, air transport, and interim (1941), 874.  
 Civil-aviation convention (1944), 874.  
 Sanitary convention (1944), 109.  
 Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.  
 Visit of Secretary Stettinius to Habana, 397.
- Culbertson, William S., address on economic policy, 209.
- Cultural cooperation (*see also* American republics; China):  
 English as a foreign language, article by Mr. Pierson, 453.  
 Exchange of experts among American republics under travel-grant program, 64.  
 Peruvian-U.S. cooperative fellowship program, second, 218.  
 Scholarship opportunities in U.S. for Korean students, 1059.
- Cultural cooperation—Continued.  
 Visiting professors from U.S. to: Brazil, 208, 329, 381, 386, 644; Chile, 353, 460; Colombia, 197; Costa Rica, 208, 938; Honduras, 1168; Mexico, 197; Paraguay, 314.
- Cultural-relations attaché, work of, article by Mr. Cody, 574.
- Currency. *See* Falsification.
- Currie, Laughlin:  
 Economic negotiations with Switzerland regarding German assets and imports, 128, 601.  
 Resignation, 1108.
- Czechoslovakia:  
 Anniversary (6th) of Nazi invasion, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 438.  
 Opening of U.S. Embassy at Prague, 1089, 1096.  
 President Beneš, tribute from President Roosevelt, 599.  
 Telecommunication services, restoration, 1078.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil-aviation agreements: air transit and Interim (1944), signature and acceptance, 873.  
 Civil-aviation convention (1944), signature, 873.  
 Sanitary convention (1944), 109.  
 UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 577, 730.
- Darlington, Charles F., designation in State Department, 176.
- Davies, Joseph E., special mission to London for President Truman, 953.
- Davis, Monnett B.:  
 Appointment as U.S. Minister to Denmark, 1089.  
 Designation in State Department, 111, 840.
- Davis, Nancy W., designation in State Department, 357.
- Davis, Nathaniel P., designation in State Department, 840.
- Declaration by United Nations (1942):  
 Adherence by: Chile, 231; Ecuador, 231; Egypt, 373; France, 17; Lebanon, 575, 682; Paraguay, 231; Peru, 231; Saudi Arabia, 682; Syria, 575, 681; Turkey, 373; Uruguay, 294; Venezuela, 292.  
 Ceremonies on signing, 17, 234, 292, 373, 681.  
 Remarks by Mr. Savage, 504.
- Defense, Permanent Joint Board on, Canada-U.S. *See* Permanent Joint Board on Defense.
- Defense aid. *See* Lend-lease.
- Defense Board, Inter-American, draft resolution of Mexico City conference, text, 400.
- Defense facilities in Canada, disposition of, agreement with Canada (1944), text, 162.
- de Gaulle, Gen. Charles:  
 Invitation to meet President Roosevelt in Algiers, 291.  
 Message from President Truman on surrender of Germany, 888.
- Delaplane, Walter H., appointment as visiting professor to Paraguay, 314.
- Denmark:  
 Anniversary of Nazi attack, statement by President Roosevelt, 684.  
 Displaced persons in Germany, 493.  
 Invitation to San Francisco conference and acceptance, correspondence, 1048.  
 Liberation of, statement by Mr. Grew, 850.  
 Opening of U.S. Mission (later Legation) at Copenhagen, 1032, 1168.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.
- U.S. Minister (Davis), appointment, 1089.
- Departmental orders:  
 Air Coordinating Committee, organization (D.O. 1317), 838.  
 Assistant Secretary in charge of Congressional relations, responsibility (D.O. 1322), 993.  
 Central Secretariat, change in name from Joint Secretariat (D.O. 1320), 878.  
 Commodities Division, consolidation with War Supply and Resources Division (D.O. 1319), 839.  
 Consultation with returning Foreign Service officers (D.O. 1308), 268.

## Departmental orders—Continued.

- Economic Foreign Policy, Executive Committee on, secretariat, transfer from Office of Economic Affairs to Office of Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs (amendment of D.O. 1280 and 1301 by D.O. 1305), 148.
- Financial and Development Policy, Office of, responsibilities (D.O. 1311), 463.
- Foreign Trade Branch in Division of Commercial Policy, establishment of (D.O. 1303), 68.
- "Inter-Agency Economic Digest", transfer of secretariat (D.O. 1313), 462.
- International Trade Policy, Office of, change in title from Office of Commercial Policy (D.O. 1312), 462.
- Issuance of Foreign Service regulations, orders, and Instructions, authorization for Assistant Secretaries of State (D.O. 1310), 428.
- Reorganization of economic offices (D.O. 1306), 175.
- Reorganization of Office of the Foreign Service (D.O. 1314), 777.
- Southeast Asian Affairs, Division of, change in name from Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs (D.O. 1323), 1089.
- Special War Problems Division, functions (D.O. 1301, D.O. 1304), 148.
- Territorial Studies, Division of, abolition (D.O. 1300), 887.
- Transfer of certain functions of Division of Central Services to Division of Protocol (D.O. 1321), 994.
- Transport and Communications Policy, Office of, change in name from Office of Transportation and Communications (D.O. 1318), 839.
- War Areas Economic Division, responsibilities (D.O. 1312), 462.
- Despres, Emile, designation in State Department, 176.
- Devastated Libraries, Conference on Books for, 336.
- de Wolf, Francis Colt, addresses on telecommunications, 133, 250.
- Dickover, Erle H., address on Japanese war-machine, 240.
- Dimitrov, G. M. (Secretary General of Agrarian Party in Bulgaria), protection of, by U.S. Representative in Sofia, 1023.
- Diplomatic officer, death of, 208.
- Diplomatic relations with—
- Argentina, decision by American republics to resume, 670.
  - El Salvador, renewal, statement by Mr. Grew, 304.
  - Finland, informal, establishment, 52.
  - Japan, severance by Turkey, 20.
- Diplomatic representatives in U.S., credentials, 40, 41, 42, 174, 421, 422, 516, 517, 775, 776, 875, 912.
- Displaced persons in Europe, announcement, on inquiries for, 953.
- Displaced persons in Germany, SHAEF operations regarding, 1014.
- Displaced populations in Europe in 1944 with particular reference to Germany, article by Mrs. Carey, 491.
- Dominican Republic (*see also* American republics):
- Ambassador to U.S. (García Godoy), credentials, 40.
  - Cultural leader, visit to U.S., 914.
  - President (Trujillo Molina), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 662.
  - Secretary of State for Foreign Relations (Peña Batlle), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 666.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Agricultural Sciences, Inter-American Institute, convention on (1944), ratification (1944), 108.
  - Sanitary convention (1944), 109.
  - Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1941), 100.
  - UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 609.
  - U.S. Ambassador (McGurk), appointment, 209.
- Dooman, Eugene H.:
- Article on Formosa, 1018.
  - Designation in State Department, 68.
- Double-taxation convention, U.S. and—
- Canada (1944), 190, 423.
  - France (1939), proclamation, 38.
  - U.K. 197, 334, 834.
- Dulles, John Foster, acceptance of invitation to serve as adviser to U.S. Delegation to San Francisco conference, 608.
- Dumbarton Oaks Proposals:
- Addresses: Mr. Cordier, 253; Mr. Eagleton, 650; Mr. Hackworth, 124; Mr. Holmes, 179, 727; Mr. O'Donnell, 580; Mr. Sandifer, 145; Secretary Stettinius, 855; Mr. Taft, 382; Mr. Villard, 136; Mr. Young, 376.
  - Amendments to, offered by—
    - Certain countries, 903.
    - Sponsoring powers, text, 851.
  - Articles: Mr. Boal, 243; Miss Fosdick, 205; Secretary Stettinius, 115.
  - Basis for Charter of United Nations, 394, 396.
  - Chart of proposed Organization, 556.
  - Foreign Affairs Outlines on "Building the Peace", 558.
  - General Assembly:
    - Representation in, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 600.
    - Text of redraft proposed at San Francisco conference, 931.
  - International court of justice, provision for, 672.
  - Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks, radio broadcast by State Department, 354.
  - Mexico City conference, resolution concerning, text, 449.
  - Security Council, voting procedure in:
    - Statement by Mr. Grew, 479.
    - Text, 394.
  - Statute of International Court of Justice, 533.
- Dunn, James Clement, participant in radio broadcasts, 441, 480.
- Eagleton, Clyde, address on Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 650.
- Earley, James S., designation in State Department, 839.
- Economic Affairs, Mission for, in London, 440.
- Economic Affairs, Office of:
- Abolishment (D.O. 1306), 176.
  - Economic Foreign Policy, Executive Committee on, secretariat, transfer to Office of Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs (D.O. 1305), 148.
  - Economic and Social Council:
    - Charter text, 1127.
    - Powers of, discussion at San Francisco conference, 1011.
- Economic Charter of the Americas:
- Cartels, and other trade practices, provisions relating to, 613.
  - Discussion by: Miss Parks, 737; radio broadcast, 552; Mr. Rockefeller, 696; Mr. Smith, 626.
  - Resolution of Mexico City conference, texts, 347, 451.
  - Economic Club, Detroit, Mich., address by Mr. Clayton, 979.
  - Economic Club, New York, N.Y., addresses by Mr. Acheson and Mr. Taft, 738, 964.
  - Economic Cooperation, Commission for, Mexican-American:
    - Exchange of letters between President Avila Camacho and President Roosevelt, 155.
    - Text of final report of the Commission, 157.
- Economic Foreign Policy, Executive Committee on:
- Appointment of chairman (Clayton), 148.
  - Secretariat, transfer from Office of Economic Affairs to Office of Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs (D.O. 1305), 148.
- Economics (*see also* Bretton Woods Proposals; Trade Agreements Act):
- Arbitration, commercial, in the treaties and agreements of the U.S.S.R., article by Mr. Hilton, 800.
  - Basis for lasting peace, address by Secretary Stettinius, 593.
  - Europe, rehabilitation, summary of report of Mr. Rosenman, 860.

## Economics—Continued.

- Foreign economic policy, addresses and statements by Mr. Taft, 129, 382, 534, 578, 826, 905, 942, 955, 964, 1079, 1115.
- Inter-Agency Committee to Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, creation, 448.
- Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee:
- Remarks by Mr. Rockefeller on accepting chairmanship, 92.
- Replaced by Inter-American Economic and Social Council, 732.
- International Cotton Advisory Committee, 52, 301, 475, 545, 772.
- International problems, address by Mr. Young, 376.
- Maintenance of economies of liberated countries, joint statement by State Department and British Embassy, 95.
- Peace, relation to, address by Mr. O'Donnell, 580.
- Policy for peace, addresses and statements by Mr. Acheson, 189, 302, 352, 409, 469, 507, 686, 738.
- Post-war plans, address by Mr. Culbertson, 209.
- Rubber Study Group, discussion of future rubber situation, 161.
- Special Economic Mission, report on work of, 62.
- Trade, removal of barriers to, addresses and statements by Mr. Clayton, 334, 439, 476, 613, 614, 620, 689, 698, 760, 933, 979.
- Ecuador (*see also* American republics):
- Ambassador, letter and remarks on United Nations Declaration, 231, 235.
- Radiotelephone circuit with U.S., opening, 1065.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 231.
- Education, cooperative, with U.S., 438.
- Health and sanitation agreement with U.S. (1942), extension, 314, 461.
- Sanitary convention (1944), 109.
- Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.
- UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 730.
- Eden, Anthony (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain):
- Address at San Francisco conference, 799.
- Joint message to Cordell Hull, 837.
- Edman, Irwin, appointment as visiting professor to Brazil, 644.
- Education, cooperative, agreement with Ecuador, 438.
- Education, international office of, letter from Mr. Grew to Sol Bloom concerning formation of, 932.
- Egypt:
- Death of Prime Minister (Ahmed Maher), message from Mr. Grew, 304.
- King Farouk, meeting with President Roosevelt, 289.
- Minister (Hassan), letter and remarks on United Nations Declaration, 373, 374.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), acceptance, 874.
- Commercial agreement, provisional, with: Ireland (1930), extension, 978.
- United Kingdom (1930), extension, 978.
- Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 373.
- Foreign-exchange requirements for 1945, with U. K., text, 580.
- Sanitary convention (1944), 109.
- Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.
- UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 577.
- Eire. *See* Ireland.
- Eisenhower, Gen. Dwight D., U.S.A., message from President Truman on surrender of Germany, 857.
- El Salvador (*see also* American republics):
- Renewal of U. S. diplomatic relations with, statement by Mr. Grew, 304.

## El Salvador—Continued.

- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Civil aviation agreements: air transit, air transport, and interim (1944), signature, and acceptance, 942, 1057.
- Civil-aviation convention (1944), 942.
- Military mission, with U. S., (1943), extension, 1030.
- UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 730.
- Vice President (Vilanova), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 664.
- Embassies and Consulates, U.S., surveys of, 387, 458.
- Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense:
- Activities of, 925.
- Annual report, in part, (1943-44), 53.
- Article on organization and activities, 3.
- Diplomatic relations with El Salvador, initiated under, 304.
- Membership list, 5.
- Employment. *See* Post-war plans.
- Enemy countries, discussed in radio broadcast, 480.
- Enemy property (*see also* Alien Property Custodian), resolution of Mexico City conference, statement by Mr. Cox, 350.
- Engineers Club of Baltimore, Md., address by Mr. Dickover, 240.
- English as a foreign language, article by Mr. Pierson, 453.
- Equality, sovereign, of peace-loving nations, principle of, 600.
- Erol, Orhan H. (Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Turkey), letter and remarks on signing Declaration by United Nations, 374.
- Escalante, Diógenes (Ambassador of Venezuela), remarks on adherence of Venezuela to the Declaration by United Nations, 293.
- Estates. *See* Powers of attorney.
- Estonia, displaced persons in Germany, 493.
- Ethiopia:
- Emperor Haile Selassie, meeting with President Roosevelt, 290.
- Radiotelegraph circuit with U.S., opening, correspondence between President Truman and Emperor Haile Selassie, 933, 982.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Anglo-Ethiopian agreement (1944), text, 200.
- Civil-aviation agreements: air transit, air transport, and interim (1944), acceptance, 478.
- UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 610.
- U.S. Minister (Cole), appointment, 315.
- European inland transport:
- Agreement for provisional organization, signature, 910.
- Conditions, 922.
- Evans, James G., article on International Cotton Advisory Committee, 52.
- Exchange of nationals with—
- Germany, 44, 196, 252.
- Japan, proposed, 132.
- Executive agreements (*see also* Treaties), acceptance of civil-aviation agreements as:
- Article by Mr. Latchford, 1104.
- Exchange of letters between Senator Bilbo and Mr. Grew, 1101.
- Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy. *See* Economic Foreign Policy, Executive Committee on.
- Executive orders:
- Alien Property Custodian, functions and duties regarding enemy property (Ex. Or. 9567 amending Ex. Or. 9065 and 9193), 1065.
- Foreign Service regulations, Secretary of State authorized to issue (amendment of Ex. Or. 9452 by Ex. Or. 9514), 210.
- Foreign Service Regulations, Secretary of State authorized to prescribe (Ex. Or. 9521 amending Ex. Or. 9452 and 9514), 388.
- Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, change in name of (Ex. Or. 9532), 585.



- Export Managers' Club, New York, N.Y., address by Mr. Haley, 645.
- Extraterritorial rights in China, relinquishment of, agreement between Canada and China (1944), ratification, 637.
- Falsification of currency, public-debt bonds, and credit documents, agreement between Chile and Peru (1935), ratification, 874.
- FAO. *See* Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- Far East (*see also the individual countries*):  
Formosa, article by Mr. Dooman, Mr. Borton, and Mr. Corville, 1018.
- Korea:  
Scholarship opportunities in U.S. for students from, 1059.  
U.S. policy regarding, statement by Mr. Grew, 1058.
- Okinawa, U.S. victory on, message from Prime Minister Churchill to President Truman, 1151.
- Okinawa and the Liuchius, article by Mr. Amos, 743.
- Relief for Allied nationals interned in, 32, 188.
- Welfare of liberated internees in Philippines, 182.
- Farmer's stake in world cooperation, radio interview with Mr. Clayton, 620.
- Farouk, of Egypt, meeting in Near East with President Roosevelt, 289.
- FEA. *See* Foreign Economic Administration.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation, investigation of leak of secret material in State Department and arrests, 1088.
- Fellowship program, cooperative, second Peruvian-U.S., agreement for (1944-1945), 218.
- Fellowships in teacher education for teachers from other American republics, U.S. regulations, change in, 836.
- Fenwick, Charles G., article on Inter-American Juridical Committee, 194.
- Ferguson, John H., designation in State Department, 994.
- Fetter, Frank W.:  
Designations in State Department, 466, 839.  
Remarks on Anglo-American cooperation for expansion of world trade, 501.
- Fifield, Russell H., article on geopolitics at Munich, 1152.
- Finance. *See* Bretton Woods Proposals; Economics.
- Financial agreements:  
Chile and Switzerland (1944), ratification by Switzerland, 314.  
France and U.K., 1016.
- Haiti and U.S. (1943), text of supplementary agreement (1944), 144.
- Financial and Development Policy, Office of:  
Establishment and functions (D.O. 1306), 176.  
Responsibilities (D.O. 1311), 463.
- Finland:  
Armistice with U.K. and U.S.S.R. (1944), text, 261.  
Establishment by U.S. of informal relations, 52.  
Opening of U.S. Special Mission at Helsinki, 148.  
Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.  
U.S. representative (Hamilton), appointment, 52.  
Welfare of U.S. nationals in, 968.
- Fisheries Mission to Mexico (1942), extension of agreement (1944), 66.
- Five Freedoms agreement. *See* Air-transport agreement under Civil aviation.
- Flag Line, All-American, bill to create (S. 326), statement by Mr. Clayton before Aviation Subcommittee, Senate Commerce Committee, 614.
- Florianopolis, Brazil, closing of U.S. Consulate, 995.
- Food and Agriculture, United Nations Interim Commission, message of President Roosevelt to Congress transmitting first report, 536.
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations: Article on purposes, by Mr. Tolley and Mr. Stinebower, 225.
- Statements by:  
Mr. Acheson, 686.  
Mr. Clayton, 689.  
Secretary Stettinius, 599, 685.
- Food for Freedom, Inc., letter from President Truman regarding food-supply commitments abroad, 926.
- Food for the family of nations, article by Mr. Tolley and Mr. Stinebower, 225.
- Food supply, reappraisal, joint statement by State Department and British Embassy, 546.
- Food-supply program, draft resolution of Mexico City conference, text, 345.
- Forbes, John T., designation in State Department, 466.
- Forced labor. *See* Displaced persons.
- Foreign Affairs Outlines on "Building the Peace":  
Freedom—how can we achieve it, 570.  
Prosperity—how can we promote it, 562.  
Social progress—how can we work for it, 566.  
War—how can we prevent it, 558.
- Foreign Economic Administration:  
Cuban molasses and industrial alcohol, arrangements to purchase, 656.  
Foreign-airlines requirements, consideration of, with WPB and State Department, 1089.  
French North and West Africa, joint announcement with State Department, French Supply Council, and Commerce Department on resumption of private export trade, 832.
- Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, relation to, 448.
- Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease agreements, joint statement with State and Treasury Departments on mutual aid between U.S. and—  
Belgium, 765.  
France, 363.  
Netherlands, 876.
- Letter from Administrator, transmitting 18th report to Congress on lend-lease operations, 317.
- Relief of European civilians, reference of plan to, 917.
- Representation, 440.
- Shipments to Argentina, amendment of Federal Regulations concerning, 713.
- Foreign-exchange requirements for 1945, agreement between U.K. and Egypt, text, 586.
- Foreign policy, U.S., continuity of, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 1012.
- Foreign Policy Association, Baltimore, Md., address by Mr. Boal, 708.
- Foreign Policy Association, Philadelphia, Pa., address by Mr. Grew, 151.
- "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1930", publication of vol. I, 330.
- Foreign secretaries of U.S.S.R., U.K., and U.S., meetings of, during Crimea Conference, 216.
- Foreign Service, Office of the, reorganization (D.O. 1314), 777.
- Foreign Service, U.S.:  
Ambassadors, appointment: Argentina (Braden), 785, 880, 904; Brazil (Berle), 110; Dominican Republic (McGurk), 209; Guatemala (Kyle), 209; Iran (Murray), 315; Nicaragua (Warren), 657; Panama (Norweb), 209; Peru (Pawley), 1096; Portugal (Baruch), 209; Turkey (Wilson), 148.
- Arrest of Foreign Service officer by FBI, 1088.
- Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service, designations, 427.
- Board of Foreign Service Personnel, designations, 427.
- Briggs, Ellis O., assignment to U.S. Embassy at Chungking, 169.
- Consular offices: Bordeaux, France, opening, 110; Bombay, India, elevation to rank of Consulate General, 995; Bucaramanga, Colombia, closing, 995; Camagney, Cuba, closing, 1089; Florianopolis, Brazil, closing, 995; Genoa, Italy, opening, 1032; Iquitos, Peru, closing, 1089; Le Havre, France, opening, 315, 428; Lyon, France, opening, 995; Manila, P. I., opening, 332, 588; Milan, Italy, opening, 1032; Valdivia, Chile, closing, 466.
- Consulates, surveys of, 387, 458.
- Consultation of returning Foreign Service officers with Department officials (D.O. 1308), 268.

## Foreign Service, U.S.—Continued.

- Cultural-relations attaché, work of, article by Mr. Cody, 574.
- Diplomatic Agent at Tangier (Alling), appointment, 1089.
- Economic Affairs, Mission for, in London, appointment of chief (Blaisdell), 440.
- Embassies: Prague, Czechoslovakia, opening, 1089, 1096; Rome, Italy, opening as combined office, 148.
- Embassies and Consulates, surveys of, list of members of groups and itineraries, 387, 458.
- Establishment of informal relations with Finland, 52.
- Legation at Copenhagen, Denmark, opening, 1168.
- Ministers, appointment: Afghanistan (Palmer), 209, 588; Denmark (Davis), 1089; Ethiopia (Cole), 315; Hungary (Schoenfeld), 127; India (Merrell), 388.
- Missions: Copenhagen, Denmark, opening, 1032; Helsinki, Finland, opening, 148.
- Personnel and promotions, readjustment of, 939.
- Regulations, orders, and instructions:
- Assistant Secretaries of State to prescribe and issue (D.O. 1310), 428.
  - Secretary of State to prescribe and issue (Ex. Or. 9514 and 9521 amending Ex. Or. 9452), 210, 388.
- Representation of foreign interests, regulations, 837.
- Representative in Finland (Hamilton), appointment, 52.
- Representative in Hungary (Schoenfeld), arrival in Budapest, 968.
- Surveys of U.S. Embassies and Consulates, 387, 458.
- Work of, discussed in radio broadcast, 629.
- Foreign Service Educational Foundation, address by Mr. Grew before School of Advanced International Studies, 1145.
- Foreign Trade Branch, establishment in Division of Commercial Policy (D.O. 1305), 68.
- Formosa, article by Mr. Dooman, Mr. Borton, and Mr. Coville, 1018.
- Fosdick, Dorothy, article on Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 295.
- Foster, Carol H., designation in State Department, 840.
- Four Freedoms, as stated by President Roosevelt, 1011.
- Fourth Protocol, provision of war supplies to U.S.S.R. by U.S., U.K., and Canada, 723.
- Fowler, William A., designation in State Department, 176.
- France:
- Ambassador to U. S. (Bonnet):
    - Credentials, 41.
    - Message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 662.
  - Clearing arrangement with Switzerland, 601.
  - Displaced persons in Germany, 491, 493, 497, 498.
  - Foreign Minister (Bidault), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 667.
  - French Supply Council, joint announcement with State Department, Commerce Department, and FEA on resumption of private export trade to French North and West Africa, 832.
  - Gaulle, Gen. de, invitation to meet President Roosevelt in Algiers, 291.
  - Hostilities in Syria and Lebanon, note from U.S. Government, 1013.
  - Import program, endorsement by U.S., 90.
  - Inquiries on U.S. citizens in Cherbourg area, service for, 268.
  - Opening of U.S. Consulate at Bordeaux, 110.
  - Provisional Consultative Assembly, composition, and powers, 872.
  - Relations of U.S. with, address by Mr. Grew, 151.
  - Relief supplies for civilians, 919.
  - Role in settlement of questions of world and European interest, statement by President Truman, 927.
  - Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.
  - Trade, resumption of exports to U.S. through private channels, plans for, 691.
  - Trade with U.S., license relating to, 813.

## France—Continued.

- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Alliance and mutual assistance, with U.S.S.R. (1944), text, 39.
  - Assumption of supreme authority in Germany by Allied Representatives, text of declaration, 1051.
  - Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), acceptance, 1057.
  - Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 17.
  - Double taxation, with U.S. (1939), proclamation by President Roosevelt, 38.
  - European inland transport, 910.
  - Financial, with U.K., 1016.
  - Lend-lease with U.S., statements and correspondence, 193, 362, 369, 500.
  - Refugees, international status, convention relating to (1933), cancellation (1944) of denunciation (1942), 110.
  - Sanitary convention (1944), 10, 109.
  - Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 10, 109.
  - Shipping, continuance of control for United Nations purposes (1944), accession, 628.
  - Visa procedure for French or U.S. citizens, with U.S., 813.
- UNCIO:
- Participation in, 1009.
  - Security Council, consultation on voting procedure, 600.
  - Sponsorship, declination, 394.
- U.S. Consulates, opening:
- Le Havre, 315, 428.
  - Lyon, 995.
- Frank, Lawrence C., designation in State Department, 840.
- Frantz, Harry W., designation in State Department, 269.
- Free enterprise, address by Mr. Taft, 942.
- Freedom—how can we achieve it (Foreign Affairs Outline no. 4), 570.
- Freedom of speech, including freedom of the press and of information. *See* Information.
- French North Africa (*See also* Special Economic Mission), resumption of private export trade to, 832.
- French Provisional Consultative Assembly, composition and powers, 872.
- French West Africa, resumption of private export trade to, 832.
- Friendship, mutual aid and post-war cooperation, treaty between U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, text, 774.
- Friendship rally, U.S.-Soviet, New York, N.Y., message from President Truman, 1017.
- Fund, International Monetary. *See* Bretton Woods.
- Gange, John F., designation in State Department, 880.
- García Arias, Rodolfo (Argentine Chargé d'Affaires), message to Director General of Pan American Union on declaration of war by Argentina against Japan and Germany, 611.
- García Godoy, Emilio, credentials as Dominican Ambassador to U.S., 40.
- Garland, Eduardo (Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Peru), letter and remarks on signing United Nations Declaration, 233, 236.
- Gaulle, Gen. Charles de:
- Invitation to meet President Roosevelt in Algiers, 291.
  - Message from President Truman on surrender of Germany, 888.
- General Assembly of United Nations:
- Charter text, 1121.
  - Discussion of representation, 600, 1007.
  - Peaceful adjustment of situations likely to impair the general welfare, U.S. proposal at San Francisco conference, 854, 1011.
  - Redraft at San Francisco conference, text, 931.
- Geneva conventions. *See* Prisoners of war convention; Red Cross convention.
- Genoa, Italy, opening of U.S. Consulate General, 1032.

- Geography and Cartography, Division of, 183, 845, 954.  
 Geopolitics at Munich, article by Mr. Fifield, 1152.  
 Gerig, Benjamin, designation in State Department, 316.  
 Germany:
- Aliens in (1939), article by Mr. Odell and Mr. Billigmeier, 164.
  - Allied armies, junction in, statements by President Truman and Mr. Grew, 808.
  - Assets in Switzerland, freezing of, 601.
  - Attack on Denmark and Norway, anniversary of, statement by President Roosevelt, 684.
  - Coal, shipments to Italy, stoppage, 601.
  - Crimes declarations on defeat, occupation, and reparations, 213.
  - Declaration of Allied Representatives regarding defeat and assumption of authority, 1651.
  - Declaration of war by:
    - Argentina, 538, 611.
    - Saudi Arabia, 375, 408.
  - Disappearance of U.S. citizens deported from occupied areas, 577.
  - Displaced persons in, 491, 953, 1014.
  - Exchange of prisoners of war and civilian internees with U.S. and other American republics via "Gripsholm", 44, 196, 252, 1035.
  - Geopolitics at Munich, article by Mr. Fifield, 1152.
  - Government by Control Council of the occupying powers, plans for U.S. zone, 900.
  - Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 6th anniversary, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 438.
  - Iron and steel industry of, in relation to foreign trade, article by Mr. Merlín, 814.
  - Jews in, 1933-39, article by Mr. Odell and Mr. Billigmeier, 969.
  - Militarism and Nazism, U.S. intention to destroy, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 1010.
  - Nazi post-war plans, discovery of, 537.
  - Occupation by Allied Representatives:
    - Control machinery, 1054.
    - Intention to consult with other United Nations, 1053.
    - Plans for, 214, 480, 900.
    - Zones of occupation, 900, 1052.
  - Political aggression, defense of Americas against:
    - Annual report, in part, 1943-44, of Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 53.
    - Article on Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 3.
  - Prisoners of war and civilian internees, warning by President Truman, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin against maltreatment, 811.
  - Property and loot in Western Hemisphere, attitude of Mexico City conference, 925.
  - Property in Washington, transfer to U.S. as trustee, 900, 954.
  - Publications, importation into, statement by President Truman, 926.
  - Racial Germans, return to Reich, 498.
  - Reeducation from Nazi influence, 480.
  - Representation of interests in U.S. by Swiss Legation, termination, 900, 954.
  - Surrender:
    - Addresses, statements, etc.:
      - Mr. Grew, 888.
      - Secretary Stettinius, 887.
      - President Truman, 885, 886.
    - Armies in Italy, statements by President Truman and Mr. Grew and messages to Field Marshal Alexander and General Mark Clark, 865.
    - Declaration by Allied Representatives of terms, 1051.
    - Himmler's offer, chronological account, 863.
    - Messages from President Truman to high officials, 887.
    - Proclamation by President Truman, 886.
  - U.S. prisoners of war:
    - Abandonment of, in camps, assurances, 810, 866.
    - Hardships suffered, joint statement by Secretary Stettinius and Secretary of War, 683.
    - Relocation of camps for military reasons, 237, 314.
    - Sick and wounded, notification on exchange, 737.
- Gie, S. F. N. (South African Minister to U.S.), death, 674.  
 Great Britain. *See* United Kingdom.  
 Greece:
- Displaced persons in Germany, 494.
  - Inquiries on U.S. citizens in Athens area, service for, 160.
  - Relief supplies for civilians, 321.
  - Repatriation of citizens via "Gripsholm", 1035.
  - Restoration of liberties to, exchange of messages between Prime Minister Plastiras and President Roosevelt, 91.
  - Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 426, 1078.
  - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
    - Sanitary convention (1944), 109.
    - Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.
    - UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 577, 610.
- Grew, Joseph C.:
- Addresses, statements, etc.:
    - Allied armies, junction in Germany, 808.
    - Austria, U.S., policy toward, 397.
    - Bombings of Swiss towns, 300.
    - Books for Devastated Libraries, Conference on, 367.
    - Brazilian declaration of war against Japan, 1061.
    - Briggs, Ellis O., assignment to U.S. Embassy at Chungking, 169.
    - Bulgarian political leader, protection by U.S. Representative in Sofia, 1023.
    - Compulsory military training, 1063.
    - Crimes Conference, 217.
  - Deaths:
    - Former Governor of Alaska (Riggs), 107.
    - South African Minister to U.S. (Close), 503.
    - Soviet Ambassador to Mexico (Oumansky), 141.
  - Declaration by United Nations, adherences, 235, 294, 375.
  - Denmark, liberation, 850.
  - El Salvador, renewal of diplomatic relations, 304.
  - Europe, territorial questions in, 902.
  - FBI investigation of leak of secret material in State Department and arrests, 1088.
  - France, U.S. relations with, 151.
  - Freedom of information, 1097.
  - International Studies, School of, 1145.
  - Italy: formation of new Government in, 1006, 1149;
    - surrender terms, 182; territorial questions in, 902.
  - Japanese war-machine, 327.
  - Korea, U.S. policy regarding, 1068.
  - Lend-lease, 940.
  - Lend-lease, joint statements with Treasury Department and FEA, on agreements with France and Netherlands, 363, 876.
  - Lend-lease agreements with France, 366.
  - Manila, liberation, and opening of U.S. Consulate, 193, 332.
  - Mexican water treaty, favorable report of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 303.
  - Netherlands, liberation of, 862.
  - New Year's Day message, 31.
  - New York Times Hall, New York, N. Y., 87.
  - Norway, liberation, 904.
  - Public interest in proposed international Organization, 806.
  - Punishment of war criminals, 154.
  - Representatives, new, letter on foreign policy to President Roosevelt, 181.
  - Saint Patrick's Day message, 431.
  - Security Council, voting procedure in, 479.
  - Senators, new, letter on foreign policy to President Roosevelt, 121.
  - Shipping for transport of civilian-relief supplies, 219.
  - Surrender of German armies in Italy, 865.
  - Surrender of Germany, 888.
  - Town meeting, as basis of democracy, 835.
  - Trade Agreements Act, renewal, 955, 1080, 1149.
  - UNCIO, 223.
  - War Crimes Commission, United Nations, discontinuance of services of Mr. Pell, 123.

- Grew, Joseph C.—Continued.  
Addresses, statements, etc.—Continued.  
Washington Cathedral, 803.  
Yugoslavia, proposed united government, 153.
- Correspondence:  
Senator Bilbo, on acceptance of civil-aviation agreements as executive agreements, 1101.  
Bloom, Sol, concerning formation of International office of education, 932.  
Brazilian Acting Foreign Minister (Macedo Soares), on declaration of war by Brazil against Japan, 1090.  
Coffee, refusal of request by American republics for increase in price, 512.
- Deaths:  
Gen. Avila Camacho of Mexico, 252.  
Egyptian Prime Minister (Ahmed Maher), 304.  
Lebanese Foreign Minister (Selim Takla), 51.  
Lloyd George, 538.  
Declaration by United Nations, adherences, 231, 232, 233, 293, 294, 373, 374, 575.  
Governor of California (Warren) on San Francisco conference, 217.  
Italian interests in U.S., relinquishment by Switzerland of representation of, 361.  
Lend-lease agreements with France, 362, 366.  
Mayor of San Francisco (Lapham) on San Francisco conference, 218.  
President Roosevelt, report to, on Convention on International Civil Aviation, 436.  
Saudi Arabia, on declaration of war against Axis, 408.  
Participant in radio broadcast, 354.  
Water treaty, U.S. and Mexico, statement of Secretary Stettinius read by, 122.
- Gripsholm (ship):  
Exchange of U.S. and German prisoners of war and civilian internees (voyage of Jan.-Feb. 1945), 44, 196, 252.  
Repatriation of Italian, Greek, and U.S. nationals (voyage of May 31-Aug. 2, 1945), 1035.
- Guatemala (*see also* American republics):  
Ambassador to U.S. (Silva Peña), credentials, 42.  
Minister for Foreign Relations (Toriello), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 668.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
Agricultural experiment station in Guatemala, with U.S. (1944), supplemental memorandum of understanding, 874.  
Civil-aviation agreements: air transit, air transport, and Interim (1944), 169.  
Civil-aviation convention (1944), signature, 169.  
Military mission, with U.S., signature, 978.  
Military-aviation mission, with U.S., 309.  
U.S. Ambassador (Kyle), appointment, 209.
- Habana, Cuba, visit of Secretary Stettinius, 397.  
Hackworth, Earl C., designation in State Department, 466.  
Hackworth, Green H., address on Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 124.
- Halle Selassie I, of Ethiopia:  
Correspondence with President Truman on opening of direct radiotelegraph circuit between U.S. and Ethiopia, 939, 982.  
Meeting in Near East with President Roosevelt, 290.
- Haiti (*see also* American republics):  
Cultural leader, visit to U.S., 632.  
Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), ratification, 1057.  
Financial, with U.S. (1943), text of supplementary agreement (1944), 144.  
Rubber investigations, cooperative (1941), supplementary agreement (1944-1945), 199.  
Sanitary convention (1944), 109.  
Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.
- Haiti—Continued.  
Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued.  
Trade-marks, protocol on inter-American registration of (1929), denunciation (1944), 107.  
UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 610.  
Haley, Bernard F.:  
Addresses:  
Commodity agreements, U.S. policy, 638.  
Trade-agreements program, 645.  
Designation in State Department, 176.  
Hamilton, Maxwell M., appointment as U.S. representative in Finland, 52.  
Hanson, Haldore, designation in State Department, 994.  
Harriman, W. Averell, consultation with other Allied representatives and Polish groups on reorganization of Provisional Polish Government, 1065.  
Harrington, Julian F., designation in State Department, 1017.  
Harrison, Earl G., appointment as U.S. representative on Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, 452.  
Hartley, Robert W., designation in State Department, 209.  
Hussain, M. (Egyptian Minister), letter and remarks on signing Declaration by United Nations, 375.  
Health, sanitation, and food-supply programs, draft resolution of Mexico City conference, text, 345.  
Health and sanitation agreement with Ecuador (1942), extension (1944-1945), 314, 461.  
Helsinki, Finland, opening of U.S. Special Mission, 148.  
Henderson, Loy W., designation in State Department, 386, 859.  
Henry, R. Horton, designation in State Department, 840.  
Hilton, Howard J., Jr., article on commercial arbitration in the treaties and agreements of the U.S.S.R., 890.  
Himmler, Heinrich, surrender offer, chronological account, 863.
- Hiss, Alger:  
Designation in State Department, 316, 657.  
Letter to Danish Foreign Minister inviting Denmark to United Nations Conference on International Organization, 1049.  
Participant in radio broadcast, 354.  
Secretary-General of San Francisco conference, 801.
- Hiss, Donald, designation in State Department, 387.
- Holmes, Julius C.:  
Addresses:  
UNCIO, 727.  
U.S. responsibilities for victory and peace, 179.  
Appointment as chairman of Committee on Occupational Deferments, 209.  
Designation as chairman of Board of Foreign Service Personnel and Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service, 427.  
Participant in radio broadcast, 629.
- Honduras (*see also* American republics):  
Cultural leader, visit to U.S., 831.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
Agricultural Sciences, Inter-American Institute, convention on (1944), ratification, 656.  
Rights and duties of states in the event of civil strife (1928), ratification, 874.  
Sanitary convention (1944), 109.  
Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.  
UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 610.  
Visiting professor from U.S., appointment, 1168.
- Hooker, Robert G., Jr., designation in State Department, 859.  
Hopkins, Harry, special mission to Moscow for President Truman, 953.  
Host Maru (ship), transport of relief supplies to Allied nationals interned in Far East, 52, 188.  
House of Representatives. *See* Congress, U.S.
- Hovde, Bryn J.:  
Address on youth of world and problem of peace, 487.  
Statement at Art Advisory Committee meeting, 259.
- Huff, Clay G., visiting professor to Mexico, 197.

- Hull, Cordell:  
 Crimea Conference, message from participants, 216.  
 Death of President Roosevelt, statement on, 662.  
 Decoration by Peruvian Government, 1151.
- UNCIO:  
 Exchange of letters with Secretary Stettinius, 726.  
 Joint message from, 857.
- Human rights, Charter of United Nations, provisions for, statements by Secretary Stettinius, 928, 1011.
- Hungary:  
 Armistice with U. S., U.K., and U.S.S.R., text, 83.  
 Displaced persons in Germany, 494.  
 U.S. Representative (Schoenfeld):  
 Appointment, 127.  
 Arrival in Budapest, 968.
- Huston, Cloyce K., designation in State Department, 1172.
- Ibarra García, Oscar, credentials as Argentine Ambassador to U.S., 912.
- Ibn Saud (King Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia):  
 Declaration of war against Axis, letter to President Roosevelt, 375.  
 Meeting in Near East with President Roosevelt, 290.
- Iceland:  
 Minister of Foreign Affairs (Thors), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 607.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Air-transport services, with U.S., text, 170.  
 Civil-aviation agreements:  
 Air transit and air transport (1944), signature, 873.  
 Interim agreement (1944), acceptance, 1057.
- I.L.O. See International Labor Organization.
- Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, address by Mr. MacLeish, 238.
- India:  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil Aviation agreements: air transit and interim (1944), acceptance, 941.  
 Mutual aid, with Canada (1944), 32.  
 Shipping, continuance of control for United Nations purposes (1944), accession by India, 858.
- UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 577.  
 U.S. Consulate at Bombay, elevation to rank of Consulate General, 995.  
 U.S. Minister (Merrell), appointment of, 388.
- Information, freedom of:  
 Address by Mr. Grew, 1097.  
 Article by Miss Wright, 1099.  
 Press, letter from President Truman to Mr. Forrest, 1144.  
 Press, radio, and motion pictures, proposed procedure at San Francisco conference, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 435.  
 Resolution of Mexico City conference, texts, 343, 451.
- Institute of World Economics, Philadelphia, Pa., remarks by Mr. Fetter, 501.
- Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, creation, 448.  
 "Inter-Agency Economic Digest", transfer of secretariat (D.O. 1313), 462.
- Inter-Allied Governing Authority, occupation of Berlin, 1052.
- Inter-American Affairs, Office of. See Office of Inter-American Affairs.
- Inter-American automotive traffic, convention on regulation of (1943), 108.
- Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace:  
 Act of Chapultepec, text, 339.  
 Addresses, statements, etc.: President Avila Camacho (Mexico), 273; Mr. Clayton, 334; Mr. Cox, 350; Mr. Rockefeller, 675, 693; Secretary Stettinius, 277, 333, 398.  
 Appointment of Secretary Stettinius as U.S. Delegate, 61.
- Inter-American Conference—Continued.  
 Argentina, fulfillment of criteria stated in resolution on, 670.  
 Articles: Mr. Mann, 924; Mr. Munro, 525; Miss Parks, 732; Mr. Smith, 624.  
 Economic Charter of the Americas, provisions against cartels, 613.  
 Message from President Roosevelt to President of Conference (Padilla), 273.  
 Pan American Union, publication of report of Director General, 1035.  
 Plans, 60.  
 Radio broadcast, discussion in, 547.  
 Radio statement by Mr. Rockefeller, 61.  
 Report of Secretary Stettinius on return from, 393.  
 Resolution, Mexican, on loot and enemy property, statement by Mr. Cox, 350.
- Resolutions:  
 Discussion of, by Mr. Rockefeller, 693.  
 U.S. texts of drafts, 339, 341, 343, 400, 449.  
 UNCIO, attitude toward, 449, 525, 694.  
 U.S. Delegation, 192.
- Inter-American Defense Board:  
 Address by Mr. Otterman, 256.  
 Draft resolution on continuance, 400.
- Inter-American Economic and Social Council, created at San Francisco conference, discussion by Miss Parks, 732.
- Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee:  
 Remarks by Mr. Rockefeller on accepting chairmanship, 92.  
 Replaced by Inter-American Economic and Social Council, 732.
- Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, convention on (1944), 108, 656.
- Inter-American Juridical Committee:  
 List of members, 195.  
 Organization and activities, article by Mr. Fenwick, 194.
- Inter-American Neutrality Committee. See Inter-American Juridical Committee.
- Inter-American Radio Conference (3d), preparations for, 954.
- Inter-American relations. See American republics.
- Inter-American system:  
 Charter of world organization, relation to, statements by Secretary Stettinius, 930, 949, 1009.  
 Mexico City conference, resolution concerning, article by Mr. Munro, 525.  
 Relation to world organization, address by Mr. Rockefeller, 675.  
 Reorganization of, resolution of Mexico City conference, 341, 694.
- Inter-American University, convention on (1943), ratification by Venezuela (1944), 175.
- Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, appointment of Mr. Harrison as U.S. representative, 452.
- Interim agreement on international civil aviation. See Civil aviation.
- Interim Arrangements Concluded by the Governments Represented at the United Nations Conference on International Organization, text, 1142.
- Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture. See Food and Agriculture, United Nations Interim Commission.
- Inter-Mountain Mining and Economic Association, address by Mr. Taft, 129.
- International agencies, related to—  
 Economics, listed, 565.  
 Problems of freedom, listed, 573.  
 Social progress, listed, 569.
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. See Bretton Woods Proposals.
- International Civil Aviation Conference, see Civil aviation.
- International Cotton Advisory Committee, 301, 475.

- International Court of Justice:  
 Addresses on by Secretary Stettinius and others at meeting of Committee of Jurists, 672.  
 Charter text and annexed Statute, 1132, 1134.  
 Statute, drafting of, by Committee of Jurists, 533, 759.
- International Labor Organization, preparations for 27th conference, article by Mr. Wiesman, 424.
- International Monetary Fund. *See* Bretton Woods Proposals.
- International Office of Public Health, Paris, temporary performance of duties by UNRRA, 10, 109, 941.
- International peace and security organization. *See* Dumbarton Oaks Proposals; United Nations.
- International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts. *See* CITEJA.
- International Trade Policy, Office of, change in name from Office of Commercial Policy (D.O. 1312), 462.
- Inquests. *See* Prisoners of war and civilian internees.
- Intero, Peru, closing of U.S. Vice Consulate, 1089.
- Iran:  
 Acting Foreign Minister (Homayounjah), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 666.  
 U.S. Ambassador (Murray), appointment, 315.
- Iraq:  
 Civil aviation, interim agreement, (1944), acceptance, 1057.  
 Regent (Prince Abdul Ilah), visit to U.S., 1036.  
 UNCIO, list of members of delegation, 730.
- Ireland:  
 Asylum for war criminals, attitude, 190.  
 President (Hyde) and Prime Minister (De Valera), messages of condolence on death of U.S. President, 664.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Air-transport services, with U.S., text, 172.  
 Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), acceptance, 941.  
 Commercial agreement, provisional, with Egypt (1930), extension, 978.
- Ireland, Philip W., designation in State Department, 716.
- Iron and steel industry of Germany in relation to foreign trade, article by Mr. Merlino, 814.
- Italy:  
 Ambassador to U.S. (Tarchiani):  
 Credentials, 422.  
 Message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 662.  
 Bread rationing, 29.  
 Displaced persons in Germany, 494, 498, 500.  
 Opening of U.S. Embassy as combined office, 148.  
 Relief supplies for civilians, 921.  
 Repatriation of citizens via "Gripsholm," 1035.  
 Representation of interests in U.S., relinquishment by Switzerland, 361.  
 Supply program, statement by Secretary Stettinius on inquiries relating to U.K. and U.S. policies, 29.  
 Surrender of German armies in, 865.  
 Surrender terms, statement by Mr. Grew, 182.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 871, 1078.  
 UNRRA agreement for relief, signature and summary of, 543.  
 U.S. Consulates at Genoa and Milan, opening, 1032.  
 U.S. policy toward new Government in, statements by Mr. Grew, 1006, 1149.
- Italy, Allied Commission for, remarks by acting president (Macmillan), 539.
- Jackson, Robert H. (Justice of U.S. Supreme Court):  
 Appointment as U.S. Chief of Counsel for prosecution of Axis criminality, statement by President Truman, 866.  
 Report to President on prosecution of Axis war criminals, 1071.
- Jackson, Wayne G., designation in State Department, 269.
- Jamaica, agricultural workers, agreement with U.S. (1944), 460.
- Japan:  
 Addresses by—  
 Mr. Dickover, on war-machine, 240.  
 Mr. Grew, on war with, 327.  
 "Awa Maru", sinking of:  
 Exchange of communications with U.S., 1033.  
 Report, 632.  
 Safe-conduct for transport of relief supplies to Allied nationals in Far East, 188.
- Declaration of war against:  
 Argentina, 538, 611.  
 Brazil, 1069.  
 Saudi Arabia, 375, 408.
- Exchange of nationals with U.S., proposed, 132.
- Formosa, article by Mr. Dooman, Mr. Borton, and Mr. Coville, 1018.
- Internee camps, reciprocal visits, with U.S., attitude, 191.
- Korea, U.S. policy regarding, statement by Mr. Grew, 1058.
- Naval ratio, established by Washington treaty of 1922, attitude, 330.
- Neutrality pact, with U.S.S.R. (1941), denunciation by U.S.S.R., 811.
- Okinawa, U.S. victory on, message from Prime Minister Churchill to President Truman, 1151.
- Okinawa and the Liuchius, article by Mr. Amos, 743.
- Relief supplies for Allied nationals in Far East, attitude, 32, 188.
- Representation of interests in U.S., relinquishment by Spain, exchange of notes between State Department and Spanish Embassy, 649.
- Severance of relations with, by Turkey, statements by President Roosevelt and Secretary Stettinius, 20.
- Western Hemisphere, interests in, attitude of Mexico City conference, 925.
- Jayne, Horace H. F., visit to China, 1166.
- Jews:  
 Jews in Germany, 1933-39, article by Mr. Odell and Mr. Billigmeier, 969.  
 Treatment in Germany, 164, 499.
- Johnston, Felton M., designation in State Department, 964.
- Joint Secretariat of Secretary's Staff Committee and Coordinating Committee. *See* Central Secretariat.
- Judicial writs, transmission of, agreement between Chile and Peru (1935), ratification, 874.
- Juridical Committee, Inter-American. *See* Inter-American Juridical Committee.
- Jurists, Committee of:  
 Addresses:  
 Sir Michael Myers, of New Zealand, 673.  
 Secretary Stettinius, 672.  
 Wang Chung-hui, of China, 673.  
 Meetings of, 533, 643, 674.  
 Message of condolence on death of President Roosevelt, 668.  
 Statute of International Court of Justice, drafting of, 533, 759.
- Justice, International Court of. *See* International Court of Justice.
- Kauffmann, Henrik de (Danish Minister to U.S.), statement on acceptance of invitation to Denmark to take seat at San Francisco conference, 1049.
- Kelly, Helen G., article on international mails during wartime, 868.
- Kennedy, Donald D., designation in State Department, 1116.
- Khalid el-Azm (Syrian Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs), correspondence with Mr. Grew on adherence of Syria to Declaration by United Nations, 575.

- King, W. L. Mackenzie (Prime Minister of Canada):  
 Combined Boards, joint statement with U.S. and U.K. on decision to maintain, 120.  
 Exchange of messages with President Truman on Allied victory, 903.  
 Visit to President Roosevelt, 434.
- Knox, Charles F., designation in State Department, 466.
- Komendatura, occupation of Berlin, 1052.
- Korea:  
 Scholarship opportunities in U.S. for students from, 1059.  
 U.S. policy regarding, statement by Mr. Grew, 1058.
- Kurth, Harry M., designation in State Department, 203.
- Kyle, Edwin Jackson, appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, 209.
- Lapham, Roger D. (Mayor of San Francisco), arrangements for San Francisco conference:  
 Exchange of messages with Mr. Grew, 218.  
 Statement by Secretary Stettinius, 435.
- Lares, Arturo (Venezuelan Counselor of Embassy), letter to Secretary Stettinius on adherence by Venezuela to United Nations Declaration, 252.
- Larkin, Frederick, designation in State Department, 840.
- Larsen, Emmannel S., arrest for unauthorized use of secret information, 1088.
- Latchford, Stephen, articles by:  
 Acceptance of civil-aviation agreements as executive agreements, 1104.  
 Comparison of Chicago aviation convention with Paris and Habana conventions, 411.  
 Coordination of CITEJA with new international civil-aviation organizations, 310.  
 Private international air law, 11.
- Latin America. *See* American republics and the individual countries.
- Law, Richard, British Minister of State, discussions in Washington on maintenance of economies of liberated countries, 95.
- Le Havre, France, opening of U.S. Consulate, 315, 428.
- Lebanon:  
 Death of Foreign Minister (Selim Takla), statement by Mr. Grew, 51.  
 Foreign Minister (Pharon), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 666.  
 Hostilities in, note from U.S. Government to Provisional French Government, 1013.  
 Invitation to San Francisco conference, 576.  
 Minister to U.S. (Malik), credentials, 776.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil aviation, interim agreement, (1944), ratification, 1057.  
 Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 575, 682.
- Legislation. *See* Congress, U. S.
- Lend-lease:  
 Agreements with—  
 Belgium, statements and correspondence, 763.  
 France, statements and correspondence, 193, 302, 366, 500.  
 Netherlands, statement, 876.  
 Appropriation estimate, letter from President Truman to Speaker of House of Representatives, 1061.  
 Appropriation estimate, letter to President Truman from Director of Bureau of the Budget (Smith), 1062.  
 Joint statements of State and Treasury Departments and FEA respecting mutual aid between U.S. and—  
 Belgium, 765.  
 France, 363.  
 Netherlands, 876.  
 Report of operations (18th), letter of transmittal from Administrator of FEA to Congress, 317.  
 Report of operations (19th), letter of transmittal from President Truman to Congress, 952.
- Statements:  
 Mr. Grew, 940.  
 Secretary Stettinius, 596, 940.
- Lend-lease—Continued.  
 U.S.S.R., exchange of messages on 3d anniversary between Foreign Commissar Molotov and Secretary Stettinius, 1162.
- Lend-Lease Act, extension of:  
 Mr. Acheson on proposed, 189.  
 President Truman, on signing, 773.
- Lepers, American Mission to, address by Mr. Villard, 136.
- Letters of credence. *See* Diplomatic representatives in U.S.
- Lewis, Samuel, credentials as Panamanian Ambassador to U.S., 516.
- Liberated areas:  
 Accounts of U.S. citizens in, free operation of, 642.  
 Austria, U.S. policy toward, statement by Mr. Grew, 397.  
 Crimea declaration on liberated Europe, 215.  
 Denmark, statement by Mr. Grew, 850.  
 Europe, northwest, civilian supplies for, summary of report of Mr. Rosenman, 860.  
 Europe, problems of civilian supply, article by Mr. Stillwell, 917.  
 Greece, restoration of liberties to, exchange of messages between Prime Minister Plastiras and President Roosevelt, 91.
- Italy:  
 Allied Commission for Italy, remarks by acting president (Macmillan), 539.  
 Bread rationing, 29.  
 UNRRA agreement for relief, 543.  
 Maintenance of economies of, joint statement by State Department and British Embassy, 95.
- Manila, P. I., 193, 332, 588.
- Netherlands, statement by Mr. Grew, 862.
- Non-military traffic in, regulations, 30.
- Norway, statement by Mr. Grew, 904.
- Philippines:  
 Funds, transmission to U.S. citizens in, 408, 968.  
 Manila, 193, 332, 588.  
 Repatriation of U.S. citizens from, 427.  
 Welfare of liberated internees in, 182.
- Radio broadcast on, 441.
- Liberated Areas Committee, Combined, establishment of, 919.
- Liberia:  
 Civil-Aviation agreements: air transit, air transport, and interim (1944), acceptance, 873.  
 Secretary of State (Dennis), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 665.  
 UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 610.  
 Visit of Secretary Stettinius to, 219, 251.
- Librarians, responsibility of, in shaping post-war world, address by Mr. Spaulding, 983.
- Libraries, Devastated, Conference on Books for:  
 Announcement of plans, 366.  
 Remarks by Mr. Grew, 367.
- Library of Congress, appointment of Cuban librarian (Aguayo) as consultant, 1168.
- Liechtenstein, Prince Franz Joseph, message to President Truman on death of President Roosevelt, 664.
- Liuchiu Islands, including Okinawa, article by Mr. Amos, 743.
- Livesey, Frederick, designation in State Department, 387.
- Lloyd George, David, death, telegram from Mr. Grew, 538.
- Lockhart, Oliver, designation in State Department, 486.
- Loot seized by the enemy:  
 Mexico City conference, attitude 350, 926.  
 Resolution of Mexico City conference, statement by Mr. Cox, 350.  
 Switzerland, action to prevent secretion of, 601.
- Lubin, Isador:  
 Appointment as Associate to Mr. Pauley on Reparations Commission, statement by President Truman, 807.  
 Appointment as U.S. member of Reparations Commission, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 434.
- Luthringer, George F., designation in State Department, 466.

## Luxembourg:

- Displaced persons in Germany, 497.
- Prime Minister (Bech), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 663.
- Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
  - European inland transport, signature, 910.
  - Sanitary convention (1944), 109.
  - Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.
- UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 730.
- Lyon, France, opening of U.S. Consulate, 935.

Macedo Soares, José Roberto de (Acting Foreign Minister of Brazil), exchange of messages with Mr. Grew on declaration of war by Brazil against Japan, 1060.

## MacLeish, Archibald:

- Addresses, statements, etc.:
  - Association of American Colleges, annual meeting, Atlantic City, N.J., 47.
  - Human rights and fundamental freedoms (in Foreign Affairs Outline), 570.
  - Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, 238.
  - United Nations Information Board, 100th session, 21.
  - U.S.-Soviet relations, 950.
- Participant in radio broadcasts, 282, 354, 401, 441, 480, 547, 629.

Macmillan, Harold (Acting President of Allied Commission for Italy), remarks on Allied Commission, 539.

## Mails. See Postal service.

Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks, radio broadcast by State Department, 354.

Maintenance and development of the internal economies of the American republics, draft resolution of Mexico City conference, text, 349.

## Malik, Charles (Lebanese Minister):

- Credentials as Lebanese Minister to U.S., 776.
  - Declaration by United Nations, remarks on signing, 682.
- Maula, P.I.:  
 Message from President Roosevelt to President Osmeña and statement by Mr. Grew on liberation, 193.  
 Opening of U.S. Consulate, 332, 588.

## Mann, Thomas C.:

- Article on elimination of Axis influence in Western Hemisphere, 924.
- Designation in State Department, 466.

## Maps and charts:

- Aliens in Germany (1939), 166.
- Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, chart of proposed Organization, 556.
- Foreign workers in Germany (1944), distribution and nation of origin, 494.

## Formosa, 1018.

## Geopolitics:

- Admiral A. T. Mahan's ideas, German illustration of, 1153.
- Strategic location of Dakar, German illustration of, 1160.
- Hemispheres, 845, 954.
- Jews, confessional, in Germany, distribution (1939), 972.
- Jews in Germany, age pyramids of (1933), 975.
- Liechin Islands, 745.
- Science, effects on history of human relations, three cartograms illustrating, 184, 185, 187.
- State Department organization (May 1, 1945), 898.

March, Frank A., designation in State Department, 588.

March of Time broadcast, remarks by Mr. Rockefeller, 61.

Marine transportation and litigation, agreement with Australia, 621.

Markham, James E. (Allen Property Custodian), letter to President Truman transmitting annual report, 1028.

Marks, Herbert S., designation in State Department, 994.

## Mason, Edward S.:

- Address on world monetary stability, 616.
  - Designation in State Department, 148, 176.
- Massachusetts Library Association, Boston, Mass., address by Mr. Spaulding, 983.
- Matthews, H. Freeman, designation as representative of State Department on Combined Civil Affairs Committee, Combined Chiefs of Staff, 269.
- Maxwell, James A., designation in State Department, 466.
- Mayors, conference of, at Miami, address by Mr. Morgan, 33.
- McClintock, John C., designation in State Department, 111.
- McDermott, Michael J., participant in radio broadcast, 629.
- McGurk, Joseph F., appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Dominican Republic, 269.
- McIntosh, Kenneth, designation in State Department, 880.
- McIvor, Carlisle C., designation in State Department, 466.
- McKenna, James E., designation in State Department, 68.
- Medical commissions, establishment of under prisoners of war convention, attitude of U.S. and German Governments, 809.
- Merchant, Livingston T., designation in State Department, 176.
- Merchant shipping. See Shipping.
- Merkling, Frank J., designation in State Department, 994.
- Merlin, S. D., article on German iron and steel industry in relation to foreign trade, 814.
- Merrell, George R., appointment as U.S. Minister to India, 388.
- Metals Reserve Co., agreement with Aluminum Co. of Canada, statement by Mr. Clayton, 698.
- Metropolitan Opera House, New York, N.Y., address by Mr. Clayton, 439.
- Metropolitan Opera Rally, address by Mr. Grew broadcast on, 223.
- Mexico (see also American republics):  
 Conference at Mexico City. See Inter-American Conference.  
 Cultural leader, visit to U.S., 784.  
 Death of Maximino Avila Camacho, messages from President Roosevelt and Mr. Grew, 252.  
 Economic Cooperation, Mexican-American Commission for:  
 Exchange of letters between President Avila Camacho and President Roosevelt, 155.  
 Text of final report of the Commission, 157.  
 Opium, limitation of production, exchange of notes with U.S., 911.  
 President Avila Camacho, address at Mexico City conference, 273.  
 Soviet Ambassador (Oumansky):  
 Death, statement by Mr. Grew, 141.  
 Transportation of ashes by U.S. Army plane to Moscow, 208.  
 Summer school of National Autonomous University, announcement concerning, 946.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), acceptance, 968.  
 Claims convention, with U.S. (1934), final payment of instalments due under, 43.  
 U.S. Fisheries Mission to Mexico (1942), extension (1944), 66.  
 Water treaty, with U.S. (1944):  
 Article by Mr. Clayton, 71.  
 Statements on ratification: Mr. Acheson, 302; Mr. Grew, 303; Secretary Stettinius, 122, 742; President Truman, 742.  
 Visiting professor from U.S., 197.
- Mexico City. American Community in, remarks by Secretary Stettinius, 333.
- Mexico City conference. See Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace.
- Miami (Fla.), passport agency, opening of, 1070.
- Middle East Supply Center, relaxation of trade controls in Middle East, article by Mr. Winant, 80.



- Milan, Italy, opening of U.S. Consulate, 1032.  
 Military air-transport routes, agreement with Canada, 309.  
 Military training, compulsory, statement by Mr. Grew, 1063.  
 Military-aviation mission, agreement with Guatemala, 300.  
 Military-mission agreement, with—  
   El Salvador (1943), extension, 1030.  
   Guatemala, 978.  
 Milwaukee Joint Committee on Dumbarton Oaks week, address by Mr. Holmes, 727.  
 Mineral resources, U.S. concern with, address by Mr. Taft, 129.  
 Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American Republics: Argentina, request for meeting of, letter from Secretary Stettinius to Pan American Union, 91.  
   Establishment of Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee (1939), 732.  
   Inter-American Juridical Committee, relation to, 194.  
   Inter-American Neutrality Committee, relation to, 194.  
   Third Meeting (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), establishment of Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 3, 925.  
 Minnesota United Nations Committee, Minneapolis, Minn., address by Mr. Taft, 534.  
 Mission for Economic Affairs in London, appointment of Mr. Blaisdell as Chief, letter from President Roosevelt, 440.  
 Missions, U.S.:  
   Economic, Mediterranean area, 62.  
   Fisheries, Mexico, 66.  
   Military:  
     El Salvador, 1030.  
     Guatemala, 978.  
     Military aviation, Guatemala, 309.  
     Naval, Chile, 967.  
 Molasses, sugar, and industrial alcohol, arrangements for purchase in Cuba by FEA and by Commodity Credit Corp., 656.  
 Molotov, Vyacheslav M. (Commissar for Foreign Affairs of U.S.S.R.):  
   Address at San Francisco conference, 796.  
   Attendance at San Francisco conference, 671.  
   Consultation with Polish groups on reorganization of Provisional Polish Government, 1095.  
   Lend-lease, with U.S., exchange of messages with Secretary Stettinius on 3d anniversary, 1162.  
   Message to Cordell Hull from San Francisco conference, 857.  
   Polish question and San Francisco conference, consultations with President Truman, 802.  
 Monetary agreements, U.K. and—  
   Belgium (1944), 66.  
   Sweden, 585.  
 Monetary Fund, International. *See* Bretton Woods proposals.  
 Monnet, Jean (French Commissaire en Mission), correspondence with Mr. Grew on lend-lease agreements, 802.  
 Monopolies, airline, opposition to, statement by Mr. Clayton, 614.  
 Moore, R. Edgar, designation in State Department, 994.  
 Mora, Marcial (Chilean Ambassador), letter and remarks on signing United Nations Declaration, 231, 235.  
 Morgan, Stokely W., addresses on Civil Aviation, 33, 701.  
 Morgenstierne, Wilhelm (Norwegian Ambassador), letter to Secretary Stettinius, requesting invitation of Denmark to San Francisco conference, 1048.  
 Morgenthau, Henry, Jr. (Secretary of the Treasury), joint statements on lend-lease and reverse lend-lease agreements with France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, 363, 765, 876.  
 Morin, Richard W., designation in State Department, 269.  
 Morris, Corlone D., designation in State Department, 427.  
 Moseley, Harold W., designation in State Department, 269.  
 Mulliken, Otis F., designation in State Department, 176.  
 Munro, Dana G.:  
   Article on Mexico City conference resolution concerning Inter-American system, 525.  
   Designation in State Department, 269.  
 Murphy, Robert D., participant in radio broadcast, 480.  
 Murray, Wallace, appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Iran, 315.  
 Mutual aid (*see also* Lend-lease):  
   Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
   Canada and India (1944), 32.  
   France and U.S.S.R. (1944), text, 39.  
   Yugoslavia and U.S.S.R., text, 774.  
   Union of South Africa, exchange of notes establishing cash basis, 769.  
 Myers, Sir Michael, representative of New Zealand on Committee of Jurists, address, 673.  
 Narcotics. *See* Opium.  
 National Association of Manufacturers, Committee on Aviation and Communications, New York, N.Y., address by Mr. Morgan, 701.  
 National Autonomous University of Mexico, announcement concerning summer school, 946.  
 National Jewish Hospital, Denver, Colo., address by Mr. Taft, 942.  
 Nationality. *See* Asylum; Displaced persons; Refugees. Naval-mission agreement, with Chile, 967.  
 Navy Department, relation to Inter-Agency Committee to Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, 448.  
 Netherlands:  
   Ambassador to U.S. (London), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 663.  
   Displaced persons in Germany, 494, 498, 500.  
   Liberation, statement by Mr. Grew, 862.  
   Rubber study group, with U.S. and U.K., 108, 128, 161.  
   Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.  
   Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
   Civil-aviation agreements: air transit, air transport, and interim (1944), acceptance, 108.  
   European inland transport, signature, 910.  
   Lend-lease, joint statement by State and Treasury Departments and FEA, 876.  
   Sanitary convention (1944), accession, 1038.  
   Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), accession, 1038.  
   UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 730.  
   Neutral governments, denial of asylum to war criminals, statements, 190.  
   Neutrality Act of 1937, enforcement of provisions, discussed in article by Mr. Stuart, 1067.  
   Neutrality pact, U.S.S.R. and Japan (1941), denunciation by U.S.S.R., text, 811.  
   New York City schools, staff, address by Mr. Boal, 96.  
   New York Rotary Club, New York, N. Y., address by Mr. Rockefeller, 693.  
   New York Times Hall, New York, N. Y., address by Mr. Grew, 87.  
 New Zealand:  
   Acting Prime Minister (Nash), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 665.  
   Committee of Jurists, address by delegate (Myers), 673.  
   Prime Minister (Fraser), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 663.  
   Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
   Civil-aviation agreements: air transit and interim (1944), acceptance, 874.  
   Sanitary convention (1944), accession, 1038.  
   Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), accession with reservation, 1038.  
   Shipping, continuance of control for United Nations purposes (1944), accession, 1017.  
   UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 577.  
 Newfoundland, agreements:  
   Agricultural workers (1944), signature, 812.  
   Civil aviation, transit agreement (1944), acceptance, 224.

- Nicaragua (*see also* American republics):  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Sanitary convention (1944), 109.  
 Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.  
 UNCTO, list of members of Delegation, 730.  
 U.S. Ambassador (Warren), appointment, 657.  
 Nitrogen, synthetic, operation and disposal of, discussions with Chilean Government, 644.  
 Non-recognition of governments established by force, resolution on by Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense (1943), 9.
- Norway:  
 Anniversary of Nazi attack, statement by President Roosevelt, 684.  
 Displaced persons in Germany, 496, 500.  
 Haakon VII, message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 663.  
 Liberation, statement by Mr. Grew, 904.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil-aviation agreements: air transit and interim (1944), 169.  
 Civil-aviation convention (1944), 169.  
 European inland transport, signature, 910.  
 UNCTO:  
 Delegation, list of members, 609.  
 Invitation to Denmark, letter from Norwegian Delegation to Secretary Stettinius, requesting, 1048.
- Norweb, R. Henry, appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Panama, 209.
- Occidental College Institute of Economics and Finance, Los Angeles, Calif., address by Mr. Young, 376.
- Occupation of Germany:  
 Berlin, 1052.  
 Control machinery, 1054.  
 Intention of four Powers to consult with other United Nations, 1053.  
 Plans for 214, 480.  
 U.S. zone, plans, 900.  
 Zones of occupation, 1052.
- Occupational Determinants, Committee on, appointment of Mr. Holmes as chairman, 269.
- Occupied areas, disappearance of U.S. citizens deported by Germans from, 577.
- Odell, Clarence B., articles:  
 Aliens in Germany, 164.  
 Jews in Germany, 969.
- O'Donnell, Charles, address on peace and economic policy, 580.
- Office of Inter-American Affairs, change in name from Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (Ex. Or. 9532), 585.
- Office of Production Management, aluminum shortage, 698.
- Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, creation of Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, 448.
- Oil, *See* Petroleum.
- Okinawa, victory on, message from Prime Minister Churchill to President Truman, 1151.
- Okinawa and the Liuchius, article by Mr. Amos, 743.
- Oliver, Covey T., designation in State Department, 176, 466.
- Opium, limitation of production of, exchange of notes between U.S. and —  
 China, 1031.  
 Mexico, 911.
- Orchard, John E., designation in State Department, 176.
- Organization, international. *See* United Nations.
- Otterman, Harvey, address on international regulation of radio, 256.
- Oumansky, Constantine (Soviet Ambassador to Mexico), and Mrs. Oumansky:  
 Death, statement by Mr. Grew, 141.  
 Transportation of ashes by U.S. Army plane to Moscow, 208.
- Overseas Writers dinner, address by Mr. Grew, 327.
- Padilla, Ezequiel (president of Mexico City conference):  
 Message from President Roosevelt, 273.  
 Tribute to, by Secretary Stettinius, 338.
- Palmer, Ely E., appointment as U.S. Minister to Afghanistan, 209, 588.
- Pan American Day, remarks by Secretary Stettinius, 669.
- Pan American Society of Massachusetts and Northern New England, Boston, Mass., address by Mr. Rockefeller, 675.
- Pan American Union:  
 Argentine declaration of war against Japan and Germany, resolution of Governing Board and correspondence, 611.  
 Publication of report of Director General on Mexico City conference, 1035.  
 Remarks by Mr. Rockefeller on accepting chairmanship of Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, 92.  
 Reorganization of, by resolution of Mexico City conference, 341, 528, 552, 695.  
 Resolutions by Governing Board:  
 Argentine declaration of war against Japan and Germany, 611.  
 Death of President Roosevelt, and response by President Truman, 608, 693.
- Panama (*see also* American republics):  
 Ambassador to U.S. (Lewis), credentials, 516.  
 Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), signature, 942.  
 Cultural leader, visit to U.S., 656.  
 UNCTO, list of members of Delegation, 731.  
 U.S. Ambassador (Norweb), appointment, 209.
- Paraguay (*see also* American republics):  
 Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 231.  
 Visiting professor from U.S. 314.
- Parks, Marion, article on Mexico City conference, 732.
- Passport agency, at Miami, Fla., opening, 1070.
- Passport control, article by Mr. Stuart, 1066.
- Passport Division, activities described in article by Mr. Stuart, 1066.
- Passports:  
 Bermuda, travel to, 913.  
 Non-military traffic on foreign air routes, 30.
- Pauley, Edwin W., appointment as President's Personal Representative on Reparations Commission, 807.
- Pawley, William D., appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Peru, 1066.
- Peace, economic basis for, address by Secretary Stettinius, 593.
- Peace and economic policy, address by Mr. O'Donnell, 580.
- Peace and security organization, international. *See* Dumbarton Oaks Proposals; United Nations.
- Pearson, L. B., credentials as Canadian Ambassador to U.S., 174.
- Pell, Herbert C., discontinuance of services on United Nations War Crimes Commission, 123.
- Permanent Court of International Justice:  
 International Court of Justice, relation to, 672.  
 President (Guerrero), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 667.
- Permanent Joint Board on Defense, Canada-U.S., disposition of U.S. defense facilities in Canada, 162.
- Peru (*see also* American republics):  
 Chargé d'Affaires, letter and remarks on United Nations Declaration, 233, 236.  
 Closing of U.S. Vice Consulate at Iquitos, 1089.  
 Cordell Hull decorated by, 1151.  
 Cultural leader, visit to U.S., 1059.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), approval, 968.  
 Cooperative fellowship program with U.S., second (1944-1945), 218.  
 Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 231.  
 Falsification of currency, public-debt bonds, and credit documents, with Chile (1935), ratification, 874.  
 Sanitary convention (1944), 109.  
 Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.

- Peru—Continued.  
Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued.  
Transmission of judicial writs, with Chile (1935), ratification, 874.  
UNCIO, acceptance of invitation to, 608.  
U.S. Ambassador (Pawley), appointment, 1096.
- Petroleum:  
Anglo-American oil agreement (1944), withdrawal from Senate, 63.  
Exchange for Argentine vegetable oils, agreement with Argentina, 1116.  
Petroleum Administrator for War, representation, 440.  
Pelps, Dudley M., designation in State Department, 466.
- Philippines:  
Funds, transmission to U.S. citizens in, 408, 968.  
Independence, under S.J. Res. 93, statement by President Truman, 867.  
Liberation of Manila, message from President Roosevelt to President Osmeña, and statement by Mr. Grew, 193.  
Opening of U.S. Consulate at Manila, 332, 588.  
President (Osmeña), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 664.  
Repatriation of U.S. citizens from, 427, 867.  
UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 600.  
Welfare of liberated internees in, 182.
- Phillips, William:  
Address at ceremony in honor of Regent of Iraq (Abdul Ilah), 1036.  
Appointment as Special Assistant to Secretary of State, 840.
- PICAO. *See* Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization.
- Pierson, Harry H., article on English as a foreign language, 453.
- Plastiras, Nicolas, Prime Minister of Greece, exchange of messages with President Roosevelt on restoration of liberties to Greece, 91.
- Plaza, Galo (Ecuadoran Ambassador), letter and remarks on signing United Nations Declaration, 231, 235.
- Plitt, Edwin A., statement before House committee on prisoners of war and Red Cross conventions, 809.
- Poland:  
Arrest of democratic leaders by U.S.S.R., statement by Secretary Stettinius, 850.  
Consultations of Mr. Molotov and President Truman preceding San Francisco conference, 802.  
Crimea declaration on Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, 215.  
Displaced persons in Germany, 496, 497, 499.  
Minister for Foreign Affairs (Tarnowski), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 667.  
Postal service, restoration, 1078.  
Provisional government, invitation to representatives of, to consult with Allied Representatives, 1095.  
Soviet request to invite Warsaw provisional government to San Francisco conference, statement by State Department, 725.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
Civil-aviation agreements: air transit and interim (1944), acceptance, 644.  
Civil-aviation convention (1944), acceptance, 644.  
Sanitary convention (1944), 10, 109.  
Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 10, 109.  
UNRRA (1943), ratification, 426.
- Polish Provisional Government of National Unity:  
Crimea declaration on, 215.
- Political Defense, Emergency Advisory Committee for, 3, 53, 304, 925.
- Poore, Charles G., designation in State Department, 964.
- Pope Pius XII, message to President Truman on death of President Roosevelt, 664.
- Populations, displaced, in Europe, article by Mrs. Carey, 491.
- Portugal:  
Asylum to war criminals, attitude, 190.  
Civil aviation, interim agreement (1944), acceptance, 1056.  
Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078, 1114.  
U.S. Ambassador (Baruch), appointment, 209.  
Postal service, international, during wartime, article by Miss Kelly, 868.  
Postal service to Europe, restoration, 426, 546, 1078.  
Post-War Economic and Social Problems, Commission on, 734.  
Post-war plans (*see also* Bretton Woods Proposals; Conferences; Dumbarton Oaks Proposals):  
Addresses by Mr. Grew, 87, 223, 431.  
Defense facilities in Canada, agreement with Canada on disposition of (1944), text, 162.  
Economic basis for peace, address by Secretary Stettinius, 593.  
Economic policy for peace, addresses and statements by Mr. Acheson, 189, 302, 352, 409, 469, 507, 686, 738.  
Economic proposals, address by Mr. Young, 376.  
Foreign economic policy, addresses and statements by Mr. Taft, 129, 382, 534, 578, 826, 905, 942, 955, 964, 1079, 1115.  
Inter-American cooperation, address by Mr. Rockefeller, 693.  
International understanding, address by Mr. MacLeish, 47.  
Liberty and equality, economic, address by Mr. Culbertson, 299.  
Military training, compulsory, statement by Mr. Grew, 1063.  
Monetary stability, address by Mr. Mason, 616.  
Nazi, for future wars, discovery of, 537.  
Radio, international regulation of, address by Mr. Otterman, 256.  
Telecommunications, address by Mr. de Wolf, 250.  
Trade, removal of barriers to, addresses and statements by Mr. Clayton, 334, 439, 476, 613, 614, 620, 689, 698, 760, 933, 979.  
Trade-agreements program in system of world cooperation, address by Mr. Haley, 645.
- Potomac Cooperative Federation, Washington, address by Mr. Taft, 368.
- Powers of attorney, provision for exportation to blocked countries, 657.
- Prague, Czechoslovakia, opening of U.S. Embassy, 1089, 1096.
- Praba. *See* Prague.
- Presbyterian Social Union, Philadelphia, Pa., address by Mr. Taft, 382.
- President, U.S. *See* Roosevelt; Truman.
- Presidential succession, message from President Truman to Congress, 1150.
- Press, radio, and motion pictures, proposed procedure at San Francisco conference, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 435.
- Prisoners of war and civilian internees (*see also* Displaced persons):  
Exchange, U.S. and Germany, via "Gripsholm", 44, 196, 252.  
Exchange, U.S. and Japan, proposed, 132.  
Geneva conventions, observance by U.S. and Germany, statement before House committee by Mr. Plitt, 869.  
German offer to leave prisoners of war in camps for liberation by Allied armies, 810, 866.  
Joint statement by Secretary Stettinius and Secretary of War on hardships suffered by prisoners in Germany, 683.  
Philippines, evacuees from, arrival in U.S., 867.  
Reciprocal visits to internee camps, proposal to U.S. by Japan, 191.  
Relief supplies for Allied nationals in Far East, 32, 188.  
Relocation of camps in Germany, 237, 314, 683.

## Prisoners of war and civilian Internees—Continued.

- Sick and wounded, notification by Germany concerning exchange of, 737.
- Soviet allegations of delay in repatriation of, U.S. statement, 864.
- Warning by U.S., U.K., and U.S.S.R. to Germany against maltreatment, 811.
- Welfare of liberated internees in the Philippines, 182.
- Prisoners of War and Displaced Persons Division in U.S. zone in occupied Germany, tasks, 901.
- Prisoners of war convention (1929):
  - Argentina, adherence, 878.
  - Observance by U.S. and Germany, statement before House Committee by Mr. Plitt, 809.
- Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals. *See* Blocked Nationals.
- Proclamations:
  - Death of President Roosevelt, 661.
  - Surrender of Germany, 886.
- Property. *See* Powers of attorney.
- Property, Allen, report of Custodian of, 1028.
- Prosperity—how can we promote it (Foreign Affairs Outline no. 2), 562.
- Protecting power, relations of State Department with, respecting prisoners of war, 810.
- Protocol, Division of, transfer of certain functions from Division of Central Services to (D.O. 1321), 994.
- Provisional French Government. *See* France.
- Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization:
  - Appointment of Mr. Warner as U.S. Delegate, 1057.
  - Establishment, 1056.
  - Membership, 1056.
- Publications:
  - Importation into Germany, statement by President Truman, 926.
- Lists:
  - Agriculture in the Americas, 995.
  - Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, 1172.
  - Congress, 44, 110, 209, 269, 316, 388, 428, 466, 518, 588, 657, 716, 785, 840, 881, 914, 946, 995, 1039, 1090.
  - Department of State, 44, 111, 210, 269, 316, 388, 427, 466, 519, 588, 657, 716, 771, 840, 880, 914, 965, 1039, 1089, 1170.
  - Foreign Agriculture, 1172.
  - Foreign Commerce Weekly, 44, 111, 316, 388, 521, 588, 657, 716, 881, 840, 965, 1039, 1089.
  - United Nations, official publications dealing with, 561.
  - Pan American Union, report of Director General of, on Mexico City conference, 1035.
- Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals. *See* Blocked Nationals.
- State Department:
  - Address by Dr. Spaulding, 983.
  - Bulletin, growth of, 985.
  - Foreign Affairs Outlines, 558.
  - Foreign Relations of the United States (1930), 330.
  - Territorial Papers of the United States, 1109.
- Radio. *See* Telecommunications.
- Radio broadcasts, State Department:
  - "Building the Peace," 82, 237, 282, 354, 401, 441, 480, 547, 629.
  - Mr. Clayton, 439, 476, 620.
  - Mr. Grew, 31, 223, 835, 888, 1007.
  - Mr. MacLeish, 950.
  - Mr. Rockefeller, 61.
  - Secretary Stettinius, 593, 605, 1007.
- Radio Conference, Third Inter-American, preparations for, 954.
- Radio Engineers, Institute of, address by Mr. de Wolf, 133.
- Radius, Walter A., designation in State Department, 839.
- Raw materials, free access of all nations to, U.S. policy, 979.
- "Reader's Digest," article by Secretary Stettinius reprinted from, 115.
- Red Army, 27th anniversary, message from President Roosevelt to Marshal Stalin, 804.

## Red Cross, International:

- Activities under prisoners of war convention and Red Cross convention, statement by Mr. Plitt, 809.
- Japanese attitude toward visits to internment camps, 191.
- Red Cross convention (1929), adherence by Argentina, 878.
- Refugees (*see also* Displaced persons):
  - Convention relating to international status of (1933), cancellation (1944) of denunciation (1942) by France, 110.
  - Intergovernmental Committee on, appointment of Mr. Harrison as U.S. representative, 452.
- Regional arrangements (*see also* Inter-American system):
  - Charter of United Nations, relation to, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 930, 1009.
  - Charter text, 1126.
  - Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, provisions in, 145.
  - Regional Committee, of San Francisco conference, proposals submitted to, 949.
  - U.S. proposal at San Francisco conference, text, 854.
- Reinstein, Jacques J., designation in State Department, 466.
- Relief (*see also* Prisoners of war; United States citizens):
  - "Awa Maru," Japanese relief ship, 188, 692, 1093.
  - Europe, civilian-supply problems in, article by Mr. Stillwell, 917.
  - Far East, supplies for Allied Nationals interned in, 32, 188.
  - Food-supply commitments abroad, letter from President Truman to Mrs. Morrow, 926.
- Italy:
  - Bread-rationing, 29.
  - Supplies for, statement by Secretary Stettinius on inquiries relating to U.K. and U.S. policies, 29.
  - UNRRA agreement for, 543.
  - Liberated internees in the Philippines, 182.
  - Shipping for transport of civilian-relief supplies, statement by Mr. Grew, 219.
- Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, United Nations. *See* UNRRA.
- Remer, Carl F., designation in State Department, 466.
- Reparations Commission:
  - List of members of staff, 931.
  - Lubin, Isador, appointment on, 434, 807.
  - Pauley, Edwin W., appointment as President's Personal Representative, 807.
  - Problems facing settlement of reparations, statement by President Truman, 931.
  - Repatriation of U.S. citizens, 44, 196, 252, 427, 1035.
- Representation of foreign interests by U.S.:
  - Foreign Service Regulations, revision of, 837.
  - Special War Problems Division, function of, 148.
- Representation of interests:
  - German property in Washington, transfer by Swiss Minister to U.S. as trustee, 900, 954.
  - Italian, in U.S., relinquishment by Switzerland, 361.
  - Japanese, in U.S., relinquishment by Spain, 649.
- Research and Publication, Division of (*see also* Publications), 983.
- Riggs, Thomas, former Governor of Alaska, death, statement by Mr. Grew, 107.
- Rights. *See* Human rights.
- Rights and duties of states in the event of civil strife, convention on (1928), ratification by Honduras, 874.
- Rios, Juan Antonio (President of Chile), visit to U.S., statement by President Truman, 1086.
- Rockefeller, Nelson A.:
  - Addresses, statements, etc.:
  - Acceptance of chairmanship of Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, 92.
  - Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, 61, 693.

- Rockefeller, Nelson A.—Continued.  
Addresses—Continued.  
Inter-American system, relation to world organization, 675.  
Trade Agreements Act, renewal, 757.  
Designation as member of Board of Foreign Service Personnel and Board of Examiners of the Foreign Service, 427.  
Participant in radio broadcast, 547.  
Rockwell, Leo L., visiting professor to Chile, 353.  
Rome, opening of U.S. Embassy as combined office, 148.  
Roosevelt, Franklin D.:  
Addresses, statements, etc.:  
Anniversaries:  
Nazi attack on Denmark and Norway, 684.  
Pan American Day, read by Secretary Stettinius, 670.  
Combined Boards, decision to maintain, 119, 120.  
Diplomatic representatives, credentials, 41, 42, 43, 174, 421, 422, 510, 517.  
Turkey, severance of relations with Japan, 20.  
Correspondence:  
Anniversaries:  
Red Army (27th), 304.  
Yugoslavia, 4th anniversary of new government, 577.  
President Avila Camacho, of Mexico, on Mexican-American Commission for Economic Affairs, 155.  
Mr. Blaisdell, appointment as Chief of Mission for Economic Affairs, London, 440.  
Czechoslovakia, tribute to President Beneš, 599.  
Deaths:  
Gen. Avila Camacho of Mexico, 252.  
South African Minister to U.S. (Gie), 674.  
Greece, restoration of liberties to, exchange of messages with Prime Minister of Greece (Plastiras), 91.  
Ibn Saud, on declaration of war by Saudi Arabia against Axis, 375.  
Mexican Foreign Minister (Padilla), president of Mexico City conference, 273.  
President Osmeña on liberation of Manila, 193.  
Senators, new, support of United Nations, 121.  
Secretary Stettinius, on adherence by France to United Nations Declaration, 17.  
Crimea conference, joint report on, 213.  
Death:  
Messages of condolence, 662.  
Orders for official mourning, 668.  
Proclamation by President Truman, 661.  
Resolution by Pan American Union, 668.  
Statement by Cordell Hull, 662.  
Statement by Secretary Stettinius, 659.  
Executive orders. *See* Executive orders.  
Messages to Congress:  
Anglo-American oil agreement, withdrawal from Senate, 63.  
Annual message, 22.  
Bretton Woods proposals for International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 220.  
Convention on International Civil Aviation, letter of transmittal, 437.  
Crimea Conference, report on, 321.  
Trade Agreements Act, renewal, 531.  
United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture, transmittal of first report, 536.  
UNRRA, 2d quarterly report, text of letter of transmittal, 684.  
Near East, report on trip to, 289.  
Visit of Prime Minister (King) of Canada, 434.  
Rosenman, Samuel L., summary of report on civilian supplies for liberated areas of northwest Europe, 860.  
Rowe, L. S. (Director General of Pan American Union), publication of report on Mexico City conference, 1035.
- Rubber:  
Cooperative investigations, agreement with Haiti, 199.  
Study group, U.S., U.K., and Netherlands, meeting, 108, 128, 161.  
Rubin, Seymour J., designation in State Department, 466.  
Rumania:  
Displaced persons in Germany, 496.  
Inquiries on U.S. citizens in, 697.  
Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 546, 1078.  
Russell, Francis H., designation in State Department, 260.  
Ryukus. *See* Liuchiu Islands.
- Safe haven for Axis property and loot, attitude of Mexico City conference, 926.  
Safe-conduct. *See* "Awa Maru".  
Salut Patrick's Day, address by Mr. Grew, 431.  
San Francisco, Calif., arrangements with Mayor (Lapham) regarding San Francisco conference, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 435.  
San Francisco conference. *See* United Nations Conference on International Organization.  
Sandifer, Durward V., address on regional aspects of Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 145.  
Sanitary convention concerning maritime travel (1926), amendment (1944):  
Accessions, 941, 1038.  
British territories, application to, 308.  
Effective date, 109.  
Ratification by U. S., 1038.  
Signatory countries, 10, 169.  
Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1933), amendment (1944):  
Accessions, 941, 1038.  
British territories, application to, 308.  
Effective date, 109.  
Ratification by U.S., 1038.  
Signatory countries, 10, 169.  
Sanitation program, draft resolution of Mexico City conference, text, 345.  
Saudi Arabia:  
Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 682.  
Declaration of war against Germany and Japan:  
Exchange of messages between Foreign Minister Amir Faisal and Mr. Grew, 408.  
Exchange of messages between King Ibn Saud and President Roosevelt, 375.  
King Ibn Saud, meeting with President Roosevelt, 290.  
UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 577, 731.  
Savage, Carlton, remarks on concept of United Nations, 504.  
Savage, John L., return from China, 461.  
Schoenfeld, H. F. Arthur:  
Appointment as U.S. Representative in Hungary, 127.  
Arrival in Budapest, 968.  
Schoenfelder, Otto W., designation in State Department, 387.  
Schurz, William L., designation in State Department, 111.  
Seamen, passports, regulations respecting, 988, 1068.  
Secretary of State (*see also* Stettinius, Edward R., Jr.):  
Authorization to issue regulations and orders for the Foreign Service (Ex. Or. 9514 and Ex. Or. 9521 amending Ex. Or. 9452), 210, 388.  
Authorization to prescribe Foreign Service Regulations conveyed to Assistant Secretaries of State, (D. O. 1310), 428.  
Security, economic collective, place of Bretton Woods in, address by Mr. Acheson, 469.  
Security and Inter-American relations, address by Mr. Boal, 708.  
Security Council of United Nations:  
Charter text, 1123.  
Powers, discussion at San Francisco conference, 1009.  
Voting procedure:  
Memorandum and statement from committees, 1043, 1044.

- Security Council—Continued.  
 Voting procedure—Continued.  
 Questionnaire on exercise of veto, 1044.  
 Statements:  
 Delegations of four sponsoring Governments, 1047.  
 Mr. Grew, 479.  
 Secretary Stettinius, 1010, 1043.  
 Text proposed by Crimea Conference, 394.  
 Security measures in State Department, investigation by FBI, 1088.  
 Security organization. *See* United Nations Conference on International Organization; Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.  
 Self-defense, right of, proposal for inclusion in Charter, 950.  
 Senate. *See* Congress, U.S.  
 Serbs. *See* Yugoslavia.  
 Serrato, José (Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs), letter on adherence by Uruguay to United Nations Declaration, 294.  
 Service, John S., arrest for unauthorized use of secret information, 1088.  
 SHAEF, operations of, regarding displaced persons in Germany, 1014.  
 Shen-yen Chen, invitation to study in U.S., 385.  
 Shipley, Ruth B., work as Chief of Passport Division discussed in article by Mr. Stuart, 1070.  
 Shipping:  
 Cargo availability for Argentina, amendment of Federal Regulations, 713.  
 French ships, use of to carry cargo to France, 90.  
 Release of to UNRRA for transport of relief supplies, statement by Mr. Grew, 219.  
 Resumption of exports from France to U.S. through private channels, 691.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Continuation of control for United Nations purposes (1944), accessions: Australia, 628; France, 628; India, 858; New Zealand, 1017; Union of South Africa, 1017.  
 Lend-lease agreement with France, ocean-going merchant vessels not included, 500.  
 Ships:  
 Awa Maru, 188, 692, 1033.  
 Gripsholm, 44, 196, 252, 1035.  
 Hosi Maru, 188.  
 Silva Peña, Eugenio, credentials as Guatemalan Ambassador to U.S., 42.  
 Silvercrunys, Robert, Baron:  
 Credentials as Belgian Ambassador to U.S., 421.  
 Exchanges of letters with Secretary Stettinius on lend-lease and reverse lend-lease between U.S. and Belgium, 763, 767.  
 Simering, Chauncey L., designation in State Department, 716.  
 Simić, Stanoje, credentials as Yugoslavian Ambassador to U.S., 875.  
 Small business:  
 Foreign trade, relation to, address by Mr. Clayton, 700.  
 Problems of, statement by Mr. Clayton, 698.  
 Smith, H. Gerald, article on economic aspects of Mexico City conference, 624.  
 Smith, Harold D. (Director of Bureau of the Budget), letter to President Truman on lend-lease appropriation estimate, 1062.  
 Smith, Kenneth E., appointment as visiting professor to Honduras, 1168.  
 Smith, Robert S., visiting professor to Costa Rica, 938.  
 Social and Economic Problems, Post-War Commission on, 734.  
 Social Principles of America, Declaration of, by Mexico City conference, discussed by Miss Parks, 732.  
 Social progress—how can we work for it (Foreign Affairs Outline no. 3), 566.  
 Social security and social welfare, draft resolutions of Mexico City conference, texts, 345, 346.  
 Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, address by Mr. Grew, 431.  
 Sofianopoulos, John, statement on Security Council, 1043.  
 Soong, T. V., address at San Francisco conference, 795.  
 South America. *See* American republics and the individual countries.  
 Southeast Asian Affairs, Division of, change in name from Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs (D.O. 1323), 1089.  
 Southwest Pacific Affairs, Division of. *See* Southeast Asian Affairs, Division of.  
 Southwest Radio Forum, Tulsa, Okla., address by Mr. Cordier, 253.  
 Sovereign equality of peace-loving nations, principle of, 600.  
 Soviet Union. *See* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.  
 Spain:  
 Ambassador to U.S. (Cárdenas), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 696.  
 Asylum to war criminals, attitude, 190.  
 Representation of Japanese interests in U.S., relinquishment, exchange of notes between State Department and Spanish Embassy, 649.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078, 1114.  
 Spaulding, E. Wilder, address on State Department publications, 983.  
 Special Economic Mission to North Africa and the Middle East, 62, 80, 299.  
 Special Political Affairs, Office of, 316, 657.  
 Spiegel, Harold S., designation in State Department, 466.  
 Stalin, Joseph V.:  
 Crimea Conference, joint report on, 213.  
 Joint statement with President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill, warning Germany against maltreatment of prisoners of war, 811.  
 Meeting with President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill, statement by President Truman, 1095.  
 Message from President Truman on surrender of Germany, 887.  
 Stanley, Oliver, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, visit to Washington, 107.  
 Stanton, Edwin P., designation in State Department, 68.  
 State Department (*see also* Administrative instruction; Departmental orders; Executive orders; Radio broadcasts):  
 Arrest of employee and Foreign Service officer, 1088.  
 Chart of organization (May 1, 1945), 898.  
 Foreign Affairs Outlines on "Building the Peace", 558.  
 French North and West Africa, joint announcement with French Supply Council, Commerce Department, and FEA on resumption of private export trade, 832.  
 Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, relation to, 448.  
 International Information Division, activities discussed by Miss Wright, 1069.  
 Joint statement with British Embassy on maintenance of economies of liberated countries, 95.  
 Joint statement with British Embassy on reappraisal of food supply, 546.  
 Publications. *See* Publications.  
 Work of, discussed in radio broadcast, 629.  
 Statistical studies:  
 Aliens in Germany, 1939, article by Mr. Odell and Mr. Billigmeier, 164.  
 Displaced populations in Europe in 1944 with particular reference to Germany, article by Mrs. Carey, 491.  
 Jews in Germany, 1933-39, article by Mr. Odell and Mr. Billigmeier, 969.  
 Statute of the International Court of Justice:  
 Charter text, 1134.  
 Drafting of, by Committee of Jurists, 533, 643, 674, 759.  
 Steintorf, Paul P., appointment as Consul General at Manila, 332.  
 Stenger, Jerome J., designation in State Department, 466.

- Stettinius, Edward R., Jr.:  
 Addresses, statements, etc.:  
 Bloom, Sol, tribute to, 622.  
 Charter, proposed provisions for, 605, 928.  
 Committee of Jurists, 672.  
 Conferences in Crimea and at Mexico City, 393, 1008.  
 Cuba, visit to, 397.  
 Death of President Roosevelt, 659.  
 Declaration by United Nations, adherence by: France,  
 18; Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria, 681.  
 Degree conferred by University of California, 859.  
 Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, amendments offered at  
 San Francisco conference, 855.  
 Economic basis for lasting peace, 593.  
 Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Na-  
 tions, 685.  
 Foreign Affairs Outlines, 558.  
 General Assembly, size of representation by U. S. in,  
 600, 1007.  
 Human rights, proposals at San Francisco conference,  
 928, 1011.  
 Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and  
 Peace, 277, 333, 398.  
 Italian supply program, U.K. and U.S. policies, 29.  
 Lend-lease, current problems, 940.  
 Lend-lease, joint statements with Treasury Depart-  
 ment and FEA on agreements with France and  
 Belgium, 363, 765.  
 Liberia, visit to, 219.  
 Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia, sixth anniversary,  
 438.  
 Pan American Day, 669.  
 Polish question, 850, 1008.  
 Press, radio, and motion pictures, proposed procedure  
 at United Nations Conference, 435.  
 Regional arrangements, proposal at San Francisco  
 conference, 930, 949, 1009.  
 Reparations Commission, appointment of Mr. Lubin as  
 U.S. member, 434.  
 San Francisco, mayor, arrangements for conference,  
 435.  
 Security Council, voting procedure, 395, 396, 1010, 1043  
 Surrender of Germany, 857.  
 Trade Agreements Act, renewal, 748.  
 Trusteeship system, 600, 857, 929, 1010.  
 Turkey, severance of relations with Japan, 20.  
 UNIO, 435, 600, 605, 608, 669, 671, 724, 791, 792,  
 949, 1007, 1144.  
 Unconditional-surrender principle, reply to Senator  
 Wheeler's attack upon, 43.  
 U.S. prisoners of war in Germany, joint statement  
 with Secretary of War, 683.  
 U.S. representation in General Assembly of proposed  
 Organization, 600.  
 Water treaty, U.S. and Mexico, 122, 742.  
 Article on Dumbarton Oaks peace plan, 115.  
 Correspondence:  
 Belgian Ambassador (Silvercrucys), on lend-lease  
 agreements, 764, 768.  
 Death of South African Minister to U.S. (Gie), mes-  
 sage to Field Marshal Smuts, 674.  
 French Ambassador (Bonnet), on adherence by  
 France to United Nations Declaration, 17.  
 Mr. Hull, concerning San Francisco conference, 726,  
 857.  
 Lend-lease with France, joint letter on shipping, to  
 chairman of House committee, 500.  
 Molotov, on third anniversary of lend-lease agree-  
 ment with U.S.S.R., 1162.  
 Pan American Union, concerning request of Argen-  
 tina for meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs  
 of the American Republics, 91.  
 South African Chargé (Jordaen) on mutual-aid  
 agreement, 769.  
 Designation as U.S. Delegate to Mexico City confer-  
 ence, 61.
- Stettinius, Edward R., Jr.—Continued.  
 Liberia, visit to, 219, 291.  
 Participant in radio broadcast, 282.  
 U.S.S.R., visit to, 291.  
 Stevenson, Adlai E., designation in State Department,  
 316, 588.  
 Stillwell, James A., article on civilian-supply problems in  
 Europe, 917.  
 Stimson, Henry L. (Secretary of War), joint statement  
 with Secretary Stettinius on U.S. prisoners of war in  
 Germany, 683.  
 Stinebower, Leroy D.:  
 Article on United Nations Food and Agriculture Or-  
 ganization, 225.  
 Designation in State Department, 176.  
 Stocking, Hobart E., visiting professor to Costa Rica, 208.  
 Strategic materials (*see also* Combined boards; Cotton;  
 Nitrogen; Petroleum; Rubber), 129.  
 Stuart, Graham H., article on passport control, 1066.  
 Sturgeon, Leo D., designation in State Department, 387.  
 Subasic, Ivan (Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia), letter  
 to U.S. Ambassador concluding agreement with U.S.  
 and U.K. on military administration of Venezia  
 Giulia, 1096.  
 Subversive activities:  
 Efforts of Passport Division to uncover, 1066.  
 Nazi post-war plans, 537.  
 Resolution of Mexico City conference concerning, text,  
 344.  
 Sugar, industrial alcohol, and molasses, arrangements  
 for purchase in Cuba by Community Credit Corp. and  
 by FEA, 656.  
 Sugar, regulation of production and marketing, interna-  
 tional agreement (1937), proclamation by President  
 Truman, 836.  
 Supplies, civilian, for liberated areas of northwest Europe,  
 summary of report of Mr. Rosenman, 860.  
 Supply problems in Europe, article by Mr. Stillwell, 917.  
 Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force. *See*  
 SHAEF.  
 Surrender. *See* Germany; Italy.  
 Survey of U.S. Embassies and Consulates, list of members  
 of groups and itineraries, 458.  
 Sweden:  
 Asylum to war criminals, attitude, 190.  
 Crown Prince and Crown Princess, message of condo-  
 lence on death of U.S. President, 663.  
 Monetary agreement, with U.K., 585.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration,  
 1078.  
 Switzerland:  
 Asylum to war criminals, attitude, 190.  
 Bombings of Swiss towns, statement by Mr. Grew, 309.  
 Clearing arrangement with France, 601.  
 Economic negotiations, participation in by Mr. Currie,  
 head of U.S. Delegation, 128, 601.  
 Financial agreement, with Chile (1944), ratification, 314.  
 Foodstuffs and raw materials, U.S.-U.K.-French ar-  
 rangement to permit import, 601.  
 Negotiations with U.S., U.K., and France on German  
 assets, 128, 601.  
 Protecting power for U.S. under prisoners of war con-  
 vention, 810.  
 Representation of German interests in U.S., transfer of  
 German property in Washington to U.S. as trustee,  
 900, 954.  
 Representation of Italian interests in U.S., relinquish-  
 ment, 361.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration,  
 1078, 1114.  
 Syria:  
 Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 575,  
 681.  
 Hostilities in, note from U.S. Government to Provisional  
 French Government, 1013.  
 Invitation to San Francisco conference, 576.  
 Minister to U.S. (Al-Koudsi), credentials, 517.

- Taft, Charles P.:  
Addresses, and statements before Congress:  
Bretton Woods, 578, 826.  
Economic and Social Council, 1115.  
Free enterprise, a basis for peace, 942.  
Mineral resources, concern of U.S. with, 129.  
Trade Agreements Act, renewal, 534, 826, 905, 955, 964, 1073.  
UNRRA and its relation to other agencies, 368.  
World organization and economic phases, 382.  
Designation in State Department, 176, 716.  
Participant in radio broadcast, 441.
- Taiwan. *See* Formosa.
- Takla, Selim, Lebanese Foreign Minister, death, statement by Mr. Grew, 51.
- Tamiment Social and Economic Institute, Camp Tamiment, Pa., address by Mr. Williams, 1163.
- Tangier International Zone, appointment of U.S. Diplomatic Agent (Alling), 1089.
- Tarchiani, Alberto, credentials as Italian Ambassador to U.S., 422.
- Taxation. *See* Double taxation.
- Teacher education, fellowships in, for teachers from other American republics, change in U.S. regulations regarding, 836.
- Telecommunications:  
Inter-American agreement concerning radiocommunications (Santiago revision 1940), ratification by Venezuela (1944), 147.  
Inter-American arrangement concerning radiocommunications (1937). *See* Inter-American agreement concerning (Santiago revision 1940).
- International regulations, addresses:  
Mr. de Wolf, 133, 250.  
Mr. Otterman, 256.  
London meeting, 386, 500.
- Radio Conference, Third Inter-American, preparations for, 954.
- Radiotelegraph circuit between U.S. and Ethiopia, opening, 939, 982.
- Radiotelephone services with—  
Ecuador, opening, 1065.  
U.K., relaxation of wartime restrictions, 1149.
- Restoration of facilities with: Bulgaria, 546; Europe, 426, 1078, 1114; Greece, 426; Italy, 871; Rumania, 546.
- South American radio agreement (1940), ratification by Venezuela (1944), 147.
- U.S. facilities, statement by Mr. Clayton before Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 602.
- Telegraph. *See* Telecommunications.
- Tenney, E. Paul, designation in State Department, 1116.
- "Territorial Papers of the United States", article on publication of by the State Department, 1109.
- Territorial questions in Europe, equitable solution, statement by Mr. Grew, 902.
- Territorial Studies, Division of, abolition (D.O. 1309), 387.
- Tito-Subasic agreement, statement by Mr. Grew on proposed united government of Yugoslavia, 153.
- Tolley, Howard R., article on United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, 225.
- Town Meeting of the Air, Washington, remarks by Mr. Grew, 835.
- Trade, international (*see also* Blocked Nationals; Cartels; Lend-lease; Trade agreements; Treaties):  
Anglo-American cooperation for expansion of, remarks by Mr. Fetter, 501.  
Arbitration, commercial, in the treaties and agreements of the U.S.S.R., article by Mr. Hilton, 800.  
Barriers, removal, addresses and statements by Mr. Clayton, 334, 439, 476, 613, 614, 620, 689, 698, 700, 933, 979.  
Cargo availability for Argentina, amendment of Federal regulations, 713.  
Commodity agreements, address by Mr. Haley, 638.  
Controls, relaxation of in Middle East, article by Mr. Winant, 80.
- Trade, international—Continued.  
Economic basis for peace, address by Secretary Stettinius, 593.  
Employment in U.S., relation to, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 597.  
France, license relating to U.S. trade with, issued by Treasury Department, 813.  
France, resumption of, plans for, 90, 691.  
Free access of all nations to, U.S. policy, 979.  
French North and West Africa, resumption of export trade, 832.  
German iron and steel industry in relation to, article by Mr. Merlin, 814.  
International Cotton Advisory Committee, 52, 301, 475, 545, 772.  
Policies under U.S. law, address by Mr. Bunn, 142.  
Policy, economic, addresses and statements by Mr. Taft, 123, 382, 534, 578, 826, 905, 942, 955, 964, 1079, 1115.  
Policy for peace, addresses and statements by Mr. Acheson, 189, 302, 352, 409, 469, 507, 686, 738.  
Radio broadcast, 401.  
Rubber Study Group, 108, 128, 161.  
Small business, relation to, statement by Mr. Clayton, 698, 760.
- Trade Agreements Act, renewal:  
Action by Congress, statements by Mr. Grew, 955, 1080, 1149.  
Addresses: Mr. Acheson, 509; Mr. Clayton, 979; Mr. Haley, 645; Mr. O'Donnell, 583; Mr. Taft, 534, 826, 955, 964.  
Message of recommendation from President Roosevelt to Congress, 531.  
Statements before Congress: Mr. Clayton, 752, 1024; Mr. Rockefeller, 757; Secretary Stettinius, 598, 748; Mr. Taft, 905, 1079.
- Trade controls, wartime, draft resolution of Mexico City conference, text, 345.
- Trade-marks, protocol on inter-American registration (1929), denunciation by Haiti (1944), 107.
- Transport and Communications Policy, Office of, change in name from Office of Transportation and Communications (D.O. 1318), 839.
- Transportation:  
Automotive traffic, inter-American, agreement for regulation of (1943), ratification by Brazil (1944), 108.  
Europe, conditions, 922.  
European inland transport, agreement for provisional organization, signature, 910.  
Transportation and Communications, Office of, 716, 839.  
Transportation and litigation, marine, agreement with Australia, 621.
- Travel:  
Bermuda, relaxation of restrictions on, 913.  
Non-military, on foreign air routes, regulations, 30.  
Travel-grant program, exchange of experts among American republics under, 64.
- Treasury Department:  
Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease agreements, joint statement with State Department and FEA on mutual aid between U.S. and—  
Belgium, 765.  
France, 363.  
Netherlands, 876.  
Trade with France, license relating to, issued by, 813.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
Agricultural experiment station in Guatemala, agreement with Guatemala (1944), supplemental memorandum of understanding, 874.  
Agricultural Sciences, Inter-American Institute of, convention establishing (1944), ratification:  
Dominican Republic (1944), 108.  
Honduras, 656.  
Agricultural workers, with—  
Bahamas, amending 1943 agreement, 460.  
Jamaica (1944), 460.  
Newfoundland (1944), 812.  
Alliance and mutual assistance, U.S.S.R. and France (1944), text, 39.



- Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued.
- Anglo-American oil agreement (1944), withdrawal from Senate, 63.
- Anglo-Ethiopian agreement (1944), text, 200.
- Arbitration, commercial, in the treaties and agreements of U.S.S.R., article by Mr. Hilton, 890.
- Armistice, U.K. and U.S.S.R. with Finland (1944), text, 261.
- Armistice, U.S., U.K., and U.S.S.R. with Hungary, text, 83.
- Automotive traffic, inter-American, regulation (1943), ratification by Brazil (1944), 108.
- Aviation (*see also* under Civil; Military), addresses and articles by—  
Mr. Latchford, 11, 310, 411, 1104.  
Mr. Morgan, 33, 701.
- Civil-aviation agreements (1944):  
Acceptance as Executive agreements:  
Article by Mr. Latchford, 1104.  
Exchange of letters between Senator Bilbo and Mr. Grew, 1101.
- Action by: Afghanistan, 968; Australia, 968; Belgium, 714, 873; Brazil, 1006; Canada, 67, 160, 198; Chile, 1057; China, 1057; Colombia, 968, 1057; Costa Rica, 426; Cuba, 874; Czechoslovakia, 873; Egypt, 874; El Salvador, 942, 1057; Ethiopia, 478; France, 1057; Guatemala, 169; Haiti, 1057; Iceland, 873, 1057; India, 941; Iraq, 1057; Ireland, 943; Lebanon, 1057; Liberia, 873; Mexico, 968; Netherlands, 408; New Zealand, 874; Newfoundland, 224; Norway, 169; Panama, 942; Peru, 968; Poland, 644; Portugal, 1056; Turkey, 1058; U.K., 1057; Union of South Africa, 1057; U.S., text of reservations, 198.
- Establishment of Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, 1056.
- List of countries signing, 67.
- Civil-aviation agreements, bilateral:  
Air-transport services, U.S. with—  
Canada, text, 305.  
Iceland, text, 170.  
Ireland, text, 172.
- Civil-aviation convention (1944):  
Action by: Belgium, 714; Brazil, 1006; Costa Rica, 426; Cuba, 874; Czechoslovakia, 873; El Salvador, 942; Guatemala, 169; Norway, 169; Poland, 644; Union of South Africa, 1057.
- Letter of transmittal from President Roosevelt to Senate, 437.
- List of countries signing, 67.  
Report by Mr. Grew to President Roosevelt, 436.
- Calais convention, with Mexico (1934), final payment by Mexico of instalments due under, 43.
- Commercial agreement, Colombia-Venezuela (1936), renewal, 834.
- Commercial agreement, provisional, extension, Egypt and—  
Ireland (1930), 978.  
U.K. (1930), 978.
- Commercial arbitration in the treaties and agreements of U.S.S.R., article by Mr. Hilton, 890.
- Commodity agreements, U.S. policy regarding, address by Mr. Haley, 638.
- Cooperative fellowship program, second, with Peru (1944-1945), 218.
- Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence by: Chile, 231; Ecuador, 231; Egypt, 373; France, 17; Lebanon, 575, 682; Paraguay, 231; Peru, 231; Saudi Arabia, 682; Syria, 575, 681; Turkey, 373; Uruguay, 294; Venezuela, 292.
- Defense facilities in Canada, disposition of, agreement with Canada (1944), text, 162.
- Double-taxation:  
Canada (1944), proclamation by U.S., 199, 423.  
France (1939), proclamation by U.S., 38.  
U.K., on estates of deceased persons, 834.  
U.K., on income, 834.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued.
- Education, cooperative, with Ecuador, 438.
- Egyptian foreign-exchange requirements for 1945, U.K. and Egypt, text, 586.
- European inland transport, 910.
- Extraterritorial rights, in China, relinquishment, Canada and China (1944), ratification, 637.
- Falsification of currency, public-debt bonds, and credit documents, Chile and Peru (1935), ratification, 874.
- Financial:  
Chile and Switzerland (1944), ratification by Switzerland, 314.  
France and U.K., 1016.  
Haiti and U.S. (1943), text of supplementary agreement (1944), 144.
- Fisheries Mission to Mexico (1942), extension (1944), 66.
- Fourth Protocol, U.S., U.K., and Canada with U.S.S.R., for provision of war supplies, 723.
- Friendship, mutual aid and post-war cooperation, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, text, 774.
- Friendship and commerce, with Lew Chew (1854), text, 743 n.
- Germany, assumption of supreme authority over, declaration by Allied Representatives (U.S., U.K., U.S.S.R., and France), text, 1051.
- Health and sanitation, with Ecuador (1942), extension (1944-1945), 314, 461.
- Inter-American University (1943), ratification by Venezuela (1944), 175.
- Lend-lease, with—  
Belgium, statements and correspondence, 763.  
France, statements and correspondence, 193, 362, 366, 500.  
Netherlands, statement, 876.  
U.S.S.R. (1942), third anniversary, 1102.
- Marine transportation and litigation, with Australia, 621.
- Military air-transport routes, with Canada, 309.
- Military-mission, with—  
El Salvador (1943), extension, 1030.  
Guatemala, 978.
- Military-aviation mission, agreement with Guatemala, 309.
- Monetary, U.K. and—  
Belgium (1944), 66.  
Sweden, 585.
- Mutual aid:  
Canada and India (1944), 32.  
Union of South Africa, with U.S., on cash basis, text, 769.
- Naval-mission agreement with Chile, 967.
- Neutrality pact, U.S.S.R. and Japan (1941), denunciation by U.S.S.R., text, 811.
- Oil. *See* under Vegetable and fuel oils.
- Prisoners of war and Red Cross conventions (1929), statement before House committee by Mr. Plitt, 800.
- Prisoners of war convention (1929), adherence by Argentina, 878.
- Radio agreement, South American (1940), ratification by Venezuela (1944), 147.
- Radiocommunications, Inter-American agreement concerning (Santiago revision 1940), ratification by Venezuela (1944), 147.
- Reciprocal aid. *See* Lend-lease.
- Red Cross and prisoners of war conventions (1929), statement before House committee by Mr. Plitt, 800.
- Red Cross convention (1929), adherence by Argentina, 878.
- Refugees, international status, convention relating to (1933), cancellation (1944) of denunciation (1942) by France, 110.
- Rights and duties of states in the event of civil strife (1928), ratification by Honduras, 874.
- Rubber investigations, cooperative, with Haiti (1941), supplementary agreement (1944, 1945), 169.

## Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued.

Sanitary convention concerning maritime travel (1926), amendment (1944):  
 Accessions by: Australia, 941; Netherlands, 1038; New Zealand, 1068.  
 British territories, application to, 308.  
 Effective date, 109.  
 Ratification by U.S., 1038.  
 Signatory countries, 10, 109.  
 Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1933), amendment (1944):  
 Accession by: Australia, 941; Netherlands, 1038; New Zealand, 1038.  
 British territories, application to, 308.  
 Effective date, 109.  
 Ratification by U.S., 1038.  
 Signatory countries, 10, 109.  
 Shipping, continuance of control for United Nations purposes (1944), accessions: Australia, 628; France, 628; India, 858; New Zealand, 1017; Union of South Africa, 1017.  
 Sugar, international agreement regarding production and marketing (1937), proclamation by President Truman, 836.  
 Taxation. *See under* Double taxation.  
 Trade agreements. *See* Trade Agreements Act.  
 Trade-marks, protocol on the Inter-American registration of (1929), denunciation by Haiti (1944), 107.  
 Transmission of judicial writs, agreement between Chile and Peru (1935), ratification, 874.  
 UNRRA (1943), ratification by: Bolivia, 461; Colombia, 478; Poland, 426.  
 UNRRA agreement for relief program in Italy, signature and summary of principal points, 543.  
 Vegetable and fuel oils, exchange with Argentina, 1116.  
 Venezia Giulia, military administration of, between U.S., U.K., and Yugoslavia:  
 Note from Yugoslav Foreign Minister, 1096.  
 Text, 1050.  
 Visa procedure for French or U.S. citizens, agreement with French Provisional Government, 813.  
 War supplies, provision to U.S.S.R. by U.S., U.K., and Canada, signature of Fourth Protocol, 723.  
 Water treaty, with Mexico (1944):  
 Article by Mr. Clayton, 71.  
 Statements on ratification:  
 Mr. Acheson, 302.  
 Mr. Grew, 303.  
 Secretary Stettinius, 122, 742.  
 President Truman, 742.  
 Trieste. *See* Venezia Giulia.  
 Truman, Harry S.:  
 Addresses, statements, etc.:  
 Allied armies, junction in Germany, 808.  
 Appointment of Justice Jackson as U.S. Chief of Counsel for prosecution of Axis criminality, 806.  
 Chilean President (Ríos), visit to U.S., 1086.  
 Diplomatic representatives, credentials, 775, 776, 875, 912.  
 France's role in settlement of questions of world and European interest, 927.  
 Lend-Lease Act, extension of, 773.  
 Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin, 1035.  
 Oath of office as U.S. President, statement, 669.  
 Philippines, independence for, 867.  
 Prisoners of war, joint statement with Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin, warning Germany against maltreatment, 811.  
 Publications, importation into Germany, 923.  
 Reparations Commission, appointment of Mr. Luhn as Associate to Mr. Pauley, 807.  
 Reparations problems, 931.  
 Surrender of German armies in Italy, 865.  
 Surrender of Germany, 885, 886.  
 UNCIO, 789.

## Truman, Harry S.—Continued.

Addresses, statements, etc.—Continued.  
 War, prosecution of, 669.  
 Water treaty with Mexico, Senate approval of, 742.  
 Correspondence:  
 Field Marshal Alexander on surrender of German armies in Italy, 865.  
 Brazilian President Vargas:  
 Allied victory, 904.  
 Declaration of war by Brazil against Japan, 1060.  
 Prime Minister Churchill, on surrender of Germany, 887.  
 General Mark Clark on surrender of German armies in Italy, 865.  
 Mr. Currie, on resignation as Administrative Assistant to President, 1108.  
 General Eisenhower, on surrender of Germany, 887.  
 Food for Freedom, Inc., regarding food-supply commitments abroad, 926.  
 Freedom of the press, Mr. Forrest of N.Y. Herald Tribune, 1144.  
 General de Gaulle, on surrender of Germany, 888.  
 Haile Selassie, of Ethiopia, opening of direct radiotelegraph circuit between U.S. and Ethiopia, 939, 982.  
 Prime Minister King, on Allied victory, 903.  
 Lend-lease, appropriation estimate, letter to Speaker of House of Representatives, 1061.  
 Pan American Day, 669.  
 Mr. Pauley, on appointment as Personal Representative on Reparations Commission, 807.  
 Speaker Rayburn, on renewal of Trade Agreements Act, 1026.  
 Marshal Stalin, on surrender of Germany, 887.  
 Secretary Stettinius on admission of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics as members of United Nations, 806.  
 U.S.—Soviet Friendship Rally, 1017.  
 Executive orders. *See* Executive orders.  
 Messages to Congress:  
 Alien Property Custodian, report of, letter of transmittal, 1029.  
 First address (Apr. 16, 1945), 721.  
 Japan, plans for victory over, 950.  
 Lend-lease report (19th), letter of transmittal, 952.  
 Presidential succession, 1150.  
 Polish question and San Francisco conference, consultations with Mr. Molotov, 802.  
 Proclamations:  
 Death of President Roosevelt, 661.  
 Surrender of Germany, 886.  
 Trusteeship Council, charter text, 1131.  
 Trusteeship system, international:  
 Charter text, 1129.  
 Statements by Secretary Stettinius on principle discussed at Crimea Conference, 600, 857, 929, 1010.  
 U.S. proposal at San Francisco conference, text, 854.  
 Tunnelleff, Everett A., return from China, 107.  
 Turkey:  
 Ambassador to U.S. (Baydur), credentials, 775.  
 Chargé d'Affaires, letter and remarks on United Nations Declaration, 373, 374.  
 Severance of relations with Japan, statements by President Roosevelt and Secretary Stettinius, 20.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil-aviation agreements: air transit, air transport, and interim (1944), ratification, 1058.  
 Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 373.  
 UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 731.  
 U.S. Ambassador (Wilson), appointment, 148.  
 Two Freedoms agreement. *See* Air services transit agreement *under* Civil aviation.

- Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, membership in United Nations:  
 Letter from President Truman to Secretary Stettinius, 803.  
 Question concerning, 530.  
 Statements by Secretary Stettinius, 600, 1007.
- UNCIO. *See* United Nations Conference on International Organization.
- Unconditional surrender (*see also* Germany):  
 Policy announced at Cairo Conference, discussion in radio broadcast, 485.  
 Reply of Secretary Stettinius to Senator Wheeler's attack on, 43.
- Under Secretary of State. *See* Grew, Joseph C.
- Underwood, Pierson, designation in State Department, 111.
- Union of South Africa:  
 Death of former Minister to U.S. (Close), statement by Mr. Grew, 503.  
 Death of Minister to U.S. (Gie), messages from President Roosevelt and Secretary Stettinius, 674.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Civil-aviation agreements; air transit and interim (1944), signature, 1057.  
 Civil-aviation convention (1944), signature, 1057.  
 Mutual aid with U.S., on cash basis, exchange of notes, 769.  
 Sanitary convention (1944), 109.  
 Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 109.  
 Shipping, continuance of control for United Nations purposes (1944), accession, 1017.
- UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 577, 731.
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (*see also* Byelorussian S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.):  
 Allied armies, junction in Germany, statements by President Truman and Mr. Grew, 808.  
 Ambassador to Mexico (Oumansky):  
 Death, statement by Mr. Grew, 141.  
 Transportation of ashes by U.S. Army plane to Moscow, 208.  
 Anniversary (27th), of Red Army, message from President Roosevelt to Marshal Stalin, 304.  
 Commercial arbitration in treaties and agreements of, article by Mr. Hilton, 890.  
 Commissar for Foreign Affairs (Molotov), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 665.  
 Crimea Conference, participation in, 213.  
 Displaced persons in Germany, 492, 496, 497.  
 Mr. Hopkins, special mission to Moscow for President Truman, 953.  
 Meeting of Marshal Stalin, President Truman, and Prime Minister Churchill, 1005.
- Polish question:  
 Arrest of Polish democratic leaders, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 850.  
 Consultation in Moscow with Polish groups on Provisional Polish Government, 1065.  
 Mr. Molotov, consultation with President Truman, 802.  
 Request to invite Warsaw provisional government to United Nations Conference, statement by State Department, 725.
- Prisoners of war, Soviet allegations on delay in repatriation, and U.S. statement, 864.
- Prisoners of war and civilian internees, warning to Germany, statement by Marshal Stalin, President Truman, and Prime Minister Churchill, 811.
- Relations with U.S., remarks by Mr. MacLeish, 950.
- Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Alliance and mutual assistance, with France (1944), text, 39.  
 Armistice with—  
 Finland (1944), text, 261.  
 Hungary, text, 83.  
 Assumption of supreme authority in Germany by Allied representatives, text of declaration, 1051.
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Continued.  
 Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued.  
 Fourth Protocol, with U.S., U.K., and Canada, for provision of war supplies, 723.  
 Friendship, mutual aid and post-war cooperation, with Yugoslavia, text, 774.  
 Lend-lease, with U. S. (1942), third anniversary, exchange of messages between Commissar for Foreign Affairs (Molotov) and Secretary Stettinius, 1162.  
 Neutrality pact, with Japan (1941), denunciation, text, 811.
- UNCIO:  
 Delegation, list of members, 609.  
 Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, joint amendments offered at Conference by sponsoring powers, 851.  
 Commissar for Foreign Affairs (Molotov), participation, 671, 796, 802.  
 General Assembly, representation by three votes, attitude of U.S. and U.K., 530, 600, 806, 1007.  
 Polish question. *See under* Polish question.  
 Security Council, joint statement on voting procedure, 1047.  
 Sponsorship, 394.  
 Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics, admission as initial members of United Nations, 530, 600, 806, 1007.  
 U.S.-Soviet Friendship Rally, New York, N.Y., message from President Truman, 1017.  
 Visit of Secretary Stettinius to, 291.
- United Americans for United Nations, New York, N.Y., address by Mr. Taft, 826.
- United Kingdom:  
 Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, results of sixth meeting, 514.  
 Combined Boards, joint decision to maintain, 119, 120.  
 Consultation of Allied representatives and Polish groups on Provisional Polish Government, 1065.  
 Cooperation with U.S. for expansion of world trade, remarks by Mr. Fetter, 501.  
 Crimea Conference, participation in, 213, 530, 600, 1007.  
 Mr. Davies, special mission to London for President Truman, 953.  
 King George, messages of condolence on death of U.S. President, 663, 664.  
 Joint statements by British Embassy and State Department:  
 Maintenance of economies of liberated countries, 95.  
 Reappraisal of food supply, 546.  
 Lloyd George, death, telegram from Mr. Grew, 538.  
 Queen Mary, message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 663.  
 Meeting of Prime Minister Churchill, President Truman, and Marshal Stalin, 1065.  
 Military authorities, relief of European civilians, 917.  
 Petroleum agreement, Anglo-American (1944), withdrawal from U.S. Senate, 63.  
 Prisoners of war and civilian internees, warning to Germany, statement by Prime Minister Churchill, President Truman, and Marshal Stalin, 811.  
 Rubber study group, with U.S. and Netherlands, 108, 128, 161.  
 Telecommunication and postal services, restoration, 1078, 1149.  
 Telecommunications discussions with U.S., 500.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Anglo-Ethiopian agreement (1944), text, 200.  
 Armistice with—  
 Finland (1944), text, 261.  
 Hungary, text, 83.  
 Assumption of supreme authority in Germany by Allied representatives, text of declaration, 1051.  
 Civil aviation agreements; air transit and interim (1944), acceptance, 1057.  
 Commercial agreement, provisional, with Egypt (1930), extension, 978.

- United Kingdom—Continued.  
Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued.  
Double taxation, exploratory conversations with U.S., 197.  
Double taxation on estates of deceased persons, with U.S., 834.  
Double taxation on incomes, with U.S., 834.  
Egyptian foreign-exchange requirements for 1945, text, 586.  
European inland transport, 910.  
Financial agreement, with France, 1016.  
Fourth Protocol, with U.S.S.R., for provision of war supplies, 723.  
Monetary agreement with—  
Belgium (1944), 66.  
Sweden, 585.  
Sanitary convention (1944), 10, 109, 308.  
Sanitary convention for aerial navigation (1944), 10, 109, 308.  
Venezia Giulia, military administration of, with U.S. and Yugoslavia, 1050, 1066.
- UNCIO :  
Address by Mr. Eden, 790.  
Delegation, list of members 576.  
Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, joint amendments offered at Conference by sponsoring powers, 851.  
General Assembly, attitude toward additional votes for U.S. and U.S.S.R., 530, 600, 1007.  
Security Council, joint statement on voting procedure, 1047.  
Sponsorship, 394.  
Visit of Minister of State (Law) to Washington, 95.  
Visit of Secretary of State for the Colonies (Stanley) to Washington, 107.  
War crimes, discussions with U.S., 81.
- United Nations (as set up by Charter signed at San Francisco June 26, 1945) :  
Chart of proposed organization, 556.  
Charter—  
Discussed by Secretary Stettinius, 605, 928.  
Text, 1119.  
General Assembly, decision at Crimea Conference in respect to number of votes of U.S. and U.S.S.R., statements by Secretary Stettinius, 600, 1007.  
Human rights, provisions on, 928, 1011.  
International Court of Justice, 533, 672, 750, 1132, 1134.  
Membership and purposes, Charter text, 1120.  
Polish question. *See* Poland.  
Regional arrangements, statements by Secretary Stettinius, 930, 949, 1009.  
Security Council, voting procedure, 394, 395, 1010, 1043, 1044, 1047.  
Trusteeship principle, statements by Secretary Stettinius, 600, 857, 929, 1010.
- United Nations Club, Washington, remarks by Mr. Savage, 504.  
United Nations Committee, Milwaukee, Wis., address by Mr. Holmes, 727.  
United Nations Conference on International Organization :  
Addresses: Mr. Cordier, 253; Mr. Eagleton, 650; Mr. Eden, 790; Mr. Grew, 229, 431, 803, 806; Mr. Holmes, 727; Mr. Molotov, 796; Mr. Soong, of China, 795; Mr. Taft, 382; President Truman, 789; Mr. Williams, 1163.  
Addresses, statements, etc., by Secretary Stettinius, 393, 395, 396, 435, 600, 605, 608, 609, 671, 724, 791, 792, 850, 855, 928, 929, 930, 940, 1007, 1011, 1043, 1144.  
Charter of the United Nations, text, 1119.  
Commissions, lists of U.S. members, 858.  
Congress, U.S. members to confer with U.S. Delegation on budgetary problems, 802.  
Crimea Conference decisions, 214, 1008.  
Delegations, lists of members, 576, 600, 729.  
Denmark, invitation to, 1048.  
Dumbarton Oaks Proposals :  
Amendments offered by sponsoring powers, text, 851.  
Discussion of amendments, 853, 903.
- United Nations Conference—Continued.  
Executive Committee, membership, 801.  
General Assembly :  
Proposed redraft concerning, text, 931.  
Representation in, statements by Secretary Stettinius, 600, 1007.  
Hull, Cordell, exchange of messages with, 726, 857.  
Human rights, provisions in Charter for, statements by Secretary Stettinius, 928, 1011.  
Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, attitude, 449, 525, 694.  
International Court of Justice, 533, 672, 750, 1132, 1134.  
Invitations :  
Acceptances, 576, 608.  
Mr. Dulles as adviser to U.S. Delegation, acceptance, 608.  
Extended to Syria and Lebanon, 576.  
Text, including voting provisions supplementary to Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 394.  
Languages of the Conference, official, 801.  
Officers, election, 801.  
Organization, report by rapporteur, 801.  
Polish question :  
Consultations of President Truman and Commissar Molotov, 802.  
Request of U.S.S.R. to invite Warsaw Government to Conference, statement by State Department, 725.  
Postponement, denial by Secretary Stettinius, 608, 669, 671.  
Preliminary arrangements with California officials, 217, 218, 435.  
Press, radio, and motion pictures, proposed procedure, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 435.  
Public interest, statement by Mr. Grew, 806.  
Radio broadcast, 441.  
Regional arrangements, relationship of, statements by Secretary Stettinius, 930, 949, 1009.  
Security Council, voting procedure :  
Memorandum and statement from committees, 1043.  
Questionnaire on exercise of veto, 1044.  
Statement by Delegations of four sponsoring Governments, 1047.  
Statements by Secretary Stettinius, 395, 396, 1010, 1043.  
Supplementary to Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, text, 394.  
Sessions, 789, 792.  
Sponsoring governments, 394.  
Trusteeship system, basic objectives of, statements by Secretary Stettinius, 600, 857, 929, 1010.  
Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics, admission as initial members of the United Nations, 530, 600, 806, 1007.  
United States Delegation :  
Advisers, listed, 608.  
Assignments to commissions, 858.  
Consultants, 671, 724.  
Meetings, 435, 724.  
Members, listed, 217.  
U.S.S.R., request to invite Warsaw provisional government to Conference, statement by State Department, 725.
- United Nations Declaration (1942), adherences, 17, 231, 292, 373, 575, 681.  
United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. *See* Food.  
United Nations Information Board, 100th session, remarks by Mr. MacLeish, 21.  
United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture, message of President Roosevelt to Congress transmitting first report, 536.  
United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference. *See* Bretton Woods Proposals.  
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. *See* UNRRA.

- United Nations shipping agreement, for continuance of control (1944), accessions: Australia, 628; France, 628; India, 858; New Zealand, 1017; Union of South Africa, 1017.
- United Nations War Crimes Commission. *See* War Crimes Commission.
- United States Army (*see also* Anglo-American armies), assistance to European civilians, 917.
- United States citizens (*see also* Prisoners of war and civilian internees):
- Accounts, free operation of, in blocked countries, 642.
  - Deported by Germans from occupied areas, disappearance of, 577.
  - Displaced persons in Europe, announcement, 953.
  - Funds, transmission to, in Philippines, 408.
  - Inquiries concerning nationals in: Bulgaria, 252; Cherbourg area, 268; Europe, 953; Finland, 968; Greece, 160, 426; Rumania, 687.
  - Repatriation of, from Philippines, 427.
  - Repatriation of, via "Gripsholm", 44, 196, 252, 1035.
- University of Mexico, National Autonomous, announcement concerning summer school, 946.
- UNRRA:
- Agreement (1943), ratification:
    - Bolivia, 461.
    - Colombia, 478.
    - Poland, 426.
  - Agreement for relief in Italy, signature and summary of principal points, 543.
  - Civilian-supply problems in Europe, article by Mr. Stillwell, 917.
  - Council of, third session, at London, plans, 1114.
  - Food supplies, reports of inability to obtain in sufficient amounts, 926.
  - Food-supply commitments abroad, letter from President Truman to Food for Freedom, Inc., 926.
  - International Office of Public Health, performance of duties of, 10, 109, 941.
  - Quarterly report (2d), text of letter of transmittal, 684.
  - Sanitary conventions, functions under, 10, 109, 308, 941, 1088.
  - Scope, functions, and relation to other agencies, address by Mr. Taft, 308.
  - Shipping for transportation of civilian-relief supplies for Italy, Czechoslovakia, and U.K., 219.
- Uruguay (*see also* American republics):
- Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, letter from Foreign Minister, 294.
- UNCIO, list of members of Delegation, 731.
- Valdivia, Chile, closing of U.S. Consulate, 466.
- Van Vactor, David, appointment as visiting professor to Chile, 460.
- Velázquez, Celso R. (Paraguayan Ambassador), letter and remarks on signing United Nations Declaration, 232, 236.
- Velloso, Pedro Leão (Acting Foreign Minister of Brazil), visit to U.S., 410.
- Venezia Giulia:
- Agreement between U.S., U.K., and Yugoslavia on military administration of, text, 1050.
  - Statement by Mr. Grew on disposition of, 902.
  - Yugoslav Foreign Minister (Subasic), note to U.S. Ambassador in Yugoslavia (Patterson), 1036.
- Venezuela (*see also* American republics):
- Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs (Picon Lares), message of condolence on death of U.S. resident, 667.
  - Ambassador to U.S. (Escalante), remarks on signing United Nations Declaration, 293.
  - Cultural leaders, visit to U.S., 1167.
  - Foreign Minister (Parra Pérez), message of condolence on death of U.S. President, 666.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Commercial agreement with Colombia (1936), renewal, 834.
  - Declaration by United Nations (1942), adherence, 292.
- Venezuela—Continued.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued.
- Inter-American University (1913), ratification (1944), 175.
  - Radio agreement, South American (1940), ratification (1944), 147.
  - Radiocommunications, inter-American agreement (Santiago revision 1940), ratification (1944), 147.
  - UNCIO, Delegate to, 731.
  - Veteran Wireless Operators Association, address by Mr. de Wolf, 250.
  - Villard, Henry S., address on Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 136.
  - Visa procedure for French or U.S. citizens, agreement with French Provisional Government, 813.
  - Voting procedure in Security Council of United Nations Organization. *See* Security Council.
- Wadhi Naim (Lebanese Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs), letter to Mr. Grew on adherence of Lebanon to War criminals:
- Wales, Edward T., designation in State Department, 200.
  - Walsted, John P., appointment as visiting professor to Brazil, 381.
  - Wang Chung-hui, representative of China on Committee of Jurists, address, 673.
- War, declaration of. *See* Argentina; Brazil; Saudi Arabia.
- War—how can we prevent it (Foreign Affairs Outline no. 1), 558.
- War Areas Economic Division, responsibilities (D.O. 1312), 462.
- War Crimes Commission, United Nations: Conferences, 1073.
- Discontinuance of services of Mr. Pell, 123.
  - Discussion in radio broadcast, 483.
  - Punishment of war criminals, statement by Mr. Grew, 154.
- War criminals:
- Asylum to, attitude of neutral governments, 190, 482.
  - Chief of Counsel (U.S.) for prosecution of Axis criminality, appointment of Justice Jackson, 806.
  - Discussions between U.S. and U.K., 81.
  - Punishment of, statement by Mr. Grew, 154.
  - Radio broadcast on treatment of, 480.
  - Report of Justice Jackson to President Truman, 1071.
  - Resolutions of Mexico City conference regarding, 344, 347, 924.
- War Department, Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, relation to, 448.
- War Food Administration, representation, 440.
- War Food Administrator, Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, relation to, 448.
- War prisoners. *See* Prisoners of war.
- War Production Board:
- Foreign-airlines requirements, consideration of, with FEA and State Department, 1089.
  - Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, relation to, 448.
  - Representation, 440.
- War Shipping Administration:
- Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies, relation to, 448.
  - Representation, 440.
- War supplies, provision of to U.S.S.R. by U.S., U.K., and Canada, signature of Fourth Protocol, 723.
- War Supply and Resources Division. *See* Commodities Division.
- Warfel, Harry R., designation in State Department, 111.
- Warner, Edward, appointment as U.S. Delegate on Council of Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, 1057.
- Warren, Avra, participant in radio broadcast, 547.

- Warren, Earl (Governor of California), exchange of messages with Mr. Grew on United Nations Conference, 217.
- Warren, Fletcher, appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua, 657.
- Warren, George L., designation in State Department, 386, Warsaw provisional government. *See* Poland.
- Wartime Economic Affairs, Office of, abolishment (D.O. 1306), 176.
- Washington Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, address by Mr. Grew, 803.
- Water treaty, U.S. and Mexico (1944):  
 Action by Congress, statements by President Truman, Secretary Stettinius, and Mr. Grew, 303, 742.  
 Article by Mr. Clayton, 71.  
 Statements before Congress by Secretary Stettinius and Mr. Acheson, 122, 302.
- Welfare and whereabouts of Americans abroad. *See* United States citizens.
- West Indies. *See* Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and the individual countries.
- Wheat Council, International, designation of chairman of U.S. Delegation (Wheeler), 79.
- Wheeler, Senator Burton K., attack upon unconditional-surrender principle, statement by Secretary Stettinius, 43.
- Wheeler, Leslie A., designation as chairman of U.S. Delegation to International Wheat Council, 79.
- White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. *See* Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.
- Wiesman, Bernard, article on preparations for International Labor Conference, (27th), 424.
- Williams, Chester S., address on San Francisco conference, 1163.
- Wilson, Edwin C., appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, 148, 316.
- Winant, Frederick, article on relaxation of trade controls in Middle East by Middle East Supply Center, 80.
- Women's National Press Club, Washington, address by Mr. Clayton, 439.
- World Affairs Council, Tacoma, Wash., address by Mr. Taft, 578.
- World cooperation, addresses by Mr. Haley, 638, 645.
- World trade and world peace, radio broadcast sponsored by State Department, 401.
- World Youth Rally, New York, N. Y., address by Mr. Hovde, 487.
- WPB. *See* War Production Board.
- Wright, Irene A., article on international information, 1099.
- Wright, William D., preliminary arrangements for United Nations Conference, 218.
- Writs. *See* Judicial writs.
- Yalta agreement and Yalta conference. *See* Crimea Conference.
- Young, John Parke:  
 Address on international economic problems, 376.  
 Designation in State Department, 466.
- Youth of world and problem of peace, address by Mr. Hovde, 487.
- Yugoslavia:  
 Ambassador to U.S. (Simić), credentials, 875.  
 Anniversary (4th) of new government, message from President Roosevelt, 577.  
 Crimea declaration on formation of new government, 216.  
 Displaced persons in Germany, 496, 497.  
 Foreign Minister (Subasic), note to U.S. Ambassador on military administration of Venezia Giulia, 1096.  
 Interest in Trieste and Venezia Giulia, statement by Mr. Grew, 902.  
 Proposed united government, statement by Mr. Grew, 153.  
 Relief for civilians, 923.
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:  
 Friendship, mutual aid and post-war cooperation, with U.S.S.R., text, 74.  
 Venezia Giulia, military administration of, with U.S. and U.K., text, 1050.
- UNCIO:  
 Acceptance of invitation to, 608.  
 List of members of Delegation, 610.
- Zariski, O., visiting professor to Brazil, 208.







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## *In this issue*

### THE STATE OF THE UNION:

*Annual Message of the President to the Congress*

### PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL AIR LAW

*Article by Stephen Latchford*

### IN DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAS AGAINST AXIS POLITICAL AGGRESSION: THE EMERGENCY ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL DEFENSE



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# Contents

	Page
<b>AMERICAN REPUBLICS</b>	
In Defense of the Americas Against Axis Political Aggression: The Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense . . . . .	3
Presentation of Letters of Credence:	
Ambassador of the Dominican Republic . . . . .	40
Ambassador of Guatemala . . . . .	42
Final Payment by Mexico Under the Special Claims Convention of 1934 . . . . .	43
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Italian Supply Program:	
Statement by the Secretary of State Concerning Inquiries Relative to British and United States Policies . . . . .	29
Bread-Rationing for Italy . . . . .	29
Presentation of Letters of Credence: Ambassador of the Provisional French Government . . . . .	41
<b>FAR EAST</b>	
Relief Supplies for Allied Nationals Interned in the Far East . . . . .	32
<b>NEAR EAST</b>	
Turkey Severs Relations With Japan:	
Statement by the President . . . . .	20
Statement by the Secretary of State . . . . .	20
<b>GENERAL</b>	
The State of the Union: Annual Message of the President to the Congress . . . . .	22
Non-Military Traffic on Foreign Routes . . . . .	30
A Message for the New Year: Address by the Under Secretary of State . . . . .	31
Reply to Senator Wheeler's Attack Upon the Unconditional Surrender Principle: Statement by the Secretary of State . . . . .	43
Exchange of American and German Nationals . . . . .	44
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
Private International Air Law: By Stephen Latchford . . . . .	11
Information for a Peoples' Peace: Remarks by Assistant Secretary MacLeish . . . . .	21
The International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago and What It Means to the Americas: Address by Stokely W. Morgan . . . . .	33
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
Signing of Two UNRRA Sanitary Conventions . . . . .	10
Adherence by France to the Declaration by United Nations Exchange of Communications . . . . .	17
Ceremonies on the Occasion of the Signing of the Declaration:	
Message From the President to the Secretary of State . . . . .	17
Statement by the Secretary of State . . . . .	18
Remarks by the Ambassador of the Provisional French Government . . . . .	19
List of Representatives of the United Nations in Attendance . . . . .	19
Mutual-Aid Agreement, Canada and India . . . . .	32
Double-Taxation Convention and Protocol With France: Proclamation by the President . . . . .	38
Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance, U. S. S. R. and France . . . . .	39
<b>PUBLICATIONS</b> . . . . .	44
<b>THE CONGRESS</b> . . . . .	44

# In Defense of the Americas Against Axis Political Aggression

## The Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense<sup>1</sup>

OF THE VARIOUS Inter-American agencies established prior to and during the war to advise the governments on emergency problems, perhaps the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense represents the most radical departure from past experience and tradition. Although none of its characteristics can be said to be entirely new, their combination in and application by the Committee are in many respects quite novel. The means and manner by which the Committee has carried out the task with which it was charged appear to be of as much interest as its actual accomplishments, which themselves have constituted, during the nearly three years since its creation, a vital contribution to the defense of the Americas.

### I

#### The Establishment and Organization of the Committee

When the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics was held in Rio de Janeiro in January of 1942, the entire continent had come to realize the seriousness of the threat with which it was faced. It was at last fully awake to the vital danger presented both by the well-planned and well-executed political and psychological offensive which the Axis states had been carrying on for years and by the military aggression of which the Americas became victims on December 7, 1941.

Therefore, the governments represented at the Third Meeting recommended, in resolution I, the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Axis; in resolution XVII they agreed on a political-defense policy for the individual and collective defense of the continent and created the Committee to advise them on the implementation of the policy and the coordination of the measures for joint defense against the constantly changing Axis attack.

The pertinent provision of resolution XVII reads as follows:

"To study and coordinate the measures recommended in this Resolution, the Governing Board of the Pan American Union shall elect, prior to March 1, 1942, a committee of seven members to be known as 'The Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense'."

The Union was also requested to determine the function of the Committee, prepare its regulations, and fix its budget of expenditures, "after consulting the Governments of the American Republics".

This directive was fulfilled, and the Committee, composed of members appointed by 7 governments but representing and acting in the interest of all 21 American republics, held its first session at its permanent headquarters in Montevideo, Uruguay, on April 15, 1942.<sup>2</sup> It has been in practically continuous session since that date.

Pursuant to its bylaws and rules of internal procedure, the Committee has a permanent secretariat appointed by the Government of Uruguay, and a technical consultant and two assistants appointed by the Committee. It has appropriate subcommittees to study variants of Axis subversive activities and the relevant legislative and administrative control measures in the republics, as well as the suggestions and proposals received from the governments. On the basis of this study the subcom-

<sup>1</sup>The principal sources of information used in the preparation of this article are: The first and second Annual Reports of the Committee, and "The Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense", by Carl B. Spaeth and William Sanders (*American Journal of International Law*, vol. 38, No. 2, April 1944; published in Spanish in *La Revista de Derecho, Jurisprudencia y Administración de Uruguay*, August 1944). Mr. Spaeth is Chief of the Division of River Plate Affairs, Office of American Republic Affairs, Department of State. Mr. Sanders is the member appointed by the United States on the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense.

<sup>2</sup>BULLETIN of Apr. 11, 1942, p. 322.

mittees prepare draft resolutions or programs of action for consideration by the full Committee.

Four major methods, two proposed by the regulations approved by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union and two devised by the Committee as the result of its own experience, are utilized in the development of its work in conjunction with the governments of the 21 American republics:

- a) Liaison officers between the governments of each of the republics and the Committee.
- b) National committees for political defense.
- c) Consultative visits.
- d) General and regional meetings of national officials.

The employment of liaison officers as a permanent means of contact between the Committee and the governments is provided for in the regulations of the organization. Article 4 provides:

"The Government of each country, member of the Pan American Union, shall be requested to designate a qualified official who shall reside in the capital city of his respective country, and who shall serve as a contact between his Government and the Committee."

The liaison officers constitute a permanent link between the governments and the Committee, and their activities consist principally in communicating information on the political-defense measures adopted by their countries, in transmitting proposals or initiatives that might serve as the basis of recommendations by the Committee, and in maintaining a permanent contact with the various governmental departments and agencies charged with the application of the measures recommended by the Committee.

In view of the ramifications of the problems of political defense and of the great variety of government agencies involved, it became evident shortly after the Committee began its work that the task of the liaison officers could be greatly facilitated by the creation of national interdepartmental committees in which all such agencies could be represented. The Committee, therefore, urged such a step, and national committees have been created in at least 10 American republics. In most of the other countries procedures or arrangements have been put into operation which serve the same purposes. The system of national committees and their equivalent has produced excellent results,

both in the assistance they have given the Committee and in establishing close working relations among the national officials dealing with political-defense matters.

The necessity for direct personal contact between the Committee and the governments was likewise recognized in the bylaws of the Committee, article 9 of which provides that "in the performance of its work the Committee may designate one or more of its members to visit the different countries, members of the Pan American Union." The Committee has made extensive use of this procedure, having carried out consultative visits to almost all the republics of the continent. These visits are discussed, and their results are appraised below.

Another method of contact between the Committee and the governments is that of regional or general meetings, which is designed to test the practical utility of the Committee's recommendations and to afford operating officials an opportunity for discussion of common problems and exchange of information. Since the objectives of these meetings are similar to those of the consultative visits, the Committee has resorted to this procedure on only one occasion, reserving it for use in special emergency cases which might affect a region or the continent as a whole.

#### Principles of Organization of the Committee

The Committee acts on the basis of an organic charter which defines its functions and the scope of its competence. This basic charter includes resolution XVII of the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Rio de Janeiro, the memorandum annexed to that document, and other pertinent resolutions of the three meetings of foreign ministers. The existence of these controlling policy directives has had a decisive effect on the activities of the Committee.

It would have been extremely difficult for the Committee to devote its attention from the outset to the elaboration of concrete programs of political defense designed for immediate application by the governments, if the members had found it necessary first to come to an agreement on the basic policy of such programs. The fact that the Committee was created as an international organization with a basic grant of authority which determined the objectives of its action made it possible for it to devote itself immediately to the

study of the means by which these objectives might be realized.

The previous determination of the Committee's policy directives, moreover, not only facilitated consideration and approval of the recommendations by the Committee, but it also expedited and accounted for the acceptance of the recommendations of the various governments. This acceptance was a consequence of the fact that the American republics had previously committed themselves to the policy which the recommendations were designed to implement.

In carrying out its policy directives, the Committee, and each of its members, represents and acts on behalf of all the American republics.

As indicated previously, this principle is expressly provided for in article 2 of the bylaws, which requires that the Committee "shall represent and shall function on behalf and in the interests of all the governments members of the Pan American Union." This stipulation was accepted by the governments when they gave their approval to the bylaws submitted to them with the Governing Board's report of February 25, 1942.

It is clear that the Governing Board of the Pan American Union understood that the foreign ministers at Rio de Janeiro entrusted to it the responsibility of organizing a committee of 7 individuals to represent the 21 governments and not of 7 governments to act in the name of and on behalf of themselves and the other 14. The method of selection of the members, by having 7 governments designate them, was merely an incident of the

## Emergency Advisory Committee For Political Defense

*Chairman*

ALBERTO GUANI

*Members\**

PEDRO AURELIO DE GOES MONTEIRO

*Advisers:* Arthur dos Guimarães Bastos

Manuel Pío Correa, Jr.

SERGIO MONTT RIVAS

*Adviser:* Oscar Ramírez Sotomayor

WILLIAM SANDERS

*Adviser:* Ward P. Allen

MARIANO ARMENDÁRIZ DEL CASTILLO

RICARDO BOZA AIZCORBE\*\*

ALBERTO GUANI

EDUARDO ARROYO LAMEDA

*Staff*

*Technical Consultant:*

*Assistants:*

Alejandro Rovira

Luis Seguí González

*Secretary General:*

José L. Chouby Terra

*Subsecretary:*

Eduardo Jiménez de

Aréchaga, Jr.

\*The members of the Committee, although appointed by the Governments of Brazil, Chile, United States of America, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela respectively, represent and act in the name of the 21 American republics.

\*\*Señor Ricardo Boza Aizcorbe was appointed on October 19, 1944 by the Government of Peru, which was invited by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to designate a member in view of the withdrawal from the Committee of the member appointed by the Government of Argentina.

Committee's organization resulting from the urgent need for its immediate establishment.

The Committee thus became the first inter-American body to be expressly required by the American republics to represent the entire community. There were sound reasons for this innovation, and the Committee's experience has abundantly demonstrated the wisdom of the step.

The representative principle may be considered inherent in the nature of the Committee as an international body of limited membership, the policy directives of which constitute an agreement among the entire group of interested governments. Limited membership alone would not have required the representative principle. (Similar international bodies are not expressly required by the governments to operate through accredited delegates or diplomatic channels.) It is the fact that the policy

directives of the Committee, to which all the republics are committed, authorize it to submit recommendations for immediate application by each country within its national territory that, in conjunction with its limited membership, made the representative principle imperative.

Without this principle the governments which had not designated the members would have been placed at a disadvantage in relation to those authorized to make the appointments, since only the latter would have had, through their members, an opportunity to determine the necessary measures by which the commitment entered into by the 21 governments at Rio de Janeiro could be

implemented throughout the continent. By converting the 7 members into a collective representative of the community, the representative principle assures equality to all the republics within the Committee. By thus placing each of the governments on an identical plane, the principle inexorably required the Committee to rely exclusively on the "instructions" from the 21 governments contained in resolution XVII. It was consequently imperative that the members be guided, as they have been, with one exception, solely by the definition of the general interest incorporated in that agreement on policy and objectives. This rule is a guaranty that the general interest defined in the policy directives will be impartially served.

Moreover, the representative principle not only insures equality of representation, but it also serves as a basic rule of interpretation by which the Committee measures the proposals which it submits to the governments for the implementation of the policy agreed upon at Rio de Janeiro. The members must judge all such measures from the point of view of suitability and utility in promoting the collective interest of the continent, rather than from the effect on particular national interests.

The representative principle thus has emphasized the supremacy of the general interest in the community of American republics as that interest is defined in the Committee's policy directives.

One of the important corollaries of this principle is that within the Committee the members act in an individual capacity. This expediency has meant a freedom from those considerations of protocol which so often complicate and delay the action of a gathering of delegates, each of whom speaks and acts exclusively in the name and on behalf of a sovereign government. Moreover, controversial issues could be considered and resolved on their merits; the individual members could freely express their opinions without involving their governments in any manner. As a result, the decisions of the majority could be submitted to the governments as the decisions of the Committee with no mention of minority votes.

#### Activities of the Committee

##### *Legislative Program*

Between April 15, 1942 and June 11, 1943 the Committee submitted 21 programs of action to the American governments. The programs are de-

tailed applications of the policies of resolution XVII and are built around the four-fold division of the memorandum attached thereto:

- (a) The control of dangerous aliens;
- (b) The prevention of abuse of citizenship;
- (c) The regulation of entry and exit and the prevention of clandestine crossing of frontiers; and
- (d) The prevention of acts of political aggression, including espionage, sabotage, and the dissemination of totalitarian propaganda, and the protection of vital information through censorship controls.

The Committee, in preparing the programs, studied the problems which called for emergency defense action and investigated the legislative and constitutional structure of the several republics.

The Committee's studies and the information furnished by national officials revealed that, while the statutes of the American republics prior to the Rio Conference were in general adequate to deal with acts prejudicial to the state and its institutions in peacetime, they could not readily be utilized to cope with the wide-spread organization and ever-changing tactics of Axis political warfare. Hence it became evident that, in all the areas covered by resolution XVII, proposals would have to be designed to key both legislation and administration to security problems as presented by the war and, particularly, to cope with the known facts of Nazi organization and method. Therefore, programs were submitted, under division (a), on the registration of aliens, certificates of identity, and the detention and expulsion of dangerous Axis nationals; and, under division (d), on the protection of ships and port facilities, the censorship of international communications, the protection of inland facilities against sabotage, and clandestine radio stations. Under divisions (b) and (c) two comprehensive recommendations, one on each of the subjects indicated, were submitted.

Variations in the character of the problems and in the legal structure among the republics obliged the Committee to base its program on general principles and minimum standards. Resort to minimum standards was believed imperative as a means of laying the groundwork for a coordinated continental system of political defense. Hence the recommendations did not take the form of draft laws or decrees, but they provided, in considerable detail, a basis for such laws or decrees.

Although the programs were to be directed primarily against the Axis aggressors and their nationals, the foreign ministers were aware in the declaration of policy—as the Committee has been in its application—that Axis agents are often not of Axis nationality. Consequently the measures proposed by the Committee have included general provisions which are not keyed or limited by reference to nationality and in addition special, and often more exacting, measures directed at the Axis nationals or organizations.

The several parts of the legislative program constitute an integrated system of defense. In general the measures may be divided into two main groups: those concerned with all aspects of control over the individual (registration, detention and expulsion, abuse of citizenship, and control over travel); and those concerned with special security problems (protection of ships, ports, and plant facilities; censorship; dissemination of propaganda). Within each group and between the groups there is an obvious interrelation. The controls over travel, once entry has been attained, are keyed into the system of registration and surveillance. The censorship controls, together with the travel regulations and the measures proposed with respect to clandestine radio stations, provide the means for the effective crippling of the Axis communications network. Supplementary both to the controls over persons and to communication facilities are the measures for the protection of ships, ports, and mine and plant facilities.

#### *"Follow Up" Work*

This program has consisted of two principal parts: first, a series of consultative visits to the capitals of the hemisphere, and, second, the preparation and transmission to each country of special detailed memoranda and other communications dealing with particular aspects of the individual problems of the republics.

The first series of consultative visits was carried out during the months of March and April of 1943 with the respective national authorities in Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. From June to October 1943, two delegations composed of representatives of the Committee simultaneously undertook extensive tours of the continent to conduct similar consultations with the governments of the countries of northern South America, the Caribbean, Central America, and the United States.

In each of the visits the procedure followed was substantially the same. After a formal opening session, a series of extensive conferences and discussions was held over a period of several days and utilized as a working basis the outline of the minimum structure for political defense as revealed in the 21 resolutions of the Committee.

In each republic the governments appointed special commissions composed of high policy officers and specialized experts with whom the Committee's representatives considered the following aspects of each topic: The nature of the manifestations within the country of the Axis activities concerned, the legal and administrative steps which have been taken by the country, the applicability of the Committee's recommendations, and any additional measures which should be taken on the basis thereof.

The visits were conducted without formality or protocol, the representatives of the Committee making it clear, usually at the first session, that they hoped to "get down to cases" through a full and frank interchange of views. Hence, when on occasion there was an evident desire on the part of a national official to describe his program in general terms through unsupported assertions that all steps had been taken as recommended, the Committee's delegation did not hesitate to press for detailed substantiation. In all cases such insistence on practical detail was respected as a sincere effort to fulfil a responsibility to the community of American states.

In many of the countries visited, the various suggestions for the adoption of additional legislative and administrative measures agreed upon during the sessions by the national officials and the Committee's delegation were embodied in a series of conclusions which at the closing session of the visit were read, discussed, approved, and signed by both the delegation of the Committee and the national officials who took part in the various technical sessions.

When the visits were completed, when the reports thereon were submitted to the full Committee, and when the extensive documentary material obtained from the various countries was analyzed, the Committee began the preparation of special, confidential, detailed memoranda to each government, with reference to its political-defense problems.

In each memorandum the Committee attempted further to particularize its recommendations to the special situations in the republic to which it was sent and to make certain additional suggestions in the various fields covered by its resolutions. The Committee sought to supply the interested government with information concerning the helpful experience of other American republics which were confronted with similar problems, including, in several instances, the transmission of compilations of legislation of the several countries on particular subjects. These memoranda attempted to carry on where the consultative visits left off.

Although during the consultative visits an attempt was made to discuss in as great detail as possible every aspect of the political-defense system, in the "follow up" memoranda the Committee has sought to concentrate upon those particular aspects which in its opinion were of primary importance to each government—either because the need for the adoption of additional measures was great or because special difficulties in the way of effective control were present.

In many cases the conclusions reached during the course of the visits provided the point of departure for the memoranda, and further information was sought as to the manner in which these conclusions were being carried into effect.

These "follow up" memoranda represent the culmination of the progressive particularization of the general principles of political defense agreed upon at the Third Meeting of Foreign Ministers. The annex to resolution XVII of that meeting gave a general outline of the objectives embodied in the accompanying resolution. Through the programs of action contained in its recommendations the Committee sought to define the general minimum standards and in some instances to detail methods and procedures for the accomplishment of those objectives. The system of consultative visits was designed to assist in the adaptation of these standards and techniques to the situations in each country. The series of memoranda have continued that process.

In a discussion of the Committee's efforts to obtain an implementation of its legislative program, reference is appropriate to its publication of substantiated charges against a continental network of Axis agents operating from headquarters in Argentina and Chile. Through the publication of two well-documented memoranda during the months of November 1942 and January 1943, the

Committee not only gave real content to the general assertions of Nazi activities, but it also demonstrated the practical character of and urgent need for action on the measures being proposed to the American republics. The memoranda described the key role of the Axis "diplomats"; they named the party leaders; they traced the communications system by courier and clandestine radio through which a constant two-way stream of information was moving between South America and Berlin; and they cited the consequences in terms of American lives and property. Almost every fact and incident disclosed by the memoranda gave new practical meaning to the programs prepared by the Committee.

By means of the "conclusion" technique of the consultative visits, through the informed channels of communication provided by the liaison officers and the national committees, by means of the "follow up" memoranda, and by the timely publication of evidence of continuing Axis activity the Committee has gone as far, perhaps, as an advisory international body is able and competent to go in securing practical, down-to-earth application of principles and standards conceived in the interest of a community of states.

#### Recognition of Governments Established by Force

Near the close of 1943 it became evident that the slight success of the Axis attempts to sow confusion and disunity in America was making it necessary for them to resort to other and more direct methods to achieve their objective. The presence within the continent of subversive elements gave the Axis powers their opportunity, and indications were multiplying that those groups were planning to participate in movements designed to overthrow established governments in several countries and that they were receiving advice, encouragement, money, and other forms of assistance from organizations or persons known to be connected with or inspired by the Nazis.

The overthrow on December 29, 1943 of the established Government of Bolivia brought these fears suddenly to the fore. Although it was preceded and accompanied by wide-spread suggestions that this particular *coup d'état* was the first of a series designed to break down the existing anti-Axis front in South America, it was apparent that a political-defense question of great magnitude and urgency had suddenly been precipitated. The question was novel: There existed neither an



agreed policy nor a speedy procedure by which the interested republics could promptly act together to meet this potential threat to their individual and collective security and solidarity.

On December 24, four days after the revolution occurred, the Committee adopted a resolution which supplied both the policy and the procedural needs: It recommended that for the duration of the war the American republics agree not to accord recognition to any new government established by force, prior to full exchange of information and consultation among themselves regarding the circumstances surrounding the revolution and particularly the adherence of the new regime to the existing inter-American undertakings for hemispheric defense.<sup>3</sup> Nineteen interested governments promptly announced their acceptance of this formula, whereupon, on January 5, the Committee adopted a second resolution, recommending that the usual diplomatic channels be utilized as the procedural mechanism for effectuating the necessary exchanges of information and consultations.<sup>4</sup> Within a brief time, during which those republics also gave consideration to a suggestion of the Mexican Government that a special consultative meeting might be desirable, all interested governments accepted the second resolution. Upon completion of their consultations, they announced their respective individual decisions to refrain from recognizing the new regime.

The governments continued their joint consideration and study of the problem, however, and in June 1944, as a result of further consultations, they reached the conclusion that, during the six months which had elapsed, the causes which had impeded recognition had disappeared. Consequently the republics decided to recognize the Bolivian Government, and a majority of them accepted the proposal of the Foreign Ministry of Mexico to the effect that this recognition should take place simultaneously on June 23, 1944.<sup>5</sup>

Almost all the American nations communicated their decisions to the Committee, and on June 23, 1944, the Committee approved a new resolution which, after giving expression to the consequent general pleasure felt throughout the continent, made public its own satisfaction over the recognition and which emphasized the significance of the fact that this inter-American action had been taken in the solidary manner in which the community of American nations confronts problems of common interest. At the same time the chairman of the Committee sent its congratulations to the Min-

ister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia, from whom a courteous reply was received.

In addition to this instance in which the procedure counseled by the Committee was invoked for the first time, subsequent changes of government have been brought about by force in Argentina, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Guatemala; in every case the governments have taken the Committee's resolution into account in reaching a decision concerning whether to recognize or not to recognize the new governments so instituted. In three of these cases the known circumstances which determined the establishment of the new governments caused the American republics, after an exchange of views, to delay official recognition.

The consultations and exchange of information respecting the installation of the present government of the Argentine republic resulted in the decision of practically all the American republics to abstain from entering into diplomatic relations with that government.

## II

The Committee is as much an innovation in inter-American relations as is the consultative procedure of which it is a product and an extension. The procedure and its offspring reflect a maturing pan-Americanism. Both have the same basic premise: namely, that inter-American solidarity is a fact; that pan-Americanism has progressed from the realm of aspiration, through the intermediary stage of an inorganic system of principles and techniques of international cooperation, to the point whereby full use can be made of emergency instrumentalities for joint political decision and action.

The Committee has been impressed throughout its work by the practical working interdependence of its principal characteristics: The declaration of controlling policy by the Foreign Ministers, the representative responsibility of 7 members to 21 governments, the rule of procedure by majority vote, and the ample machinery for continuing contact and consultation with officials of the several governments. Each of these characteristics has been indispensable to the Committee's operations.

It is perhaps not too early to consider whether significant ideas for post-war organization are to be found in the interplay of policy and representa-

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 1, 1944, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 8, 1944, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> BULLETIN of June 24, 1944, p. 584.

tive principle and in the organizational and operating techniques which have characterized the Committee.

Such consideration might include the possibility of a generalization of the techniques in a treaty or in a declaration of principles and procedures, to be applied by permanent or *ad hoc* entities, whether organized for purposes of continental defense or for the prevention of controversies, for inquiry, for conciliation, or for other political questions.

If it were decided to give permanent form to the consultative procedure by granting political powers to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union or by creating a permanent inter-American political entity paralleling the Union, the experience of the Committee might well be of considerable value.

Likewise, the increased resort to international advisory committees, both in Europe and in America, prompts the inquiry concerning whether certain qualified generalizations, which may be drawn from the Committee's experience, may assist in determining certain characteristics which, individually or in combination, are desirable or essential to the effective operation of advisory committees in general.

[The special problems created in the field of political defense by the position and attitude of Argentina have only been touched upon in this article. This situation, including the Committee's conception of the basic issues involved, the repercussions which it has had upon the work of the organization, and the action taken by the Committee with regard thereto, is dealt with at length in chapter I of the Committee's second Annual Report, an English translation of which will be published in the next issue of the BULLETIN.]

## Signing of Two UNRRA Sanitary Conventions

[Released to the press January 5]

On January 5, 1945, at 11:30 a.m., there were signed in Washington two sanitary conventions concerning maritime and aerial travel amending the maritime International Sanitary Convention signed at Paris on June 21, 1926<sup>1</sup> and the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation signed at The Hague on April 12, 1933.<sup>2</sup> The

Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State, signed the two amendatory conventions on behalf of the United States of America.

The list of the signers of the two conventions is as follows:

France: Prof. André Mayer, Medical Counselor of the Provisional Government of the French Republic in the United States

Poland: Mr. Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Ambassador in Washington

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: The Right Honorable the Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador in Washington

United States of America: The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State of the United States.

The following representatives of UNRRA were also present at the signing:

Mr. Herbert H. Lehman, Director General  
Dr. P. W. Kuo, Deputy Director General, Secretariat

Mr. Francis B. Sayre, Diplomatic Adviser  
Dr. Wilbur A. Sawyer, Director of Health for UNRRA

Dr. G. H. de Paula Souza, Chief of the Section on Epidemic Control, Health Division

Dr. Max Habicht, Assistant Diplomatic Adviser.

The two amendatory conventions relate particularly to the performance by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, for a period not longer than 18 months after the conventions become effective, of duties and functions of the International Office of Public Health at Paris. The amendment of the Conventions of 1926 and 1933 by the present conventions is intended to facilitate the efforts of UNRRA in discharging its functions in the fields of displaced persons and epidemic control. The changes, particularly those to meet the present-day needs of aerial navigation, are framed in the light of the most recent advances in medical science and public-health practices.

Each convention provides that it shall come into force as soon as it has been signed or acceded to on behalf of 10 or more governments. The conventions were signed on behalf of the United States of America with the reservation "Subject to ratification".

The conventions will remain open for signature until 5:30 p.m. on January 15, 1945, after which they will be open to accession by any government not a signatory.

<sup>1</sup>Treaty Series 762.

<sup>2</sup>Treaty Series 901.

# Private International Air Law

By STEPHEN LATCHFORD<sup>1</sup>

THE DELEGATES to the First International Conference on Private Air Law<sup>2</sup> held at Paris in 1925 adopted a resolution providing for the creation of the Comité International Technique d'Experts Juridiques Aériens (usually referred to as the CITEJA), translated in the United States as the International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts. This committee was organized for the purpose of developing a comprehensive code of private international air law through the preparation of draft conventions on various subjects for reference to periodic international conferences on private air law held for the purpose of adopting and signing conventions based on the CITEJA's drafts. The substance of the resolution adopted at the 1925 Conference was as follows:

The Conference, considering the importance, the urgent nature, the complexity, and the technically legal character of questions of private international air law, expresses the wish that a special committee of experts be appointed as soon as possible to prepare for the continuation of the work of the Conference.

This committee should be composed of a limited number of members, its regular headquarters to be at Paris.

Accordingly, the Conference requests the French Government to be good enough to get in touch with the governments invited to this Conference in order to ascertain what action should be taken on this recommendation.

The Secretary General of the 1925 Conference explained that the committee to be organized would be a committee of experts who would act on their own responsibility, without committing their respective governments, which would, at international conferences, remain free to approve or reject the conclusions of the committee. In other words, the delegates to such conferences would use as bases of discussions the draft conventions prepared by a number of jurists chosen for their knowledge and experience instead of the drafts prepared by individual governments.

*This article is considered to be of interest in connection with three resolutions relating to private international air law adopted by the International Civil Aviation Conference, convened at Chicago on November 1, 1944, which are referred to in the article.*

The matter of organizing the international committee was taken up accordingly by the French Government with other interested governments and, sufficient interest having been shown in the matter, the committee was organized and held its first sessions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris from May 17 to 21, 1926. Twenty-eight countries appointed representatives to attend the first sessions of the committee. When the committee was organized it adopted the following three principles to guide it in its activities:

(1) Establishment of a program covering various subjects pertaining to private air law to be studied by commissions of experts.

(2) Preparation of texts of international conventions on legal subjects for consideration at periodic international conferences.

(3) Maintenance of the principle of the progressive elaboration of a single international code of private air law.

*Participation by the United States in the Work of the Committee.* The United States did not participate in the work of the committee at the time of its organization except by the presence of governmental representatives who were merely observers. Later, however, when it was recognized that the code of law being drawn up by the committee would vitally affect the operations of United States aircraft abroad, a congressional resolution was adopted in 1931 authorizing an annual appropriation to pay the share of the United States toward the expenses of the committee. The funds obtained as a result of this resolution enabled the Department of State to receive all the documents of the committee as distributed by its Secretary General and to keep in touch with the

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<sup>2</sup>The periodic international conferences on private air law held in 1925, 1929, 1933, and 1938 were diplomatic conferences.

work of the committee. In 1932 United States experts were, with the approval of the President, appointed by the Secretary of State to serve on the committee. Although no funds were available for the purpose of sending the experts abroad after their appointment in 1932, they participated in the work of the CITEJA to some extent through correspondence. An act of Congress authorizing an annual appropriation of a sum not in excess of \$6,500 to defray the expenses of the United States experts in going abroad to attend the sessions of the CITEJA and of its subcommittees was approved by President Roosevelt on August 7, 1935.<sup>3</sup> The subcommittees are known as the First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Commissions. Four commissions deal with legal subjects, and the fifth is an auditing and finance committee.

The United States members of the CITEJA, beginning with the sessions held at The Hague in September 1935, have participated in all the sessions of the committee and of the several commissions. The permanent secretariat of the CITEJA has been continuously in Paris; Mr. Edmond Sudre, of France, has been Secretary General. It has been the practice for one or more of the commissions to meet at Paris each spring. In the fall of each year a plenary session of the committee, as well as sessions of one or more of the commissions, was held in various European capitals by a system of rotation.

The CITEJA is the only permanent international aeronautical body on which the United States has been represented. The membership of the United States Section as last approved by the President (1939) consisted of seven members: four were Government officials; three were non-governmental members.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Public Law 254, 74th Cong. (49 Stat. 540).

<sup>4</sup> The Government officials were Stephen Latchford and Arthur L. Lebel, of the Department of State; and Samuel E. Gates and Edward C. Sweeney of the Civil Aeronautics Board (Mr. Gates is now in the Army and Mr. Sweeney in the Navy). Denis Mulligan, Arnold W. Knauth, and Fred D. Fugg, Jr., were designated as the non-governmental members. John J. Ide, former technical assistant for the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics in Europe, was technical assistant to the United States Section of CITEJA. Some of the persons listed are no longer members of the United States Section. If the codification of private international air law is resumed by the CITEJA, it is assumed that due consideration will be given to a reorganization of the United States Section.

The United States Section was assisted by an Advisory Committee consisting of a representative of each of the following organizations:

National Association of State Aviation Officials  
 National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws  
 National Aeronautic Association  
 The Maritime Law Association of the United States  
 Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America  
 American Bar Association  
 American Society of International Law  
 Board of Aviation Underwriters  
 Institute of the Aeronautical Sciences  
 Private Fliers Association Incorporated  
 American Law Institute  
 Air Transport Association of America  
 Air Line Pilots Association  
 National Lawyers Guild

*Countries Participating in the Work of the CITEJA.* The Secretary General of the CITEJA, in a report that he submitted on October 20, 1944, stated that since its organization the membership of the CITEJA has included the following countries:

Argentina	Lithuania
Austria	Luxembourg
Belgium	Mexico
Brazil	Monaco (Principality of)
China	Netherlands
Colombia	Norway
Czechoslovakia	Peru
Denmark	Poland
Dominican Republic	Portugal
Ecuador	Rumania
Egypt	Spain
France	Sweden
Germany	Switzerland
Great Britain	Turkey
Greece	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Guatemala	United States of America
Hungary	Uruguay
Italy	Yugoslavia
Japan	
Liberia	

The Secretary General explained further that as of March 1939 the states officially members of

the CITEJA and contributing toward its annual expenses were as follows:

Argentina	Luxembourg
Belgium	Mexico
Brazil	Norway
China	Netherlands
Czechoslovakia	Poland
Denmark	Portugal
Egypt	Rumania
France	Spain
Germany	Sweden
Great Britain	Switzerland
Greece	Turkey
Hungary	United States of America
Italy	Yugoslavia
Japan	

The United States members of the CITEJA have observed, however, that the average number of states represented at each meeting of the CITEJA has not exceeded 15 or 20.

#### International Conventions Developed by CITEJA

*The Warsaw Convention of 1929.* One of the most important conventions resulting from the deliberations of the CITEJA is the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to International Transportation by Air signed at Warsaw in 1929 during the Second International Conference on Private Air Law and adhered to by the United States in 1934.<sup>5</sup> This Convention was adopted in provisional form by the delegates to the First International Conference on Private Air Law held at Paris in 1925. The Convention as adopted in 1925 was referred to the CITEJA for further study and revision; the revised text adopted by CITEJA constituted a basis for the discussions at the Warsaw Conference of 1929.

The Warsaw Convention contains detailed provisions relating to the form and legal effect of air-transport documents consisting of baggage checks, air waybills, and passenger tickets, and it contains important provisions dealing with the extent to which the air carrier shall be liable for damages to persons and property in international air transportation.<sup>6</sup>

*The Rome Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to Damages to Third Parties on the Surface (1933) and the Brussels Protocol on Aviation Insurance under this Convention (1938).* A Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to Damages Caused by Aircraft to Third Parties on the Surface was signed at Rome on May 29, 1933 during the Third

International Conference on Private Air Law.<sup>7</sup> This Convention is based on the theory of absolute liability of the operators of aircraft in international flights for damage caused by the aircraft to persons and property on the surface, although limitations of liability are permitted, under certain conditions, to the operators of the aircraft. The Convention provides that the operator shall make a cash deposit or shall be insured against damages caused by aircraft to persons or property on the surface in the countries flown over. Provided a cash deposit is made or insurance is obtained, the carrier is entitled to a limitation of liability.<sup>8</sup>

The question of aviation insurance with respect to this Convention has been a difficult problem. The insurers contended that they were not in a position to provide insurance unless they were allowed to interpose certain defenses against the payment of insurance claims. The Rome Conference of 1933 therefore referred the insurance problem to the CITEJA for study and the latter's recommendations were submitted to the Fourth International Conference on Private Air Law held at Brussels in September 1938. As a result, the Brussels Conference adopted a protocol to the Rome Convention of 1933 allowing the aviation insurers a limited number of defenses.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Treaty Series 876.

<sup>6</sup> According to the records of the Department of State the following countries have become parties to the Warsaw Convention by ratification or adherence: United States of America (subject to a reservation that the first paragraph of art. 2 of the Convention shall not apply to international transportation that may be performed by the United States of America or any territory or possession under its jurisdiction), Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Switzerland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Free City of Danzig, Finland, Hungary, India, Ireland, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Mexico, New Zealand, and Sweden. In addition the Convention is applicable to certain outlying territories, possessions, colonies, and so forth, under the jurisdiction of some of the countries listed.

<sup>7</sup> For a translation of the Convention, see Department of State Treaty Information Bulletin 47 (Aug. 1933), p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> According to the records of the Department of State, the Rome Convention referred to has been ratified by Belgium, Brazil, Guatemala, Rumania, and Spain (including the Spanish Zone of Morocco but not the Spanish colonies).

<sup>9</sup> For a translation of the protocol, see the *Report of the American Delegation to the Fourth International Conference on Private Air Law* (Brussels, 1938), Conference Series 42, p. 83.

The protocol provides that beginning with the date on which it was signed at Brussels, September 29, 1938, ratification of or adherence to the Rome Convention on third-party liability shall imply ratification of or adherence to the protocol, but that the protocol and the Convention may be ratified or adhered to simultaneously by separate instruments. Both the Rome Convention referred to and the Brussels protocol were signed on behalf of the United States, but neither of them has been ratified by this Government.<sup>10</sup>

*The Rome Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to the Precautionary Attachment of Aircraft (1933).*<sup>11</sup> Another convention (relating to the precautionary attachment of aircraft) was signed at Rome on May 29, 1933 during the Third International Conference on Private Air Law. Under the terms of this Convention, government aircraft and aircraft employed in international air-transport services would, under the conditions set forth in the Convention, be exempt from attachment before judgment is entered. In cases where attachment before judgment is not prohibited under the Convention or an exemption is not invoked, an adequate bond will prevent the precautionary attachment or will give a right to an immediate release of the aircraft. The primary purpose of the Convention as explained by the chairman of the United States Delegation to the Rome Conference of 1933 is to provide a uniform rule with reference to the attachment of aircraft registered in one country while flying through the territory of another country. He stated that the seizure of an aircraft engaged in regular transportation of passengers and property would necessarily delay such transportation and might result in serious inconvenience and loss and that the Convention would prevent frivolous seizure of such aircraft.

The delegates to the International Civil Aviation Conference convened at Chicago on November 1, 1944 adopted a resolution recommending that the various governments represented at that Conference give consideration to the ratification of or adherence to the Convention on Precautionary Attachment so far as such governments have not already taken such action.<sup>12</sup> The Convention was signed on behalf of the United States but has not yet been ratified by this Government.

*The Brussels Salvage Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to the Assist-*

*ance and Salvage of Aircraft or by Aircraft at Sea (1938).*<sup>13</sup> A Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to the Assistance and Salvage of Aircraft or by Aircraft at Sea was signed on behalf of a number of countries including the United States at the Fourth International Conference on Private Air Law held at Brussels in September 1938. This Convention places certain obligations upon aircraft to render assistance to other aircraft and to surface ships in distress at sea, and likewise places an obligation on surface ships to render assistance to aircraft in distress at sea. The Convention contains a number of the principles embodied in the Maritime Salvage Convention of 1910, but it has certain new provisions deemed to be especially suitable to aviation, including those for the payment of indemnity for expenses incurred in salvage operations.<sup>14</sup>

The uncertain situation with respect to salvage operations resulting from the outbreak of war has apparently been a factor in influencing the various governments to postpone any definite decision in the matter of giving effect to the principles of the 1938 Brussels Convention.

*CITEJA Draft Convention on the Ownership of Aircraft and the Aeronautic Register (1931).*<sup>15</sup> In 1931 the CITEJA adopted a draft convention

<sup>10</sup> According to the records of the Department of State only Brazil and Guatemala have so far ratified the Brussels protocol on insurance.

<sup>11</sup> For a translation, see Department of State Treaty Information Bulletin 47 (Aug. 1933), p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> According to the records of the Department of State the Convention on Precautionary Attachment has been ratified or adhered to by Belgium, Brazil, Denmark (not including Greenland), Germany, Guatemala, Hungary, Italy (including colonies and possessions), Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain (including the Spanish zone of Morocco but not the Spanish colonies), and Sweden.

<sup>13</sup> For a translation of the Brussels Salvage Convention of 1938, see *Report of American Delegation to the Fourth International Conference on Private Air Law (Brussels 1938)*, Conference Series 42, p. 75.

<sup>14</sup> According to the records of the Department of State there has been so far no ratification of or adherence by any country to the Brussels Salvage Convention of 1938. Under date of Jan. 7, 1943 there was introduced in the first session of the 78th Congress a bill, S. 14, for the purpose of giving effect to certain of the basic provisions of the Brussels Salvage Convention of 1938.

<sup>15</sup> For a translation of the CITEJA draft convention on the ownership of aircraft and the aeronautic register, see Department of State Treaty Information Bulletin 40, p. 38.

setting up what is known as an aeronautic register.<sup>16</sup> This draft provides that aircraft registered in a state and used in international navigation (registration in this sense meaning that which establishes the nationality of the aircraft under public air law) shall be recorded by the owner in a public registry for the purpose of giving notice of title and property claims. Aircraft recorded in one state cannot be recorded in another unless the owner proves that the first inscription on the public registry has been canceled. The convention goes into some detail with respect to the effect of the recording of mortgages, liens, or other property claims.

This draft convention was never referred to a periodic international conference on private air law for final adoption and signature. It was considered to be more urgent that action be taken at such conferences on other projects developed by the CITEJA. In addition to this reason there was a feeling on the part of a number of the CITEJA members that the provisions of the draft convention should be given further study by the CITEJA before being submitted to a periodic international conference for final adoption and signature.

The delegates to the recent International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago adopted a resolution calling attention to the desirability of having the various governments reach a common understanding on the legal questions involved in the transfer of title to aircraft. The delegates recommended that consideration be given to the early calling of an international conference on private air law for the purpose of adopting a convention dealing with this matter. The resolution recommended that the proposed conference include in the bases of discussion the CITEJA draft convention on the ownership of aircraft and the aeronautic register as well as the draft convention on aerial mortgages, other real securities, and aerial privileges described below.

*Draft Convention on Aerial Mortgages, Other Real Securities, and Aerial Privileges.* This draft convention was also adopted by the CITEJA in 1931, but for the reasons given above, with respect to the draft on ownership of aircraft and the aeronautic register, it was never referred to a periodic international conference on private air law for final adoption and signature. The draft convention on aerial mortgages and other real

securities and aerial privileges defines the term "aerial mortgage" and provides that such mortgages, duly established under the law of the state of registration of the aircraft, shall produce certain legal effects as determined by the draft. The term "aerial privileges" under the convention has reference to certain claims entitled to preference over mortgage claims.<sup>17</sup>

*CITEJA Draft Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to Aerial Collisions (1936).* At its eleventh plenary session, held at Bern, Switzerland, in September 1936, the CITEJA adopted a draft convention on aerial collisions which dealt with the liability of operators of aircraft for damages resulting from collisions between aircraft. This draft convention was referred to the Fourth International Conference on Private Air Law at Brussels in September 1938 for final adoption and signature. The Brussels Conference decided, however, to withhold action on the draft convention, and it adopted a resolution requesting that the CITEJA give the draft further consideration. An important factor in the decision to withhold action on the draft at Brussels was the objection raised by the United States Delegation to immediate consideration of the draft, on the ground that there had not been sufficient experience on which to base a convention dealing with the liability of operators of aircraft in the event of aerial collisions.<sup>18</sup>

#### Current Projects on the Agenda of CITEJA

On October 20, 1944 the Secretary General of the CITEJA reported that the current projects on the agenda of CITEJA are as follows:

1. Legal status of the navigating personnel of aircraft;
2. Legal status of the commander of the aircraft;

<sup>16</sup> Such register or recording in a public registry under the Convention is to be distinguished from ordinary registration by a government for the purpose of establishing the nationality of the aircraft.

<sup>17</sup> For a translation of the full text of the draft convention, see Department of State Treaty Information Bulletin 40, p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> For a translation of the CITEJA draft on aerial collisions, see *Report of the American Delegation to the Fourth International Conference on Private Air Law (Brussels, 1938)*, Conference Series 42, p. 48.

3. Collaboration of the CITEJA in the interpretation and execution of conventions on private international air law;

4. Assistance and salvage of aircraft and by aircraft on land;

5. Resolution of the Brussels International Air Law Conference of 1938 recommending that the CITEJA make a study of the subject of contribution by interested parties in the payment of remuneration for assistance with particular reference to the contribution of "postal freight" (as related to salvage operations);

6. Authority of decisions rendered by courts having jurisdiction under existing air-law conventions, and the question of distribution and allocation of liability awards raised by such conventions;

7. Revision of the draft convention on the ownership of aircraft and the aeronautic register, and of the draft convention relating to mortgages, other real securities, and aerial privileges;

8. Tourist aviation;

9. General average;

10. Chartering of aircraft;

11. Revision of the Warsaw Convention of 1929, relating to the liability of the air carrier in international transportation;

12. Resumption of the study of aerial collisions;

13. Abandonment of aircraft;

14. General study of aviation insurance.

The Secretary General adds the following comment:

"To these questions, which are numerous and important, there will be added new problems which will be raised by the very important historical events which are now taking place. Aerial navigation will be one of the very first subjects to be dealt with in the organization of Europe and of the world, and its development will be enhanced by technical and scientific improvements which were achieved during the course of the hostilities and by the needs of states and of individuals in the way of air navigation."

Although it will not be possible within the space of the present article to enter into a detailed explanation of all of the items on the current agenda of CITEJA as described above, special mention might be made of the draft convention on the legal status of the navigating personnel of air-

craft on which the CITEJA had practically completed action before it suspended sessions at the outbreak of war. This draft convention contains a number of detailed provisions governing the making of the contracts of hire of the navigating personnel of aircraft and defines the obligations resting upon their employers in the matter of repatriation of the personnel on the termination of their services. The draft also defines the jurisdiction of the commander of the aircraft over the personnel while in foreign countries.

In this connection reference might be made also to a draft convention dealing specifically with the legal status of the commander of the aircraft. A draft convention on this subject was adopted provisionally by the CITEJA in 1931. This draft sets forth the detailed powers of the commander in matters of safety of the aircraft and deals with his authority over the passengers and members of the crew. The commander is given also the power to act as the agent of his employer in various transactions including the authority to incur necessary expenses. The Secretary General of the CITEJA stated in his report of October 20, 1944 that the CITEJA is to decide whether the draft dealing with the legal status of the commander should be combined with the draft relating to the legal status of the aircraft-navigating personnel.

The delegates to the recent International Conference on Civil Aviation held at Chicago adopted the following resolution concerning the future activities of CITEJA:

"CONSIDERING:

"That the Comité International Technique d'Experts Juridiques Aériens (CITEJA), created pursuant to a recommendation adopted at the First International Conference on Private Air Law held at Paris in 1925, has made considerable progress in the development of a code of private international air law through the preparation of draft international conventions for final adoption at periodic international conferences on private air law;

"That the further elaboration of this code of private international air law through the completion of pending CITEJA projects and the initiation of new studies in the field of private air law will contribute materially to the development of international civil aviation:

(Continued on page 28)



# Adherence by France to the Declaration by United Nations

## Exchange of Communications

[Released to the press January 1]

DECEMBER 30, 1944.

[Translation]

EMBASSY OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC  
IN THE UNITED STATES  
*Washington, December 26, 1944.*

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency, by order of my Government, that the Provisional Government of the French Republic has decided to adhere to the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, the principles of which constitute the very basis of its action.

Mr. Henri Bonnet, Ambassador-designate, has been instructed to sign this declaration in the name of the French Government.

I should be grateful to Your Excellency if you would be good enough to employ your good offices to communicate this decision of the French Government to all the Governments which are signatories to the Declaration of January 1, 1942.

Please accept [etc.]

PHILIPPE BAUDET,  
*Chargé d'Affaires of France*

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Embassy's note of December 26, 1944, stating that the Provisional Government of the French Republic has decided to adhere to the Declaration by United Nations, the principles of which constitute the very basis of its action.

It is a source of genuine satisfaction for this Government, as depository for the Declaration, to welcome France formally into the ranks of the United Nations. We have been pleased to make arrangements for you to sign the Declaration on January 1, 1945.

In accordance with your Embassy's request, this Government will transmit to the other United Nations the notice of the decision of the Provisional Government of the French Republic to adhere to the Declaration.

Accept [etc.]

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.

His Excellency HENRI BONNET,  
*Appointed Ambassador of the Provisional  
Government of the French Republic.*

## Ceremonies on the Occasion of the Signing of the Declaration<sup>1</sup>

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press January 1]

JANUARY 1, 1945.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

On this third anniversary of the United Nations I extend my most cordial greetings to the representatives of the nations who are assembled for the occasion. It is a matter of profound gratification to all of us that at this ceremony France will formally adhere to the Declaration by United Nations.

France was the first ally of our country in our own war of liberation. For 150 years her traditions of liberty have been an inspiration to free men everywhere. In this war all the brutalities of four years of Nazi occupation could not quench the flame of her unconquerable spirit or suppress the resistance of her people to the enemy. And

<sup>1</sup> Held at the Department of State, Jan. 1, 1945, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the Declaration by United Nations.

now, France stands beside us a strong ally—once more in the first rank of the free and peace-loving nations of the world.

The United Nations have gone far since that day three years ago when we made our compact. Then the enemy's military strength was at its zenith and was being ruthlessly used in an all-out attempt to conquer the world. Together we have reversed the early years of retreat and beaten back the enemy—in Africa, in Eastern and Western Europe

and in the Pacific. Together we have laid the foundations for a United Nations peace.

We still have far to go. We know that it is only as United Nations that we have it within our power to win complete and final victory in this war and then to win the peace. We know that by maintaining and strengthening the United Nations we shall do both.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

#### STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press January 1]

It is a significant manifestation of the growing strength of the United Nations that we should mark today the third anniversary of the Declaration by United Nations by receiving the signature on behalf of France of His Excellency Ambassador Henri Bonnet.

While his signature will be the thirty-sixth formally appended to this Declaration, the whole world knows that the people of France have in spirit and in fact always been associated with us. France was one of the first nations to challenge the Nazi aggressors. Through four years of German oppression the French people maintained their heroic resistance behind the enemy lines. The members of the Resistance Movement and the soldiers of the reborn French Army contributed in vital measure to the successful liberation of their homeland by our Allied armies. They wrote in blood and sacrifice another glorious chapter in France's record of devotion to liberty.

The nations signatory to the Declaration by United Nations welcome the formal adherence of France to this compact. It was drawn up and signed three years ago when France was under the invader's heel and all the world was in mortal danger from the Nazi and Japanese aggressors.

This compact is the foundation stone of what has become the mightiest coalition in history. It is also the foundation stone of the peace that this coalition is striving to build.

In the Declaration by United Nations the signatories proclaim their conviction "that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands". They there-

fore pledge themselves to employ their full resources against their enemies, to cooperate with each other, and not to make a separate armistice or peace. They do more. They subscribe to the common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill made on August 14, 1941 and known as the Atlantic Charter.

The principles and purposes set forth in the Atlantic Charter thus became the goal of the United Nations in building a peace which will, in the words of the Charter, "afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want".

That is the peace objective toward which the United Nations have been working together for three years. Step by step progress has been made—at Moscow and Cairo and Tehran, in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for the maintenance of peace and security, and in the conferences and other preparatory work on international social and economic problems which are the joint concern of all the nations and the solution of which is an essential part of the task of building peace. Because of that progress, our goal is now much closer to realization than it was three years ago.

We have much still to do and many difficulties still to overcome, both in the winning of the war and in winning the peace. In making the peace, as in waging the war to final victory over our enemies, the United Nations will be stronger because France is herself again. The signature which Ambassador Henri Bonnet will now affix to the Declaration by United Nations is symbolic of her full partnership in that great enterprise.

REMARKS BY THE AMBASSADOR OF THE PROVISIONAL FRENCH GOVERNMENT<sup>1</sup>

[Translation]

[Released to the press January 1]

The will expressed in the Declaration by United Nations to end this war by a total victory over the enemy and to devote all national resources to the defense of the sacred rights of man and of the peoples' freedom, is the will of France.

I feel strongly that, in signing this Declaration in her name, I am true to her dearest and firmest aspirations, already expressed by the statement of adherence to the Atlantic Charter made on September 24, 1941 by General de Gaulle interpreting the feelings of the French people.

It was with emotion that I listened to President Roosevelt's message. I sincerely thank him for having recalled the friendship which has linked our two countries since the birth of our two Republics. Their founders, of glorious memory, were already united, like their peoples, by a friendship inspired by a community of ideals.

I also thank you, Mr. Secretary, for having recalled that France has always been on the side of the United Nations. She was one of them, thanks to the fighting of those who were able to rally around her free flag, thanks to her internal resistance, and to the ardor of her people.

It is true that on the day, the third anniversary of which we today are celebrating, Germany, Japan, and their satellites were still expanding their conquest. But they had not bent the will of the free world. From that day on, their fate was sealed, since hundreds of millions of men and the most powerful countries notified them that their plans for universal domination were to be smashed to nothingness. To the immense material resources was also added the weight of moral forces. Brute

force beat against the invincible faith of man in his destiny and in the future that freedom opens to his genius. France is proud to have been, like the other enemy-occupied countries, an element of this superior force which was to bring victory back into our camp.

The United Nations were born amidst suffering and danger. They have applied in their decisive fight for existence the principles which must insure international security. They must remain invincible in peace.

To this great cause France is prepared to devote herself whole-heartedly. During the two World Wars, it was through her peaceful countryside that death and destruction were first let loose. She knows that from now on in a world where science and technology have suppressed distances, war once begun will spread over the entire globe. Consequently, she is convinced that any threat of attack must be met and, if necessary, curbed. She knows also that during this war the fraternal cooperation of the United Nations has proved that splendid results may be obtained in all domains through mutual aid, division of work, and the organization of a common effort toward the same goal.

The greatest task awaiting us is to maintain this solidarity after victory. To overcome the inevitable difficulties that we shall inherit from the most atrocious of wars, and that we shall encounter in the reestablishment of peace and prosperity in our complex and magnificent world, the United Nations will have to remain strong and organized, as they have been in trial and in triumph.

## LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN ATTENDANCE

[Released to the press January 1]

AUSTRALIA	BRAZIL
The Honorable Sir Frederic Eggleston, <i>Minister of Australia</i>	His Excellency Carlos Martins, <i>Ambassador of Brazil</i>
BELGIUM	CANADA
His Excellency Count Robert van der Straten-Ponthoz, <i>Ambassador of Belgium</i>	Mr. Merchant Mahoney, C. B. E., <i>Counselor of Embassy</i>
BOLIVIA	CHINA
His Excellency Señor Don Victor Andrade, <i>Ambassador of Bolivia</i>	His Excellency Dr. Wei Tao-ming, <i>Ambassador of China</i>
	COLOMBIA
	Señor Don Alberto Vargas Narifo, <i>Counselor of Embassy</i>
	<sup>1</sup> His Excellency Henri Bonnet.

## COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Honorable Jaime Hernandez, *Secretary of Finance in charge of Commonwealth Government Affairs*

## COSTA RICA

His Excellency Señor Don Francisco de P. Gutierrez, *Ambassador of Costa Rica*

## CUBA

The Honorable Señor Dr. José T. Barón, *Minister Counselor, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Cuba*

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Honorable Dr. Karel Červenka, *Minister of Czechoslovakia*

## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

His Excellency Señor Don Emilio García Godoy, *Ambassador of the Dominican Republic*

## ETHIOPIA

The Honorable Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medheu, *Minister of Ethiopia*

## GREECE

His Excellency Cimon P. Diamantopoulos, *Ambassador of Greece*

## GUATEMALA

His Excellency Señor Don Eugenio Silva Peña, *Ambassador of Guatemala*

## HAITI

Mr. Elie Garcia, *First Secretary, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Haiti*

## HONDURAS

His Excellency Señor Dr. Don Julian R. Caceres, *Ambassador of Honduras*

## INDIA

The Honorable Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, *Agent General for India*

## IRAN

The Honorable Mohammed Shayesteh, *Minister of Iran*

## IRAQ

The Honorable Ali Jawdat, *Minister of Iraq*

## LUXEMBOURG

The Honorable Hugues Le Gallais, *Minister of Luxembourg*

## MEXICO

Señor Don Salvador Duhart, *First Secretary of Embassy*

## NETHERLANDS

His Excellency Dr. A. Loudon, *Ambassador of the Netherlands*

## NEW ZEALAND

The Honorable C. A. Berendsen, C.M.G., *Minister of New Zealand*

## NICARAGUA

His Excellency Señor Dr. Don Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, *Ambassador of Nicaragua*

## NORWAY

His Excellency Wilhelm Munthe de Morgensterne, *Ambassador of Norway*

## PANAMA

His Excellency Señor Don Enrique A. Jiménez, *Ambassador of Panama*

## POLAND

His Excellency Jan Clechanowski, *Ambassador of Poland*

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Honorable Dr. S. F. N. Gie, *Minister of the Union of South Africa*

## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

His Excellency Andrei A. Gromyko, *Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

## UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

His Excellency the Right Honorable the Earl of Halifax, K.G., *British Ambassador*

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., *Secretary of State*

## YUGOSLAVIA

Dr. Ivan Frangeš, *Counselor, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Yugoslavia*

## Turkey Severs Relations With Japan

### Statement by THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House January 4]

Turkey's decision to sever relations with Japan is further evidence of Turkey's desire for the rapid and complete victory of the Allies. This action will result in the closing of Japanese Government establishments in Turkey, which, since the German establishments were closed by the Turkish Government, were the last footholds of the Axis on Turkish soil.

I welcome this action by the Republic of Turkey.

### Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press January 4]

The action of the National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey in voting unanimously to sever diplomatic and economic relations with Japan is welcomed by this Government as a further step toward limiting the activities of the Axis in foreign countries and as a concrete contribution by Turkey to the victory of the Allies over the Axis. The severance of relations will prevent Japanese officials and agents from using Turkey as an observation point from which to report on Allied movements to the detriment of the United Nations' war effort.

# Information for a Peoples' Peace

Remarks by ASSISTANT SECRETARY MACLEISH<sup>1</sup>

ONLY the over-educated doubt the significance of numerical phenomena. The rest of us know as a matter of course that anything which happens a hundred times is important—even the first day of the year, which recurs quite mechanically and without any effort of its own. It can hardly surprise anyone, therefore, that we meet to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of an event which would never have taken place at all without a very considerable and determined effort.

When a number of governments do anything together even once it is a matter of surprise among the cynics. When they do the same thing together not once but a hundred times people—and particularly the people who deserve the credit—may be excused for calling attention to the fact. I testify quite objectively as a man who deserves no credit whatever beyond the credit, which is not inconsiderable, of having brought your present chairman into the information service of this Government as a Deputy Director of the Office of Facts and Figures.

Those who know little of such things—those who regard the information service with suspicion—will be astonished to learn that the information officers of so many of the United Nations have worked successfully together for so many months. That the United Nations should be united in arms, or in production, or in transport is not, they think, extraordinary. That the United Nations should be united in the public labor of communication is astonishing.

But is it really astonishing? You do not think so—nor does any informed observer of the work you have done over the past three years. You know what all of us who have worked with you have learned—that the one service in which the united peoples of this peoples' war are most truly and most passionately united is precisely this service of communication and of understanding in which you are engaged. The common cause of the peoples of the world in every free man's country is the people. It is to secure a peace for the people, to end war for the people, to build a habitable world for the people that the people fight. They have learned through the miracle of modern electric communication of each other's presence, of each other's lives, of each other's pur-

poses. They know that if they can communicate with each other, if they can share their dream with each other, if they can share their knowledge of each other's sufferings and each other's hopes, they can make together what none of them can make alone. They believe, therefore, in knowledge of each other, in works about each other, in "information".

And surely they are right. As long as the people of one country think in terms of the people of another—as long as they think as men of other men—they are wise and their judgments are right judgments. The moment they forget the men and women and begin to think in terms of a government, or an officer of government, or a policy of government—in terms of a symbol like the arbitrary symbols of the old-fashioned newspaper cartoons—they think in abstractions and they judge in abstractions, as we in the United States were judged for years in terms of an abstraction which never fitted the American people and never could have fitted them.

This Nation has believed from the beginning of its history in the right of the people to know. It has declared that right in the first amendment to its Constitution. It believes that if the people are informed, the decisions of the people will be wise. It believes this not only of the decisions of the people of a village, or a town, or of a city, or of a nation, but of the decisions of the people of the world. It believes; that is to say, that if the peoples of the world are informed about each other their decisions with relation to each other will be just decisions—which means, in the actual relations of peoples, that they will be decisions for the maintenance of peace. It is, in consequence, the desire of this Nation to see the information of the peoples of the world about each other increased and deepened. This Board has done much in the three years of its existence to realize that aspiration. I am certain that I speak for the great number of my countrymen, therefore, when I congratulate you upon what you have already accomplished and wish you well for the future of your work together.

<sup>1</sup> Made at the 100th session of the United Nations Information Board on Jan. 4, 1945.



[Released to the press by the White House January 6]

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In considering the state of the Union, the war, and the peace that is to follow, are naturally uppermost in the minds of all of us.

This war must be waged—it is being waged—with the greatest and most persistent intensity. Everything we are and have is at stake. Everything we are and have will be given. American men, fighting far from home, have already won victories which the world will never forget.

We have no question of the ultimate victory. We have no question of the cost. Our losses will be heavy.

We and our Allies will go on fighting together to ultimate total victory.

We have seen a year marked, on the whole, by substantial progress toward victory, even though the year ended with a set-back for our arms, when the Germans launched a ferocious counter-attack into Luxembourg and Belgium with the obvious objective of cutting our line in the center.

Our men have fought with indescribable and unforgettable gallantry under most difficult conditions, and our German enemies have sustained considerable losses while failing to obtain their objectives.

The high tide of this German effort was reached two days after Christmas. Since then we have reassumed the offensive, rescued the isolated garrison at Bastogne, and forced a German withdrawal along the whole line of the salient. The speed with which we recovered from this savage attack was largely possible because we have one Supreme Commander in complete control of all the Allied armies in France. General Eisenhower has faced this period of trial with admirable calm and resolution and with steadily increasing success. He has my complete confidence.

Further desperate attempts may well be made to break our lines, to slow our progress. We must never make the mistake of assuming that the Germans are beaten until the last Nazi has surrendered.

And I would express another most serious warning against the poisonous effects of enemy propaganda.

The wedge that the Germans attempted to drive in Western Europe was less dangerous in actual

# The State of the Union

## ANNUAL MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS<sup>1</sup>

terms of winning the war than the wedges which they are continually attempting to drive between ourselves and our Allies.

Every little rumor which is intended to weaken our faith in our Allies is like an actual enemy agent in our midst—seeking to sabotage our war effort. There are, here and there, evil and baseless rumors against the Russians—rumors against the British—rumors against our own American commanders in the field.

When you examine these rumors closely, you will observe that every one of them bears the same trade-mark—"Made in Germany."

We must resist this divisive propaganda—we must destroy it—with the same strength and the same determination that our fighting men are displaying as they resist and destroy the panzer divisions.

In Europe, we shall resume the attack and—despite temporary set-backs here or there—we shall continue the attack relentlessly until Germany is completely defeated.

It is appropriate at this time to review the basic strategy which has guided us through three years of war, and which will lead, eventually, to total victory.

The tremendous effort of the first years of this war was directed toward the concentration of men and supplies in the various theaters of action at the points where they could hurt our enemies most.

It was an effort—in the language of the military men—of deployment of our forces. Many battles—essential battles—were fought; many victories—vital victories—were won. But these battles and these victories were fought and won to hold back the attacking enemy and to put us in positions from which we and our Allies could deliver the final, decisive blows.

In the beginning, our most important military task was to prevent our enemies—the strongest and most violently aggressive powers that ever have threatened civilization—from winning decisive victories. But even while we were conducting defensive, delaying actions, we were looking forward to the time when we could wrest the initiative from our enemies and place our superior resources of

men and materials into direct competition with them.

It was plain then that the defeat of either enemy would require the massing of overwhelming forces—ground, sea, and air—in positions from which we and our Allies could strike directly against the enemy homelands and destroy the Nazi and Japanese war machines.

In the case of Japan, we had to await the completion of extensive preliminary operations—operations designed to establish secure supply lines through the Japanese outer-zone defenses. This called for overwhelming sea power and air power—supported by ground forces strategically employed against isolated outpost garrisons.

Always—from the very day we were attacked—it was right militarily as well as morally to reject the arguments of those shortsighted people who would have had us throw Britain and Russia to the Nazi wolves and concentrate against the Japanese. Such people urged that we fight a purely defensive war against Japan while allowing the domination of all the rest of the world by Nazism and Fascism.

In the European theater, the necessary bases for the massing of ground and air power against Germany were already available in Great Britain. In the Mediterranean area we could begin ground operations against major elements of the German Army as rapidly as we could put troops in the field, first in North Africa and then in Italy.

Therefore, our decision was made to concentrate the bulk of our ground and air forces against Germany until her utter defeat. That decision was based on all these factors; and it was also based on the realization that, of our two enemies, Germany would be more able to digest quickly her conquests, the more able quickly to convert the manpower and resources of her conquered territory into a war potential.

We had in Europe two active and indomitable Allies—Britain and the Soviet Union—and there were also the heroic resistance movements in the occupied countries, constantly engaging and harassing the Germans.

We cannot forget how Britain held the line, alone, in 1940 and 1941; and at the same time, despite ferocious bombardment from the air, built up a tremendous armaments industry which enabled her to take the offensive at El Alamein in 1942.

We cannot forget the heroic defense of Moscow and Leningrad, or the tremendous Russian offensives of 1943 and 1944 which destroyed formidable German armies.

Nor can we forget how, for more than seven long years, the Chinese people have been sustaining the barbarous attacks of the Japanese and containing large enemy forces on the vast areas of the Asiatic mainland.

In the future we must never forget the lesson that we have learned—that we must have friends who will work with us in peace as they have fought at our side in war.

As a result of the combined effort of the Allied forces, great military victories were achieved in 1944: the liberation of France, Belgium, Greece, and parts of the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia; the surrender of Rumania and Bulgaria; the invasion of Germany itself and Hungary; the steady march through the Pacific Islands to the Philippines, Guam, and Saipan; and the beginnings of a mighty air offensive against the Japanese islands.

Now, as this seventy-ninth Congress meets, we have reached the most critical phase of the war.

The greatest victory of the last year was, of course, the successful breach on June 6, 1944 of the German "impenetrable" sea wall of Europe and the victorious sweep of the Allied forces through France and Belgium and Luxembourg—almost to the Rhine itself.

The cross-Channel invasion of the Allied armies was the greatest amphibious operation in the history of the world. It overshadowed all other operations in this or any other war in its immensity. Its success is a tribute to the fighting courage of the soldiers who stormed the beaches—to the sailors and merchant seamen who put the soldiers ashore and kept them supplied—and to the military and naval leaders who achieved a real miracle of planning and execution. And it is also a tribute to the ability of two nations, Britain and America, to plan together, and work together, and fight together in perfect cooperation and perfect harmony.

<sup>1</sup>The complete text of the message of Jan. 6, 1945, is printed as H. Doc. 1, 79th Cong.

This cross-Channel invasion was followed in August by a second great amphibious operation, landing troops in Southern France. In this, the same cooperation and the same harmony existed between the American, French, and other Allied forces based in North Africa and Italy.

The success of the two invasions is a tribute also to the ability of many men and women to maintain silence, when a few careless words would have imperiled the lives of hundreds of thousands and would have jeopardized the whole vast undertakings.

These two great operations were made possible by success in the Battle of the Atlantic.

Without this success over German submarines, we could not have built up our invasion forces or air forces in Great Britain, nor could we have kept a steady stream of supplies flowing to them after they had landed in France.

The Nazis, however, may succeed in improving their submarines and their crews. They have recently increased their U-boat activity. The Battle of the Atlantic—like all campaigns in this war—demands eternal vigilance. But the British, Canadian, and other Allied Navies, together with our own, are constantly on the alert.

The tremendous operations in Western Europe have overshadowed in the public mind the less spectacular but vitally important Italian front. Its place in the strategic conduct of the war in Europe has been obscured, and—by some people, unfortunately—underrated.

It is important that any misconception on that score be corrected—now.

What the Allied forces in Italy are doing is a well-considered part in our strategy in Europe, now aimed at only one objective—the total defeat of the Germans. These valiant forces in Italy are continuing to keep a substantial portion of the German Army under constant pressure—including some twenty first-line German divisions and the necessary supply and transport and replacement troops—all of which our enemies need so badly elsewhere.

Over very difficult terrain and through adverse weather conditions, our Fifth Army and the British Eighth Army—reinforced by units from other United Nations, including a brave and well-equipped unit of the Brazilian Army—have, in the past year, pushed north through bloody Cassino and the Anzio beachhead and through Rome until

now they occupy heights overlooking the valley of the Po.

The greatest tribute which can be paid to the courage and fighting ability of these splendid soldiers in Italy is to point out that although their strength is about equal to that of the Germans they oppose, the Allies have been continuously on the offensive.

That pressure, that offensive, by our troops in Italy will continue.

The American people—and every soldier now fighting in the Apennines—should remember that the Italian front has not lost any of the importance which it had in the days when it was the only Allied front in Europe.

In the Pacific during the past year, we have conducted the fastest-moving offensive in the history of modern warfare. We have driven the enemy back more than 3,000 miles across the central Pacific.

A year ago, our conquest of Tarawa was a little more than a month old.

A year ago, we were preparing for our invasion of Kwajalein, the second of our great strides across the central Pacific to the Philippines.

A year ago, General MacArthur was still fighting in New Guinea almost 1,500 miles from his present position in the Philippine Islands.

We now have firmly established bases in the Mariana Islands from which our Superfortresses bomb Tokyo itself—and will continue to blast Japan in ever-increasing numbers.

Japanese forces in the Philippines have been cut in two. There is still hard fighting ahead—costly fighting. But the liberation of the Philippines will mean that Japan has been largely cut off from her conquest in the East Indies.

The landing of our troops on Leyte was the largest amphibious operation thus far conducted in the Pacific.

Moreover, these landings drew the Japanese fleet into the first great sea battle which Japan has risked in almost two years. Not since the night engagements around Guadalcanal in November-December 1942 had our Navy been able to come to grips with major units of the Japanese fleet. We had brushed against their fleet in the first battle of the Philippine Sea in June 1944, but not until last October were we able really to engage a major portion of the Japanese Navy in actual combat. The naval engagement which raged for three days was



the heaviest blow ever struck against Japanese sea power.

As the result of that battle, much of what is left of the Japanese fleet has been driven behind the screen of islands that separates the Yellow Sea, the China Sea, and the Sea of Japan from the Pacific.

Our Navy looks forward to any opportunity which the lords of the Japanese Navy will give us to fight them again.

The people of this Nation have a right to be proud of the courage and fighting ability of the men in the armed forces—on all fronts. They also have a right to be proud of American leadership which has guided their sons into battle.

The history of the generalship of this war has been a history of teamwork and cooperation, of skill and daring. Let me give you one example out of last year's operations in the Pacific.

Last September Admiral Halsey led American naval task forces into Philippine waters and north to the East China Sea and struck heavy blows at Japanese air and sea power.

At that time, it was our plan to approach the Philippines by further stages, taking islands which we may call *A*, *C*, and *E*. However, Admiral Halsey reported that a direct attack on Leyte appeared feasible. When General MacArthur received the reports from Admiral Halsey's task forces, he also concluded that it might be possible to attack the Japanese in the Philippines directly—by-passing islands *A*, *C*, and *E*.

Admiral Nimitz thereupon offered to make available to General MacArthur several divisions which had been scheduled to take the intermediate objectives. These discussions, conducted at great distances, all took place in one day.

General MacArthur immediately informed the Joint Chiefs of Staff here in Washington that he was prepared to initiate plans for an attack on Leyte in October. Approval of the change in plan was given on the same day.

Thus, within the space of 24 hours, a major change of plans was accomplished which involved Army and Navy forces from two different theaters of operations—a change which hastened the liberation of the Philippines and the final day of victory—a change which saved lives which would have been expended in the capture of islands which are now neutralized far behind our lines.

Our over-all strategy has not neglected the important task of rendering all possible aid to China. Despite almost insuperable difficulties, we increased this aid during 1944. At present our aid to China must be accomplished by air transport—there is no other way. By the end of 1944, the Air Transport Command was carrying into China a tonnage of supplies three times as great as that delivered a year ago, and much more, each month, than the Burma road ever delivered at its peak.

Despite the loss of important bases in China, the tonnage delivered by air transport has enabled General Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force, which includes many Chinese flyers, to wage an effective and aggressive campaign against the Japanese. In 1944, aircraft of the Fourteenth Air Force flew more than 35,000 sorties against the Japanese and sank enormous tonnage of enemy shipping, greatly diminishing the usefulness of the China Sea lanes.

British, Dominion, and Chinese forces together with our own have not only held the line in Burma against determined Japanese attacks but have gained bases of considerable importance to the supply line into China.

The Burma campaigns have involved incredible hardship, and have demanded exceptional fortitude and determination. The officers and men who have served with so much devotion in these far-distant jungles and mountains deserve high honor from their countrymen.

In all of the far-flung operations of our own armed forces—on land, and sea, and in the air—the final job, the toughest job, has been performed by the average, easy-going, hard-fighting young American who carries the weight of battle on his own shoulders.

It is to him that we and all future generations of Americans must pay grateful tribute.

In the field of foreign policy, we propose to stand together with the United Nations not for the war alone but for the victory for which the war is fought.

It is not only a common danger which unites us but a common hope. Ours is an association not of governments but of peoples—and the peoples' hope is peace. Here, as in England; in England, as in Russia; in Russia, as in China; in France, and through the continent of Europe, and throughout the world; wherever men love freedom, the hope

and purpose of the people are for peace—a peace that is durable and secure.

It will not be easy to create this peoples' peace. We delude ourselves if we believe that the surrender of the armies of our enemies will make the peace we long for. The unconditional surrender of the armies of our enemies is the first and necessary step—but the first step only.

We have seen already, in areas liberated from the Nazi and the Fascist tyranny, what problems peace will bring. And we delude ourselves if we attempt to believe wishfully that all these problems can be solved overnight.

The firm foundation can be built—and it will be built. But the continuance and assurance of a living peace must, in the long run, be the work of the people themselves.

We ourselves, like all peoples who have gone through the difficult processes of liberation and adjustment, know of our own experience how great the difficulties can be. We know that they are not difficulties peculiar to any continent or any nation. Our own Revolutionary War left behind it, in the words of one American historian, "an eddy of lawlessness and disregard of human life". There were separatist movements of one kind or another in Vermont, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Maine. There were insurrections, open or threatened, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. These difficulties we worked out for ourselves as the peoples of the liberated areas of Europe, faced with complex problems of adjustment, will work out their difficulties for themselves.

Peace can be made and kept only by the united determination of free and peace-loving peoples who are willing to work together—willing to help one another—willing to respect and tolerate and try to understand one another's opinions and feelings.

The nearer we come to vanquishing our enemies the more we inevitably become conscious of differences among the victors.

We must not let those differences divide us and blind us to our more important common and continuing interests in winning the war and building the peace.

International cooperation on which enduring peace must be based is not a one-way street.

Nations like individuals do not always see alike or think alike, and international cooperation and progress are not helped by any nation assuming that it has a monopoly of wisdom or of virtue.

In the future world, the misuse of power, as implied in the term "power politics", must not be a

controlling factor in international relations. That is the heart of the principles to which we have subscribed. We cannot deny that power is a factor in world politics any more than we can deny its existence as a factor in national politics. But in a democratic world, as in a democratic nation, power must be linked with responsibility, and, obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good.

Perfectionism, no less than isolationism or imperialism or power politics, may obstruct the paths to international peace. Let us not forget that the retreat to isolationism a quarter of a century ago was started not by a direct attack against international cooperation, but against the alleged imperfections of the peace.

In our disillusionment after the last war, we preferred international anarchy to international cooperation with nations which did not see and think exactly as we did. We gave up the hope of gradually achieving a better peace because we had not the courage to fulfil our responsibilities in an admittedly imperfect world.

We must not let that happen again, or we shall follow the same tragic road again—the road to a third world war.

We can fulfil our responsibilities for maintaining the security of our own country only by exercising our power and our influence to achieve the principles in which we believe and for which we have fought.

In August 1941 Prime Minister Churchill and I agreed to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, these being later incorporated into the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942. At that time certain isolationists protested vigorously against our right to proclaim the principles—and against the very principles themselves. Today, many of the same people are protesting against the possibility of violation of the same principles.

It is true that the statement of principles in the Atlantic Charter does not provide rules of easy application to each and every one of this war-torn world's tangled situations. But it is a good and useful thing—it is an essential thing—to have principles toward which we can aim.

And we shall not hesitate to use our influence—and to use it now—to secure so far as is humanly possible the fulfilment of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. We have not shrunk from the military responsibilities brought on by this war. We cannot and will not shrink from the political responsibilities which follow in the wake of battle.

I do not wish to give the impression that all mistakes can be avoided and that many disappointments are not inevitable in the making of peace. But we must not this time lose the hope of establishing an international order which will be capable of maintaining peace and realizing through the years more perfect justice between nations.

To do this we must be on our guard not to exploit and exaggerate the differences between us and our Allies, particularly with reference to the peoples who have been liberated from Fascist tyranny. That is not the way to secure a better settlement of those differences or to secure international machinery which can rectify mistakes which may be made.

I should not be frank if I did not admit concern about many situations—the Greek and Polish for example. But those situations are not as easy or as simple to deal with as some spokesmen, whose sincerity I do not question, would have us believe. We have obligations, not necessarily legal, to the exiled governments, to the underground leaders and to our major Allies who came much nearer the shadows than we did.

We and our Allies have declared that it is our purpose to respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. But with internal dissension, with many citizens of liberated countries still prisoners of war or forced to labor in Germany, it is difficult to guess the kind of self-government the people really want.

During the interim period, until conditions permit a genuine expression of the peoples' will, we and our Allies have a duty, which we cannot ignore, to use our influence to the end that no temporary or provisional authorities in the liberated countries block the eventual exercise of the peoples' right freely to choose the government and institutions under which, as free men, they are to live.

It is only too easy for all of us to rationalize what we want to believe, and to consider those leaders we like responsible and those we dislike irresponsible. And our task is not helped by stubborn partisanship, however understandable, on the part of opposed internal factions.

It is our purpose to help the peace-loving peoples of Europe to live together as good neighbors, to recognize their common interests, and not to nurse

their traditional grievances against one another.

But we must not permit the many specific and immediate problems of adjustment connected with the liberation of Europe to delay the establishment of permanent machinery for the maintenance of peace. Under the threat of a common danger, the United Nations joined together in war to preserve their independence and their freedom. They must now join together to make secure the independence and freedom of all peace-loving states, so that never again shall tyranny be able to divide and conquer.

International peace and well-being, like national peace and well-being, require constant alertness, continuing cooperation, and organized effort.

International peace and well-being, like national peace and well-being, can be secured only through institutions capable of life and growth.

Many of the problems of the peace are upon us even now while the conclusion of the war is still before us. The atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding and determination to find a common ground of common understanding, which surrounded the conversations at Dumbarton Oaks, gives us reason to hope that future discussions will succeed in developing the democratic and fully integrated world-security system toward which these preparatory conversations were directed.

We and the other United Nations are going forward, with vigor and resolution, in our efforts to create such a system by providing for it strong and flexible institutions of joint and cooperative action.

The aroused conscience of humanity will not permit failure in this supreme endeavor.

We believe that the extraordinary advances in the means of intercommunication between peoples over the past generation offer a practical method of advancing the mutual understanding upon which peace and the institutions of peace must rest, and it is our policy and purpose to use these great technological achievements for the common advantage of the world.

We support the greatest possible freedom of trade and commerce.

We Americans have always believed in freedom of opportunity, and equality of opportunity remains one of the principal objectives of our national life. What we believe in for individuals, we believe in also for nations. We are opposed to restrictions, whether by public act or private

arrangement, which distort and impair commerce, transit, and trade.

We have house-cleaning of our own to do in this regard. But it is our hope, not only in the interest of our own prosperity but in the interest of the prosperity of the world, that trade and commerce and access to materials and markets may be freer after this war than ever before in the history of the world.

One of the most heartening events of the year in the international field has been the renaissance of the French people and the return of the French nation to the ranks of the United Nations. Far from having been crushed by the terror of Nazi domination, the French people have emerged with stronger faith than ever in the destiny of their country and in the soundness of the democratic ideals to which the French nation has traditionally contributed so greatly.

During her liberation, France has given proof of her unceasing determination to fight the Germans, continuing the heroic efforts of the resistance groups under the occupation and of all those Frenchmen throughout the world who refused to surrender after the disaster of 1940.

Today, French armies are again on the German frontier, and are again fighting shoulder to shoulder with our sons.

Since our landings in Africa, we have placed in French hands all the arms and material of war which our resources and the military situation permitted. And I am glad to say that we are now about to equip large new French forces with the most modern weapons for combat duty.

In addition to the contribution which France can make to our common victory, her liberation likewise means that her great influence will again be available in meeting the problems of peace.

We fully recognize France's vital interest in a lasting solution of the German problem and the contribution which she can make in achieving international security. Her formal adherence to the Declaration by United Nations a few days ago and the proposal at the Dumbarton Oaks discussions, whereby France would receive one of the five permanent seats in the proposed Security Council, demonstrate the extent to which France has resumed her proper position of strength and leadership.

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We have a great many problems ahead of us and we must approach them with realism and courage.

This new year of 1945 can be the greatest year of achievement in human history.

1945 can see the final ending of the Nazi-Fascist reign of terror in Europe.

1945 can see the closing in of the forces of retribution about the center of the malignant power of imperialistic Japan.

Most important of all—1945 can and must see the substantial beginning of the organization of world peace. This organization must be the fulfillment of the promise for which men have fought and died in this war. It must be the justification of all the sacrifices that have been made—of all the dreadful misery that this world has endured.

We Americans of today, together with our Allies, are making history—and I hope it will be better history than ever has been made before.

We pray that we may be worthy of the unlimited opportunities that God has given us.

#### AIR LAW—Continued from page 16.

"The International Civil Aviation Conference RECOMMENDS:

"1. That the various governments represented at this International Civil Aviation Conference give consideration to the desirability of bringing about the resumption at the earliest possible date of the CITEJA sessions which were suspended because of the outbreak of war, of making necessary contributions toward the expenses of the Secretariat of CITEJA, and of appointing legal experts to attend the CITEJA meetings; and

"2. That consideration also be given by the various governments to the desirability of coordinating the activities of CITEJA with those of the Provisional<sup>19</sup> International Civil Aviation Organization and, after it shall have come into existence, of the permanent<sup>20</sup> International Civil Aviation Organization established pursuant to the Convention on International Civil Aviation drawn up at Chicago on December 7, 1944."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup>The Organization which will function under the terms of the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation, signed at Chicago on Dec. 7, 1944, when that Agreement comes into force.

<sup>20</sup>The Organization which will function under the terms of the Convention on International Civil Aviation, signed at Chicago on Dec. 7, 1944, when that Convention comes into force.

<sup>21</sup>In connection with the foregoing discussion, see address on "Codification of Private International Air Law" by Mr. Latchford as printed in *Press Releases*, Feb. 1, 1936, p. 121. See also the article by Mr. Latchford on "The Right of Innocent Passage in the International Civil Air-Navigation Agreement", *BULLETIN* of July 2, 1944, p. 19.

# Italian Supply Program

## STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE CONCERNING INQUIRIES RELATIVE TO BRITISH AND UNITED STATES POLICIES

[Released to the press January 4]

The Secretary of State, in answer to inquires of newspaper correspondents concerning a recent publication which gave the impression that the British and American Governments are in disagreement with reference to their policies concerning the supplying of necessities to Italy, issued the following statement:

"Quoted passages in the article are excerpts from an aide-mémoire submitted by the British Ambassador to the Department of State on August 22, 1944. The document is part of the confidential records of the Department. The unauthorized publication of any part of it is in the highest degree regrettable, and the matter is being pursued.

"The aide-mémoire itself was part of a series of confidential documents and conversations which led up to the statement of September 26 by the President and Prime Minister Churchill on the subject of Italy. It cannot fairly be appraised out of the context of those documents and conversations. For example, in the aide-mémoire delivered on August 22 appears the following language:

"The question of an expansion of the scope of the Italian supply program is already under consideration by an interdepartmental committee in London. His Majesty's Government would not, therefore, wish to prejudice the work of this committee by agreeing in advance what the conclusions of its study should be. So soon as the recommendations of the committee have been made His Majesty's Government would wish to discuss the matter further with the United States Government."

"In its reply to the British memorandum the Department stated:

"From the information now available to the Department, the Department believes it probable that such discussions would result in agreement between the two governments as to the scope of the program."

"The British Government, after its examination of the problem, reached the conclusion that an expanded supply program to commence a restoration of the Italian economy was advisable. On September 26, 1944 the British Prime Minister and the President joined in a statement setting forth the agreed policy of the two Governments concerning Italy. Pertinent parts of this statement are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"First and immediate considerations in Italy are the relief of hunger and sickness and fear. To this end we instructed our representatives at the UNRRA Conference to declare for the sending of medical aids and other essential supplies to Italy. We are happy to know that this view commended itself to other members of the UNRRA Council.

"At the same time, first steps should be taken toward the reconstruction of an Italian economy—an economy laid low under the years of the misrule of Mussolino, and ravished by the German policy of vengeful destruction.

"These steps should be taken primarily as military aims to put the full resources of Italy and the Italian people into the struggle to defeat Germany and Japan. For military reasons we should assist the Italians in the restoration of such power systems, their railways, motor transport, roads and other communications as enter into the war situation, and for a short time send engineers, technicians and industrial experts into Italy to help them in their own rehabilitation."

### Bread-Rationing for Italy

[Released to the press January 4]

The British and American Governments have been in agreement for some time on the question of bread-rationing for Italy of 300 grams daily a person. Putting it into effect will be dependent upon obtaining the necessary shipping.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 1, 1944, p. 338.

"A series of discussions subsequently has taken place between British and American officials concerning the methods of implementing the joint policy set forth above. There have been no major differences between the British and ourselves in these discussions, and they have resulted in substantial agreement between the two Governments.

"It is perfectly clear that the United States and the United Kingdom Governments are in basic agreement in a desire to provide assistance to enable the Italians to start rebuilding their economic life and furnish the maximum contribution to the war effort.

"It is especially regrettable that, as generally happens when excerpts from documents or one of a series of documents are published without authorization, an erroneous and unjustified impression has been created."

## Non-Military Traffic On Foreign Routes

[Released to the press January 3]

In pursuance of the procedure described in the War Department's recent announcement<sup>1</sup> regarding the movement of non-military traffic on foreign routes of the Army Air Transport Command, the Department of State and American diplomatic and consular establishments abroad are prepared, effective January 1, 1945, to receive applications for air priorities on behalf of passengers and shippers of cargo who are able to meet the priority requirements for the use of planes of the Air Transport Command and the Naval Air Transport Service under the provisions of Executive Order 9492, dated October 24, 1944.<sup>2</sup>

Briefly, such traffic will include non-military and non-naval cargo and passengers certified by the State Department as being in the national interest because their transportation will contribute—

- (1) directly or indirectly to the war effort, or
- (2) to relief or rehabilitation activities in areas affected by the war, or
- (3) to the resumption of economic or other activities disrupted by the war that are necessary for the prompt reestablishment of peacetime conditions,

*provided* that such traffic is of sufficient importance to justify by air.

*and provided* that such traffic cannot reasonably be handled by a United States civil air-carrier.

Applications will be received from individuals, representatives of business firms, religious, educational, and philanthropic organizations, United States Government civilian agencies, or agencies of foreign governments. The forms for applying for transportation are obtainable from the Department of State, diplomatic and consular establishments abroad, passport agencies in the United States, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Washington, and the 26 regional offices of the Department of Commerce throughout the United States. The applications of representatives of business firms for passenger transportation may be filed with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce or with the regional offices. Other applications should be filed direct with the Department of State.

The Department of State and its representatives abroad will maintain close liaison with the priority officers of both the Air Transport Command and the Naval Air Transport Service and certify only such non-war-effort traffic as can be moved on the air-transport facilities of the armed services in space not required for war purposes. Certifications will also be made only when United States commercial airline facilities cannot fill the need and when the traffic is of such importance as to justify movement by air.

Since neither the ATC nor the NATS anticipates that much space will be available in the near future for the movement of non-war-effort traffic, arrangements have been made whereby the overflow of passengers who cannot be moved because of the lack of space may be carried on American flag-vessels under the control of the War Shipping Administration, the Army, and the Navy.

Travelers should, of course, be in possession of passports validated for the desired countries of travel and visaed for those countries.<sup>3</sup> Evidence of effective inoculation against typhoid, paratyphoid, and typhus and vaccination against smallpox is required for travel on most American facilities. In addition, travel to some areas requires inoculation against yellow fever and in some seasons against cholera. The procurement of a passport and the completion of travel arrangements should be accomplished simultaneously in order to avoid confusion and delay.

<sup>1</sup> War Department press release of Dec. 20, 1944.

<sup>2</sup> *Federal Register* 12859. See BULLETIN of Nov. 12, 1944, p. 584.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 17, 1944, p. 760.

# A Message for the New Year

Address by THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 11]

A New Year's Day message should be a message of hope. There have been few occasions in American history when the New Year's Day was celebrated with a greater awareness by our citizens that the future of our Nation and, indeed, of our civilization is being decided now by the actions and attitudes of each of us.

We have passed through a year of bitter strife. It has been a year, in that sense, not unlike other years when our national stamina has been tested in trial by battle and not found wanting. As a *nation* at war, we have much for which to be grateful. As *individuals*, many of our people already bear the cost of our country's salvation in personal loss and tragedy.

But today we must look forward, not back, except to profit from the lessons of our errors of the past.

We have before us two fundamental problems beside which all else pales into comparative insignificance, for all else depends upon our attainment of those objectives. Stated tritely, one of those objectives is to win the war against both Germany and Japan and to win it so conclusively that we shall have broken the back of aggressive militarism. The other objective is to build such a peace as has never yet been built by man. Let us then dedicate this day to facing these problems realistically, patriotically, honestly, and soberly.

First, the war. False optimism and wishful thinking are dangerous playthings. They hold us back, and we cannot afford to be held back by any considerations whatsoever. They obscure and befog realistic thinking and the action prompted by realistic thinking. They induce relaxation of effort, and we can afford no relaxation—yet. We still have a hard road ahead, and it may be long. The Nazis are far from beaten. As for Japan, we have but cut into the outer periphery of the Empire. This statement is not for a moment to underrate the magnificent work already accomplished by our armed forces. By every right they have won our confidence and our grateful pride. With brilliant strategy and tactics, with resolute-

ness and grit, they have brought us into position where eventual and certain victory is assured. Similarly our Allies, by almost superhuman gallantry and in spite of appalling losses, have demonstrated a stamina and staying power unknown in the annals of war. Let us never for a moment forget or underestimate their prodigious efforts or their almost indescribable sacrifices. They also deserve our national gratitude.

But in the meantime, let us not give in to the temptation that besets every one of us—the temptation to indulge in the pleasant but unrealistic thinking that the final victory is just around the corner. This New Year's Day should be a day of rededication to the work in hand, a day of girding up our loins for more intensive effort, for willing sacrifice, for grim determination. We Americans do not leave a job half done.

Then, the peace, a peace such as has never yet been built by man. That statement, in itself, may sound like wishful thinking. But that thinking is based on the solid ground of such an upsurge of determination among the peoples of the world as has never before been seen in history—the determination that war, like slavery and torture and disease, must go. And we shall succeed. Have no doubt about that.

Now, in erecting our future world structure for the maintenance of security and peace, we need a new approach to this whole tremendous problem.

First, we must profit from the errors of the past. The flaws and weaknesses of our past ineffective peace machinery must be overcome, as they will be overcome. The peace structures of the past failed because they were superficial; they were like poultices prescribed for cancer—and you can't temporize with cancer.

Second, we must be prepared to make what in the past has been considered sacrifice. I do not mean a sacrifice of sovereignty. The thought of fashioning any kind of superstate is to us wholly repugnant, and no such thought has entered or can enter into our counsels. But we and the other nations devoted to peace must be prepared to join our efforts and a part of our armed forces not only for the common good *but for the future security of our own Nation*. Is that too great a

<sup>1</sup>Broadcast over the Blue Network on Jan. 1, 1945.

sacrifice to avoid the horrors of another world war, waged with the terrific and as yet unimaginable scientific engines of destruction of both military and civilian life that will certainly be used if war comes again? Can any sacrifice be too great to avoid that sort of cataclysm?

Third, we must realize that whatever peace structure is erected, it will not satisfy everybody. We can only aim for what is desirable within the scope of what is attainable. But for the sake of our national way of life and our as yet unborn generations, let us be prepared to give whatever plan may ultimately emerge from the eventual United Nations conference a chance to succeed, with implicit confidence that by the process of trial and error it will mature and prove effective. Whatever plan emerges from that momentous conference *must* be made to succeed, for the alternative is utter tragedy.

I believe with all my heart that if the American people will hold fast to the bright hopes and principles and ideals which have inspired them in the past; if they will refuse to allow their hope for permanent peace to be frustrated; if they will believe in themselves and not only resolutely face their own difficult problems but also seek to understand those of their Allies, who want peace and security as much as we do; and if, above all, they will believe in the future world for which they have fought, *they can have that world.*

Thus we enter 1945.

## Mutual-Aid Agreement, Canada and India

The American Embassy at Ottawa transmitted to the Department, with a despatch of December 2, 1944, a copy of a press release, dated November 27, 1944, of the Department of External Affairs, announcing that a mutual-aid agreement had been concluded between Canada and India. The press release states that the agreement is identical in contents with previous mutual-aid agreements which have been concluded by Canada with the Governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, the Provisional Government of the French Republic, and the Soviet and Chinese Governments.

The agreement was signed at Ottawa November 17, 1944 and came into force that day.

## Relief Supplies for Allied Nationals Interned in the Far East

[Released to the press January 11]

On October 24, 1944, the Department announced that the Japanese Government had agreed to dispatch a Japanese ship to a Soviet port to pick up relief supplies previously sent from the United States and Canada intended for distribution to American, British, Canadian, Dutch, and other Allied prisoners of war and civilian internees held by Japan.<sup>1</sup>

More than 2,000 tons of food, clothing, medicines, comfort articles, and recreational supplies were taken aboard the Japanese ship, which arrived in Japan on November 11. En route 150 tons of assorted supplies were unloaded at a Korean port for distribution to Allied nationals held in camps in Manchuria and Korea.

Eight hundred tons of these supplies have been allocated by the International Red Cross Committee delegation in Japan for distribution to Allied nationals in camps located in Japan. The remainder, approximately 1,100 tons, has been earmarked for distribution to camps in the Philippines, occupied China, the Netherlands Indies, and other areas to the south where Allied nationals are held.

Recently the Japanese Government offered to transport the supplies allocated for camps outside Japan provided the Allied governments would grant safe-conduct for Japanese ships carrying these supplies as part of their cargo. The Allied military authorities agreed in principle to this proposal. The Japanese Government then made a specific request for safe-conduct for a ship to proceed to Shanghai carrying that portion of these supplies earmarked for camps in occupied China. This Government, acting for itself and its Allied governments, has communicated to the Japanese Government Allied agreement to this request. According to the terms of the safe-conduct the Japanese ship, the *Hosi Maru*, will depart from Japan on January 4 and is scheduled to arrive at Shanghai on January 12.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 29, 1944, p. 494.



# The International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago and What It Means to the Americas

*Address by* STOKELY W. MORGAN <sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 2]

The International Civil Aviation Conference, which met in Chicago November 1, was called primarily for the purpose of making arrangements which would allow international airlines to get into operation as soon as military considerations permit, thus enabling commercial air transport to perform without delay its proper function of providing rapid communication between nations and peoples, in order to renew world trade and commerce after the long stagnation caused by the war. The task was a formidable one because the situation confronting the air-transport industry after the war will be totally different from that in 1939, and because the international machinery which served then would be totally inadequate to meet the new conditions. Especially needed was a new international agreement governing air navigation and air transport to replace the out-of-date Paris and Havana agreements of 1919 and 1929, a new set of technical standards to reflect the gigantic strides which have been made in aviation practice and technique during recent years, and some form of provisional interim arrangements to serve until a new agreement and new standards could be worked out and adopted by all the nations. The Conference was seeking a means to start flying the minute the green light replaces the red on the commercial airways of the world.

During the Conference a group of nations led by Canada and Great Britain stressed the desirability of strict regulation, envisaging a sort of international Civil Aeronautics Authority. Their desire for such control was motivated in part by a fear that without it international services would be put into operation greatly exceeding the actual traffic demands; and that such services, tied as they would be to national political interests and national prestige, must inevitably seek government support, with resulting subsidy races and rate wars. Perhaps even more influential in their thinking

was the fear lest, without some form of international control over routes, rates, and schedules, the United States, with its undisputed leadership in the field of air transport and with what comes close to being a monopoly of long-range transport planes, would so monopolize the world air transport of the immediate future that other nations when ready to enter the competitive race would find themselves outdistanced, the field preempted, and no room left for a newcomer. There was also in some quarters a very apparent desire to offset American skill and efficiency by arbitrary restriction which would give an artificial equality—a desire to put handicap weight on the American entry, so to speak. It is noteworthy that the leading maritime nations had never proposed this form of international control for their merchant shipping.

The United States Delegation opposed the establishment of any international authority with arbitrary regulatory powers in the economic field. They recognized the need for some form of control which would prevent vast numbers of empty or partly empty planes from flying a multiplicity of air routes, supported by government subsidy and operated for reasons of politics rather than business. They felt, however, that the formation of such a regulatory body at this time would be premature since it must work largely without experience and in a new field. Pending the time when world organization in many fields will have become increasingly effective, the United States Delegation took the position that an international civil-aviation council acting as a purely technical study group and in an advisory or consultive capacity would be a valuable instrument for solving many of the problems confronting international aviation, and such a council was proposed by the Conference. It is to be established first, on a provisional basis and later, if experience proves the soundness of the idea, as a permanent institution.

The provisional International Civil Aviation Organization consists of an Assembly to meet once a year, to which all the nations represented at Chicago will belong, and a Council of 21 member

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before a conference of mayors at Miami on Jan. 2, 1945. Mr. Morgan is Chief of the Aviation Division, Office of Transportation and Communications, Department of State.

states, elected by the Assembly every 2 years. The Council will formulate and recommend the adoption of technical standards and procedures, and will study, report, and recommend on problems relating to air navigation and international air transport.

It is worthwhile to note the objectives of the new International Civil Aviation Organization. They are to—

- (a) insure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world;
- (b) encourage the arts of aircraft design and operation for peaceful purposes;
- (c) encourage the development of airways, airports, and air-navigation facilities for international civil aviation;
- (d) meet the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient, and economic air transport;
- (e) prevent economic waste caused by unreasonable competition;
- (f) insure that the rights of contracting states are fully respected and that every contracting state has a fair opportunity to operate international airlines;
- (g) avoid discrimination between contracting states;
- (h) promote safety of flight in international air navigation; and
- (i) promote generally the development of all aspects of international civil aeronautics.

In the technical field, 12 subcommittees of the Conference labored to produce draft technical annexes to the international agreement, which were accepted by the Conference for further study by the Interim Council. The completeness with which the field was covered is shown by the titles of these annexes:

- (a) Airways Systems
- (b) Communications Procedures and Systems
- (c) Rules of the Air
- (d) Air Traffic Control Practices
- (e) Standards Governing the Licensing of Operating and Mechanical Personnel
- (f) Log Book Requirements
- (g) Airworthiness Requirements for Civil Aircraft Engaging in International Air Navigation
- (h) Aircraft Registration and Identification Marks

- (i) Meteorological Protection of International Aeronautics
- (j) Aeronautical Maps and Charts
- (k) Customs Procedures and Manifests
- (l) Search and Rescue, and Investigation of Accidents

The Conference passed a resolution under which the signatory nations agreed to accept these practices as ones toward which the national practices of these nations should be directed as far and as rapidly as may prove practicable. In other words, it is hoped that the nations of the world will voluntarily adopt these technical standards and practices as their own laws and regulations prior to the time when they can, after further study and revision by the Interim Council, become part of fixed international law. Thus we may very shortly achieve the desirable end that aircraft, flying in all parts of the world, will comply with the same standards, follow the same procedures, give and recognize the same signals, everywhere.

But it was not the most difficult problem of the Conference to agree upon technical matters. As Mayor LaGuardia said on one occasion, "Everybody is against bad weather." Nor was it sufficient to agree upon modern revised principles governing air navigation between nations and to set up an advisory council. All this had been done to a limited extent in Paris in 1919. The problem of getting the transport planes into the air and providing for air commerce between the nations was still unsolved. This problem has been side-stepped by both the Paris and Havana conventions, which specified that matters relating to international air transport should be arranged between the nations by direct agreement. The result had been thoroughly unsatisfactory. Every air-transport line necessitated a series of bargains, one with each nation through which it passed. A nation holding a strategic geographic position on the route was in a position to exercise holdup tactics and in many cases it did so. Special deals were worked out by which one nation or its aircraft were favored at the expense of others; exclusive rights were granted and paid for; discrimination was the rule rather than the exception.

At the beginning of the Conference, the United States Delegation announced the United States doctrine that aircraft should be permitted to go wherever there was a legitimate traffic need, provided only that they should fly reasonably full, a 65 percent load factor being suggested as a reason-

able utilization. Schedules, however, should be increased as rapidly as needed, specifically when planes were operating at more than 65 percent of capacity. Airlines should be free to fly such types of aircraft and such frequencies as sound business judgment should dictate, and there should be no discriminatory practices favoring the aircraft of one nation operating in a given country over the aircraft of another.

The Canadian Delegation was responsible for suggesting what later came to be called the doctrine of the freedoms. They suggested that the nations should grant each to the others the following freedoms of the air with respect to scheduled international air services:

- (1) The privilege to fly across its territory without landing;
- (2) The privilege to land for non-traffic purposes;
- (3) The privilege to put down passengers, mail and cargo taken on in the territory of the state whose nationality the aircraft possesses;
- (4) The privilege to take on passengers, mail and cargo destined for the territory of the state whose nationality the aircraft possesses.

This, as can readily be seen, contains one serious omission. It makes no provision for intermediate, so-called "pick-up", traffic. An airline operating a long route under this Canadian formula would fly with a constantly growing number of empty seats. For example, a plane from New York to Cairo via London, Paris, Geneva, and Rome would drop off at each city the passengers booked to that point and take on none, thus probably arriving at Cairo with perhaps two or three seats occupied. Between New York and Buenos Aires, for instance, only 15 percent of the traffic is through traffic, and therefore we should be able to operate only about one plane a week on that trade route. Such a restriction would strangle the lines of every country except those operated for political reasons with heavy government subsidies.

Nevertheless, this formula was strenuously supported to the last by a number of nations, their reason being that if planes, specifically American planes, were permitted to pick up traffic as they went along and operate all frequencies necessary to accommodate that traffic, local airlines would be stifled in development; the through lines would take it all.

The United States viewpoint, supported with equal vigor by a number of other nations, was that in the post-war world there would be plenty of room for all, and it was not our intention to use through lines to monopolize local traffic. Furthermore, to show that it was not our intention to do so, Dr. Berle, Chief of the United States Delegation and President of the Conference, expressly stated that this Government is prepared to make available civil air-transport planes, when they can be released from military service, to those countries which recognize as we do the right of each nation to maintain friendly intercourse with others. However, through lines could not live or develop on terminal traffic alone as provided under the Canadian formula.

In effect, the formula of the four freedoms alone might well have stopped American operations at the western gateways of Europe, and on the South American routes might have made it impossible to operate on a business basis beyond Trinidad on the east coast and perhaps Guayaquil on the west.

Therefore, the United States Delegation proposed what was designated the fifth freedom:

- (5) The privilege to take on passengers, mail and cargo destined for the territory of any other contracting state and the privilege to put down passengers, mail and cargo coming from any such territory.

It should be observed that in this proposed mutual grant of freedoms three, four, and five, they are only to apply to through services on a reasonably direct route out from and back to the homeland of the state whose nationality the aircraft possesses. The granting of these freedoms does not in any way alter the fact that each state exercises complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above its territory. Furthermore, each nation retains the right to reserve for its own carrier traffic between points within its own territory, so-called "cabotage".

Debate concentrated to a large extent on the so-called "fifth freedom". The Latin American nations in general took the same position as the United States. They had experienced the advantage of having established international air transport serving their countries for many years. While they were to some extent operators themselves and hoped in future to be operating on a larger scale, they were also users of the services of others and realized the benefits to be derived

from free and unrestricted operations. They had been accustomed to grant what had now become known as the fifth freedom without reservation, and they realized from the traffic statistics of their own countries that long trunk-line operations were impossible without it. They supported the United States Delegation in full measure. The Scandinavian nations and the Netherlands likewise supported the position of the United States.

In the end, since unanimity could not be achieved, it was decided that separate documents should be drafted by which the nations could grant and receive the two freedoms and the four freedoms, with or without the fifth. To protect the nations which were fearful that development of their own regional services would be unduly handicapped, it was provided that any state might grant only the four freedoms and neither grant nor receive the fifth. To date, 29 nations have signed the document under which they grant right of transit and technical stop. This, I believe, is the great achievement of the Conference. It gets the plane into the air, not after prolonged bilateral negotiations, with bargaining balanced pro and con, with every nation. American aircraft can now fly to virtually all parts of the world as soon as they are ready.

Some people will say the United States gives up more than it receives by such a grant. I do not think so. Under the system of bilateral agreements you may obtain commercial rights to operate and do business in a certain country and be wholly unable to get there. You must at least have transit rights in all the intervening countries. For example, it does us no good to have commercial rights in continental Europe, Scandinavia, and the Middle and Near East if we cannot cross the Atlantic. And to cross the Atlantic we must have transit rights granted by Canada, Newfoundland, and, if possible, Iceland, Bermuda, and the Azores. In the present development of transport aircraft it is impossible to fly economically from the United States to European territory non-stop. As the result of the agreement prepared at Chicago and submitted for signature by all nations, we are now reasonably sure of obtaining these transit rights. And what do we give up of bargaining value in return? One thing, the Hawaiian stop in the Pacific. By the reciprocal grant of transit rights to Canada and Great Britain, we make possible a Canadian line to Australia and a British line to

the Far East via the Pacific. Well, transit rights in Canada for our trans-Atlantic planes are more than a fair return for letting Canada get through to Australia; and while the British may ultimately run a line to the Far East via Hawaii, they are not dependent on that route; the logical way to go from Great Britain to Australia and the Far East is from London eastward via the Mediterranean, the Near East, and India. Transit rights in Newfoundland and Bermuda and the British Isles are worth far more to us than transit rights at Hawaii are worth to them.

At this point someone should ask, "But what good are these transit rights if no commercial rights go with them?" No good at all if we have no commercial rights anywhere. Their value does indeed depend upon their use to us in reaching countries with which we exchange commercial rights. It is true that only 16 nations signed the five-freedom document at Chicago and all but 4 of them were Latin American nations with which we are already doing business. However, that will not be the final score. For some time it will still be necessary to execute special agreements with the countries which, while not ready to extend these commercial freedoms on a wide basis, are yet ready and willing to welcome American air carriers into their territory. The number is considerable, and in each case as a new nation is added to our list of customers, the right of access will exist based on the general grant of the two freedoms. The full picture and the benefits derived from the Conference cannot be completely ascertained until these supplementary agreements have been concluded. What has been done is very considerable, and each further step will be a step in the right direction. There is still some anxiety and suspicion to be overcome, but once American carriers are in the air and the benefits to be derived from the services they are able to supply become apparent, and the fear that they will stifle local interests becomes allayed, the wider our services will spread and the more useful to ourselves and all the world our aviation will become.

The United States—as it should—has shown the way towards a sound, reasonable but not excessive freedom of the air. It has gone all out for that freedom which Grotius argued for and the advanced nations of two centuries ago fought for as the freedom of the seas—the right of every nation to communicate with every other nation and to

build up its ties of commerce and culture by air as it has been able to do by water.

Against this we have only the views of what I believe is a small minority in this country who think that we should bargain at every step, ask all and give little, and proceed on a basis of strictly power politics. Their position merits careful consideration for it is no doubt sincere, and much will be heard along these lines in the near future. Their chief reason for advocating this course is a fear that our airline industry will be unable to hold its own in competition with foreign operators coming to this country under the reciprocal grant of the so-called "freedom" which foreign nations grant to us.

The idea that American aviation must be protected against foreign competition by closing the doors to foreign operators while forcing them open for our own has, I am glad to say, little support among the people who hope and expect to operate our planes. The American Delegation at Chicago was ably advised by a large group of technical consultants borrowed from the air-transport industry. No step was taken without their advice; nothing was done without this okay. The documents setting up an interim aviation organization and offering the two or the five freedoms to those nations which wished to make similar grants had the full approval of both the policy makers—representatives of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Civil Aeronautics Authority, and the Department of State—and also of the consultants representing the War and Navy Departments, the airlines, and the manufacturers. It is to be hoped that the nation as a whole will approve and support their decisions.

We must not overlook the fact that if we wish to operate in the territory of foreign nations we must be willing to permit the aircraft of those nations to operate on a basis of reciprocity in United States territory. It is true that before the war American flag carriers operated a network through the Western Hemisphere without the carriers of those nations operating reciprocal services to this country under their own flag. But that was simply because they were not ready or desirous of instituting such operations. Those days are past. Indeed, as soon as American carriers were ready to fly the Atlantic early in 1939, reciprocal rights were demanded by England and France, and even then no nation which had permitted an American carrier to operate in its terri-

tory would admit that it was not entitled to reciprocal rights as soon as its carriers were ready to enjoy them.

The theory that by some form of shrewd bargaining we can obtain landing rights and rights of commercial entry for our carriers while denying them to the nations which grant them to us is unrealistic in the extreme. Nor would it be in our best interest or in the interest of the world in which we must live and work to have such principles prevail. Freedom of transit, freedom of commercial intercourse, unrestricted voyaging in furtherance of legitimate interests on the seas has been a fundamental American principle for centuries. Shall we now favor a return to the restrictive principle of the closed sea and advocate a restricted air and a closed-air commerce?

One very important provision of the Interim Agreement calls for the filing of all existing and future international agreements on aviation matters with the Council, to be made available for public inspection. So ends the era of secrecy and so begins an era of open dealing.

I am asked to tell you what the effect of this Conference will be on the Americas. So far as our relations with Latin America are concerned, it served to show once more the community of interest between ourselves and our neighbors south of the Rio Grande, and our strength in international affairs when we stand together. The Latin American nations supported the United States doctrine of freedom of intercourse and the right to develop air transport in the best interest of all.

Acting on their experience in the past, they showed every willingness to encourage United States operations in their territory and no anxiety lest their own operators be forced out of business. They showed, as capable independent nations should, a confidence in their own ability to take their just and reasonable place in the modern aviation world.

They showed an eagerness to participate in the work of the new organization, through the Assembly and the Council, and to help solve the problems of the new era in aviation. Even before the Conference ended they showed a fine spirit of cooperation and readiness to make sacrifices for the common good. When the votes which elected 20 members to the first Council were counted up, it was found that Latin America had 7 seats to 6 for the continent of Europe, excluding India which had been a helpful and prominent participant in

the Conference, one of the leading candidates for a seat. Therefore, when Norway offered to cede her seat to India, which would have reduced European participation on the Council to 5, Cuba immediately offered to yield her seat to India in place of Norway, thus redressing the balance to 6 seats for Latin America and 6 for Europe and providing a seat for India. I think great praise is due to the Cuban Delegation which, faced with the necessity for quick action and without the opportunity to consult with its Government, did the gallant thing at the right time. By its quick action it enhanced the reputation of all the Latin American group and set an example to all the world.

The Conference means for the Americas, North, Central, and South, not forgetting our air-minded neighbor Canada, the chance to get going in air transport; it opens the door to opportunity to serve and be served, to put to practical commercial use the operational lessons that have been learned by millions of miles of military-transport flying during the war. It means the flags of the American nations can and should soon be seen in many lands, on their own aircraft; it means for the Americas that aviation is to be developed along the lines that are inherent in the political philosophy of these nations—equality of opportunity, rewards based on efficiency, not favor, without discrimination, without exclusion, above all on a basis of expansion to meet the needs of the many, not restriction to protect the interest of the few.

You will ask me what this means for our cities, particularly the inland cities of this country. Will all the benefits accrue to the seaports which dispatched and received the bulk of our commerce by sea? The answer is definitely no. The air-traffic centers of the future will not be coastal cities as such or inland cities as such, but those which economic considerations dictate. An internationally regulated air-transport might not have had such effect. Just as we should in all probability have been forced to stop at the western gateways of Europe and the eastern gateways of Asia, so foreign planes would probably have been stopped at our coastal and territorial frontiers. But the great advantage of aviation is that it utilizes an ocean of air which extends over both land and sea. It need not stop at the water's edge, or hesitate at mountain barriers. To do so is to deny its God-given right of universal entry. So we should see the great airliners of the future taking off from many inland as well as coastal cities on direct routes to foreign cities all over the world.

Similarly, the same cities will become acquainted with the flags of many nations emblazoned on their aircraft making voyages for peaceful commerce. If, as has been said, travel broadens us, travelers in our midst have the same effect. The impact of foreign contacts and the advantages that we derive therefrom hitherto enjoyed by only a few favored cities will be extended to and will be shared by many.

In the words of the President of the Conference, the Honorable Adolf Berle:

"We met in an era of diplomatic intrigue and private and monopolistic privilege. We close in an era of open covenants and equal opportunity and status. . . . We met in the seventeenth century in the air. We close in the twentieth century in the air."

## Double-Taxation Convention And Protocol With France

### PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press January 6]

On January 5, 1945 the President proclaimed the convention and protocol between the United States of America and France, signed at Paris on July 25, 1939, for the avoidance of double taxation and the establishment of rules of reciprocal administrative assistance in the case of income and other taxes.

It is provided in article 27 of the convention that it shall become effective on the first day of January following the exchange of the instruments of ratification. According to information cabled to the Department by the American Embassy in Paris, the instruments of ratification of the two Governments were exchanged in the French Foreign Office at 7 p.m. on December 30, 1944. The convention and protocol became effective, therefore, on January 1, 1945, as indicated in the President's proclamation.

It is provided also in article 27 that upon the coming into effect of this convention the convention for the avoidance of double income taxation between the United States of America and France, signed April 27, 1932, shall terminate.

A statement regarding the ratification of the convention and protocol by the President on December 15, 1944, was made in the Department's press release of December 18, 1944.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 24, 1944, p. 836.

## Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance, U.S.S.R. and France

On page 1 of the *Information Bulletin* of December 28, 1944 issued by the Soviet Embassy at Washington, a translation of the text of the Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the Governments of France and the U.S.S.R., signed at Moscow December 10, 1944, appears as follows:

### TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Provisional Government of the French Republic, determined to prosecute jointly and to the end the war against Germany, convinced that once victory is achieved, the reestablishment of peace on a stable basis and its prolonged maintenance in the future will be conditioned upon the existence of close collaboration between them and with all the United Nations; having resolved to collaborate in the cause of the creation of an international system of security for the effective maintenance of general peace and for insuring the harmonious development of relations between nations; desirous of confirming the mutual obligations resulting from the exchange of letters of September 20, 1941, concerning joint actions in the war against Germany; convinced that the conclusion of an alliance between the USSR and France corresponds to the sentiments and interests of both peoples, the demands of war, and the requirements of peace and economic reconstruction in full conformity with the aims which the United Nations have set themselves, have decided to conclude a Treaty to this effect and appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR;

The Provisional Government of the French Republic—Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Who after exchange of their credentials, found in due form, agreed upon the following:

#### *Article I*

Each of the high contracting parties shall continue the struggle on the side of the other party and on the side of the United Nations until final

victory over Germany. Each of the high contracting parties undertakes to render the other party aid and assistance in this struggle with all the means at its disposal.

#### *Article II*

The high contracting parties shall not agree to enter into separate negotiations with Germany or to conclude without mutual consent any armistice or peace treaty either with the Hitler government or with any other government or authority set up in Germany for the purpose of the continuation or support of the policy of German aggression.

#### *Article III*

The high contracting parties undertake also, after the termination of the present war with Germany, to take jointly all necessary measures for the elimination of any new threat coming from Germany, and to obstruct such actions as would make possible any new attempt at aggression on her part.

#### *Article IV*

In the event either of the high contracting parties finds itself involved in military operations against Germany, whether as a result of aggression committed by the latter or as a result of the operation of the above Article III, the other party shall at once render it every aid and assistance within its power.

#### *Article V*

The high contracting parties undertake not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against either of the high contracting parties.

#### *Article VI*

The high contracting parties agree to render each other every possible economic assistance after the war, with a view to facilitating and accelerating reconstruction of both countries, and in order to contribute to the cause of world prosperity.

#### *Article VII*

The present treaty does not in any way affect obligations undertaken previously by the high con-

tracting parties in regard to third states in virtue of published treaties.

### Article VIII

The present treaty, whose Russian and French texts are equally valid, shall be ratified and ratification instruments shall be exchanged in Paris as early as possible. It comes into force from the moment of the exchange of ratification instruments and shall be valid for 20 years. If the treaty is not denounced by either of the high contracting parties at least one year before the expiration of this term, it shall remain valid for an unlimited time; each of the contracting parties will be able

to terminate its operation by giving notice to that effect one year in advance.

In confirmation of which, the above plenipotentiaries signed the present treaty and affixed their seals to it.

Done in Moscow in two copies, December 10, 1944.

On the authorization of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

MOLOTOV

On the authorization of the Provisional Government of the French Republic

BIDAULT

## Presentation of Letters of Credence

### AMBASSADOR OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

[Released to the press January 1]

A translation of the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of the Dominican Republic, Señor Emilio García Godoy, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, January 1, 1945, follows:

**MR. PRESIDENT:** It is with profound satisfaction that I place in Your Excellency's hands the letters of credence accrediting me as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Dominican Republic before the Government of the United States of America.

A few years ago I had the good fortune to fill a diplomatic position in this capital, and at that time I began to admire the brilliant efforts which Your Excellency's Government displayed in behalf of the proper form of common existence of all peoples and particularly of those forming the great American family.

In those days of peace the words of Your Excellency and those of the distinguished ex-Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, indicated to American consciousness the necessity for drawing spiritual ties closer and for creating in our hemisphere an atmosphere favorable to solidary action. The Government of the Dominican Republic has always adhered with sincere and warm friendship to those noble aims of continental solidarity, as is proved by the significant fact that as far back as the beginning of the year 1935 President Trujillo pointed out, in a letter which he addressed

to Your Excellency, the advisability of creating an Association of American Nations which should give to such solidarity a firm juridical structure and an adequate organ of expression and orientation.

When the most reprehensible attack on Pearl Harbor took place on December 7, 1941, the Dominican Government and people, loyally inspired by those same sentiments of solidarity, felt in body and soul the grief of your great nation so cunningly betrayed and attacked. In consequence of that attitude of complete identification with the tragedy and the protest, the Dominican Government, directed by the political thought of General Trujillo, declared war upon the totalitarian powers. Since that time my Government has been unreservedly at the side of your Government and at the side of all the governments of the United Nations, sharing to the very limit of its possibilities in the sacrifices and the efforts which will very shortly culminate in the definitive defeat of the Nazi and Fascist forces and in the organization of a world suited for human dignity and Christianly civilized living.

It is for me, Mr. President, a cause of legitimate satisfaction to return to this capital on a diplomatic mission and, in particular, to begin my new work by giving to Your Excellency, who is at this crucial moment for mankind the noblest incarnation of the democratic ideals of the American people and one of the most brilliant promoters of constructive pan-Americanism, the full assurance that both the Dominican people and the Government



which guides it with rare ability are continuing and will continue to make, with the same faith as always, efforts and sacrifices in behalf of the cause of democracy, which is our common cause.

It gives me further satisfaction to express to Your Excellency the absolute assurance that the Dominican Republic and its illustrious President will cooperate with a deep sense of understanding and with their traditional role of collaboration in the establishment of the world of the future, that new world which will have to be organized, as Your Excellency has repeatedly declared, on a basis of mutual respect, legal equality of nations, good understanding among peoples, and devotion to the inherent principles of justice.

Permit me, Mr. President, to perform now the honor-giving duty which has been entrusted to me by His Excellency President Trujillo of presenting to Your Excellency his most cordial greetings and his sincere good wishes for the greatness of the United States and for Your Excellency's personal well-being.

I respectfully beg Your Excellency to accept at the same time the expression of my most friendly sentiments.

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

**MR. AMBASSADOR:** It gives me great pleasure, Mr. Ambassador, to receive from you the letters whereby His Excellency the President of the Dominican Republic accredits you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Dominican Republic near the Government of the United States of America. My gratification on this occasion is tempered only by my profound sorrow at the sudden and untimely death of your distinguished predecessor, Señor Don Anselmo Copello.

Your Excellency's remarks concerning the long collaboration between our two countries in the effort to achieve true inter-American solidarity fill me anew with a deep sense of the highly significant role played by the Dominican Republic in the attainment of this objective. The immediate and whole-hearted support your Government and people accorded a sister republic when it was attacked in so brutal and unprovoked a manner at Pearl Harbor demonstrated again the devotion of your country to the cause of pan-Americanism and the unity of the hemisphere in the face of a common foe. My Government and people will never forget

this spontaneous manifestation of true friendship on the part of the Dominican people. I know Your Excellency joins me in hoping for the speedy triumph of our just cause in our common struggle to preserve the principles of democracy and human liberty.

I also wish to express again, Mr. Ambassador, my whole-hearted agreement with your comments concerning the necessity that the world order of the future be based on respect for the independence and freedom of all nations and on their staunch adherence to the eternal principles of justice.

I recall with pleasure Your Excellency's previous record of service as a member of the diplomatic corps in Washington and cordially welcome your return as your country's Ambassador here. The officials of this Government and I are prepared to cooperate with you in every way possible in the performance of your duties and in furthering the friendly spirit which animates our two peoples in their relations with one another.

Please convey to President Trujillo my warm thanks for his greetings and my sincere regard for his well-being and the happiness of the Dominican people. At the same time, please accept my appreciation for Your Excellency's personal expression of friendship, and permit me to extend to you my best wishes for your stay here.

#### AMBASSADOR OF THE PROVISIONAL FRENCH GOVERNMENT

[Released to the press January 1]

A translation of the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, Mr. Henri Bonnet, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, January 1, 1945, follows:

**MR. PRESIDENT:** I have the honor to hand Your Excellency the letters which accredit me near you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

On this occasion I am happy to tell you of the value which, today more than ever, France sets on the traditional friendship which unites her with the United States and of her profound wish that this friendship shall become ever stronger and more vital.

During the difficult years of trial through which she has passed, while remaining with all her soul on the side of free peoples, France has followed with admiration the immense effort realized by

the United States in order to overthrow, in partnership with our Allies, the powers of aggression responsible for the World War. She is proud to have organized her resistance in the face of atrocious persecutions and to have participated at the side of your powerful forces in the liberation of her territory. She holds no wish more dear than to contribute with all her restored strength to the final defeat of our common enemies.

New ties are thus created between our two countries which were already united by a deep affinity and by a common democratic ideal of progress and liberty. This solidarity in war appears to me as a sure promise of reciprocal understanding and of close cooperation on the morrow of victory.

You may be assured that my Government will spare no effort in order that the peace which has been won at the price of so many sacrifices shall be guaranteed by a solid system of security. To this end it is ready to bring its full contribution to the work of international organization which will unite the peace-loving nations in mutual respect and justice.

For my part, Mr. President, I shall let no occasion pass to develop and make more profitable the harmonious relations which exist between our two countries. And I shall consider my most valued privilege that of being able to count on Your Excellency's confidence and kind cooperation in the fulfilment of my mission.

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

MR. AMBASSADOR: The return of a French Ambassador to the United States is an event which gives to me, and will give to the people of this country, a feeling of very special gratification. To you personally I extend a warm welcome and my best wishes for the full success of your mission.

The trials through which the people of France have passed are well known here, and I am confident that nowhere has there been greater satisfaction over the heroic manner in which those trials have been met and are being overcome. At no time did the people of this country doubt the will of the French people to rise against the enemy from without her borders and to reject the undemocratic principles of government which were imposed temporarily from within.

Today we stand at a critical period in the war. Though the road may still be hard, the triumph,

in which all the Allied nations will share, is certain.

I welcome particularly your statement that your Government will spare no effort to bring its full contribution to the maintenance of peace. I know well how important that contribution will be to Europe and the world, and it was this realization which prompted the representatives meeting at Dumbarton Oaks to insure for France in the future world organization the place to which her traditions, her ideals, and her importance entitle her.

You will find every disposition on the part of officials of this Government to facilitate the work of your mission to the fullest possible extent and to work with you for the victory which is our common and immediate goal, as well as for the undying principles which have bound our countries together for a century and a half.

#### AMBASSADOR OF GUATEMALA

[Released to the press January 11]

A translation of the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Guatemala, Señor Don Eugenio Silva Peña, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, January 1, 1945, follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: The Revolutionary Junta, which at present constitutes the popular Government of my country, has deemed fit to appoint me to represent it, in the capacity of Ambassador and Envoy Extraordinary, before the Government over which Your Excellency so worthily presides.

Surely the sincerity of my personal feelings of affection for the people of the United States, where I received part of my education, and the frank and enthusiastic friendship which I have always expressed for this great democracy were determining factors in my appointment. I have accepted this high honor, Mr. President, with the desire to serve my country and in the assurance that I shall obtain from Your Excellency the support and cooperation necessary for expanding the good relations existing between our two countries, strengthening them by means of a solid structure of mutual esteem and of reciprocal interest in common problems.

From the beginning the Guatemalan people fell in line with the United Nations, and conscious of the era through which the world is pass-

(Continued on next page)

## Reply to Senator Wheeler's Attack Upon the Unconditional Surrender Principle

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press January 6]

The Secretary of State made the following statement concerning the radio address of January 5 by Senator Burton K. Wheeler:

"Whatever the intention of the speaker, Senator Wheeler's attack upon the unconditional-surrender principle agreed to by the British Government, the Russian Government, the Chinese Government, and our own will be understood in Germany and in Japan as meaning that if these countries can resist long enough, and can kill enough American soldiers, the will of the American people to achieve a complete victory will be broken and a negotiated peace can be secured. The people of Germany and Japan do not know, as the people of the United States do know, that Senator Wheeler speaks not for the American people but for a discredited few whose views have been overwhelmingly rejected by their fellow citizens of every party. Senator Wheeler's statement is, therefore, profoundly regrettable."

**GUATEMALA**—Continued from page 42.

ing, has desired to enter the course of an authentic democracy by giving itself a government deeply rooted in the freely expressed will of the nation and capable of preserving domestic order and tranquillity as well as fulfilling its international obligations. And it has been cause, Mr. President, for the highest satisfaction of the Guatemalan people that your enlightened Government should have granted recognition to a Revolutionary Junta, an act unprecedented in the history of American public law.

Guatemala, Mr. President, wishes to prepare itself to solve properly the complex problems of the post-war period and, within the framework of continental solidarity, hopes for and will highly appreciate the assistance and good-will of the people and Government of the United States, in whose sincere friendship it trusts.

As I deliver to your hands the autograph credentials which accredit me as Ambassador and Envoy Extraordinary near your Government, please accept the assurances of my consideration

and high esteem together with the sincere wishes which I formulate for your personal happiness and the prosperity of your Nation.

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

MR. AMBASSADOR: I am pleased to receive from Your Excellency the letters accrediting you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Guatemala and to extend to you a most cordial welcome to the United States.

I am deeply grateful for the contribution which the people and Government of Guatemala have made to hemisphere solidarity and defense. Your profound knowledge of the United States and its democratic institutions coupled with the fact that you have received part of your education here assures me that the spirit of harmony and mutual understanding, which has characterized the close relationship between our two countries, will continue to strengthen under your guidance.

The post-war problems are indeed great. They vie with each other in their complexity. I am confident, however, that their solution will be found within that framework of continental solidarity to which you refer.

In accepting your personal expression of good wishes, please convey to the Junta which heads your Government my own best wishes for their continued health and well-being and for the welfare of the people of Guatemala.

## Final Payment by Mexico Under the Special Claims Convention of 1934

[Released to the press January 2]

The First Secretary of the Mexican Embassy, Señor Don Salvador Duhart, presented to the Secretary of State on January 2, 1945 his Government's check for \$448,020.14, representing the final payment, due January 1, 1945, in accordance with article II of the convention between the United States of America and the United Mexican States signed at Mexico City on April 24, 1934,<sup>1</sup> providing for the *en bloc* settlement of the claims presented by the Government of the United States to the Commission established by the Spe-

<sup>1</sup> Press Releases, Apr. 28, 1934, p. 224.

cial Claims Convention concluded September 10, 1923. With the present payment the total instalments paid since January 2, 1935 amount to \$5,448,020.14.

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

The Secretary of State thanked the First Secretary for the payment and requested him to convey to his Government an expression of this Government's appreciation.

## Exchange of American And German Nationals

[Released to the press January 5]

The Department of State and the War Department announce that the M.S. *Gripsholm* is expected to leave New York for Marseille on or about January 6 to carry out a further exchange with Germany of seriously sick and seriously wounded prisoners of war who have been found eligible for repatriation under the terms of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention. There will also be included in this exchange a number of German civilians in United States custody and a number from Mexico who are being repatriated in exchange for United States nationals and nationals of certain of the other American republics. It has been agreed that the repatriables of each side will be delivered in Switzerland on or about January 17 and January 25, 1945 in two separate exchange operations. The Swiss Government has agreed to the use of its facilities to carry out this exchange and is making available approximately 18 hospital trains. The last exchange of sick and wounded prisoners of war with Germany took place at Göteborg, Sweden, in September 1944. The Swedish Government also offered the use of its facilities in the forthcoming exchange.

The *Gripsholm* is expected to return to New York late in February with the American repatriates. This vessel will travel both ways under safe-conduct assurances from all belligerents.

Every effort will be made to dispatch notification to the next of kin of the American repatriates at the earliest possible moment after their identity has been established beyond possibility of doubt.

A representative of the Swiss Government, which acted as intermediary in the exchange nego-

tiations, will travel on the vessel as guarantor of the execution of the exchange agreement, representing the interests of the parties thereto.

## PUBLICATIONS

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Nominations for Under Secretary of State and Assistant Secretaries of State: Hearings Before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, December 12, 1944. Publication 231. 20 pp. 5¢.

Dumbarton Oaks Proposals: Address by Leo Pasvolosky, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State. Conference Series 61. Publication 2232. 14 pp. 5¢.

### FOREIGN COMMERCE WEEKLY

The article listed below will be found in the December 30 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:

"The Spanish Bottle Industry", by William L. Smyser, third secretary, American Embassy, Madrid, and Catherine B. Welch, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce.

The following article will be found in the January 6 issue:

"Tobacco in Venezuela", by William P. Wright, assistant commercial attaché, American Embassy, Caracas.

## THE CONGRESS

First Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1945. Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H.R. 5587, an act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, and for prior fiscal years, and to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1945, and June 30, 1946, and for other purposes. ii, 294 pp. [State Department, pp. 20-31.]

Naturalization of Filipinos. Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H. R. 2012, H.R. 2776, H.R. 3633, H.R. 4003, H.R. 4229, and H.R. 4826, bills providing for the naturalization of Filipinos. November 22, 1944. iii, 59 pp. [State Department, p. 28.]

Senate Manual: Containing the Standing Rules and Orders of the United States Senate. Prepared under the Direction of the Senate Committee on Rules. 78th Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 225. 765 pp.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
BULLETIN

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JANUARY 14, 1945

*In this issue*

POPULAR RELATIONS AND THE PEACE

*Address by Assistant Secretary MacLeish*

AMERICAN SOLIDARITY AND TOTALITARIAN AGGRESSION

*Opposition to a United Front Against the Common Enemy*



THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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## Contents

	Page
<b>AMERICAN REPUBLICS</b>	
American Solidarity and Totalitarian Aggression: Opposition to a United Front Against the Common Enemy . . . . .	53
Conference of the American Republics:	
Announcement of Plans . . . . .	60
Designation of the Secretary of State as United States Delegate . . . . .	61
Remarks by Assistant Secretary Rockefeller . . . . .	61
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Informal Relations With Finland Established . . . . .	52
<b>NEAR EAST</b>	
Death of Foreign Minister of the Lebanese Republic . . . . .	51
<b>CULTURAL COOPERATION</b>	
Exchange of Experts Among the American Republics Under Travel-Grant Program . . . . .	64
Visiting Professors From China . . . . .	65
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
International Cotton Advisory Committee. By James G. Evans . . . . .	52
The Work of the Special Economic Mission . . . . .	62
Consideration of the Purposes of the Anglo-American Oil Agreement . . . . .	63
Message of the President to the Senate . . . . .	63
The Proclaimed List . . . . .	67
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
Popular Relations and the Peace: Address by Assistant Secretary MacLeish . . . . .	47
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
Monetary Agreement, United Kingdom and Belgium . . . . .	66
United States Fisheries Mission to Mexico . . . . .	66
Countries Signing Documents Concluded at International Civil Aviation Conference . . . . .	67
Interim Agreement on Aviation . . . . .	67
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	68
Establishment of the Foreign Trade Branch in the Division of Commercial Policy . . . . .	68

# Popular Relations and the Peace

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY MACLEISH<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 10]

There are not many occasions when a man can begin a speech in the definite and foreseeable certainty that his audience will be disappointed. You were disappointed before I opened my mouth: You had expected to hear the President of the United States and instead you are obliged to listen to an Assistant Secretary of State. You will be even more disappointed before I have finished this sentence: You had expected that an Assistant Secretary of State would at least speak like one, whereas I propose to speak to you not as an officer of the Department at all but as a poet. I feel—and some of you I think will agree with me—that mere logic requires it. If poetry is relevant to the Department of State in the minds of some who read poetry as politicians, then the Department of State must certainly have relevance to poetry in the minds of those who read it as college presidents.

And besides, there are practical reasons. I have been trying to learn to look at the world as an Assistant Secretary of State for 21 days—most of that time without either an office or a desk to help me. I have been trying to learn to look at the world as a poet for 30 years. How a man ought to see the world as an Assistant Secretary of State I am not yet certain. But I am very clear in my mind how he ought to see it as a poet. He ought to see it not with the eye of custom but with the eye of surprise. He ought to *see*, that is to say, what the rest of us merely look at and take for granted and therefore do not see.

It is a difficult skill to acquire—so difficult that few men in any time have mastered it. Certainly I make no claim to the possession of that true nakedness of eye. But even the effort to achieve it produces certain habits of observation which have, perhaps, their value. One learns that it is dangerous to ignore the obvious or to assume that what is said to be obvious really is. Or rather, one learns

that it is precisely the obvious which, like the familiar word too long regarded, may come to look most strange. It is when familiar things look strange that a man first sees them.

The obvious thing, for example, to say about the Department of State is that it handles the foreign relations of this country. The fact is obvious. It is taken for granted. It is true. But is it really true? Where, for instance, have the relations of the United States and Great Britain been handled over the past two or three weeks? In the State Department and the Foreign Office, of course. In the White House and in 10 Downing Street. But also, and with equal importance—conceivably with far greater importance—directly between the American and British peoples through the channels of the press and radio with the whole world looking on.

The relations of the American people to the British people and of the British people to the American people have been under direct and open and public discussion between the peoples themselves not only through the editorial exchanges set off by the London *Economist* but also through the comments of other newspapers on those exchanges, and through the comments of the people on the comments of the newspapers. Moreover, the relations which were under discussion were the true and basic relations of the two peoples—the foreign relations upon which all other foreign relations depend. The question the editor of the *Economist* proposed for debate, whether he so intended or not, was the question whether the American people and the British people wish to work together or to work apart. There is no need for me to point out that that question is the most important question bearing upon the relations of our two peoples which could possibly be raised.

The fact that it is a question to which the answer is obvious in advance detracts in no way from its significance. We learned what we thought about the British in the Battle of Britain, and the British learned what they thought about us during the years when our soldiers were billeted in British

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges at Atlantic City, N. J., on Jan. 10, 1945.

towns and during the terrible and gallant weeks when those same soldiers, with British soldiers at their side, fought and won the battles of Normandy and of France. The ill-tempered and often irresponsible criticism of the past few weeks on the two sides of the Atlantic never touched the basic reality of our mutual respect and admiration for each other, and the effort to endow those superficial exchanges with the importance of a solemn debate on the fundamental issue of our willingness to work together was, to put it mildly, ill-considered. But the fact remains that the debate did, in fact, take place and that the peoples participated in it.

And the further fact remains that the incident is not isolated or peculiar: It is merely more dramatic because more dangerous than other instances of the same sort. The peoples of the civilized world—what we are accustomed to call the civilized world—are engaged in a continuing consultation through just such public channels of just such fundamental questions of their relations to each other—their “foreign relations”. Modern electrical communication has created in fact the Parliament of Man of which Tennyson dreamed. And the circumstances that it sometimes exists, in Carl Sandburg’s phrase, rather as a humiliating reality than as a beautiful hope, deprives its existence of none of its meaning. It is possible to dislike the Parliament of Man: There are those certainly who do dislike it—who would like to return to the old system of foreign relations conducted exclusively through the chancelleries in the secret codes. It is not possible to ignore it. The Parliament of Man is now convened in continuing and constant session without rules of order, limitations of debate, or privileges of the house, and those who refuse to take account of its proceedings may wake up to find that its proceedings have taken no account of them.

All this, of course, is obvious enough. Indeed, it is precisely because it is obvious that I take your time to talk about it. Everyone who has given 10 minutes to the consideration of the facts agrees that modern electrical communications are capable of altering the social structure of the world as modern air transport is capable of altering the geography of the world. The difficulty is that the admission of that fact is not followed by its recognition as a fact. People get used to the new and startling discovery without realizing what it is they have discovered. They do not see it though

they look at it. Indeed, the more often they look at it—the more often they agree that it is there—the less they recognize it for what it is.

Air transport is an excellent example. There, as Air Marshal Bishop has pointed out in his *Winged Peace*, the practical men, the financial experts, the business authorities continue to treat as a theory what is already a condition. They refuse to realize that the world of four-hour Atlantic hops with all it implies is not a future world to be constructed or not constructed as we choose. It is a world which now exists in all its potentialities whether we wish it to exist or not—a world we must prepare ourselves to live in.

The same thing is true of the world of radio transmission. Instantaneous intercommunication between peoples—between peoples as peoples—is not something we can achieve or refuse to achieve as we wish. It is something which exists—which exists in all its potentialities—now. And which we will deal with now. Or fail to deal with.

We talk too much, as we look toward the future, of the new world we would like to create—the new world we propose to build. We talk too little and think too little of the new world which will exist whether we act to create it or not—the new world we have already created by an invention here, a development there, without altogether foreseeing, and certainly without intending, the total resultant consequences of our acts. I believe, for my own part, that we will have an opportunity at this war’s end to build the world we want—such an opportunity as no generation has ever had before us. But I believe also that in building that newly imagined world we will have to take account of the world already newly built—the world we say we know but have never lived in—the world we cannot escape.

It is customary to speak of this new world of instantaneous communication and rapid transport as a world shrunk and shriveled in size, a smaller world. But surely, if we are to talk in metaphors of that character, the world of air transport and radio communication is a world greater in size, not smaller in size. It is time, not space, which has shriveled. And in this universe, whatever may be true of other universes, the contraction of time in this metaphoric sense means of necessity the expansion of space. To enable a man to cover 400 miles instead of 4 in a single hour is to increase by a hundred times the space he can put behind



him in any given period of time and to increase, therefore, in the same possible proportion the spaces of the world available to his experience.

And what is true of transport is even truer of communication. A system of communication which is capable of delivering messages around the world almost instantaneously is a system which increases the number and the distribution of human beings capable of communicating with each other. Indeed, it is precisely this increase in numbers and in distribution which gives modern electrical communication its principal significance.

It is miraculous and sometimes important to get an answer from Rangoon in a matter of minutes. It is far more of a miracle, and infinitely more important, to put people everywhere in the world into common intercommunication with each other so that men can speak back and forth across the bands of time and the hours of the day and the positions of the sun, whether overhead or underfoot or rising or setting, in such a manner that the time, to all of them, is *now*. When, to that miracle of a socially expanded world, is added the other and related miracle of mass communication so that messages are carried, not to a single listener or to a few correspondents, but to millions of listeners, millions of readers, then the expansion in space accomplished by the contraction in time is obvious indeed. A speech by the President of the United States which had once an audience of a few million straggling across the days and even weeks which followed its delivery has now an audience of hundreds of millions at the instant it is spoken or within a few hours after.

Whether we like it or not we will find ourselves living at the war's end in a speaking, listening net of international intercommunication so sensitive and so delicately responsive that a whisper anywhere will be heard around the earth. There is a wonderful story you have all heard of the early days of microphones and public address systems—the story of the two well-wined gentlemen on one of the great trans-Atlantic ships who sat down to tell each other raucous stories after luncheon with a small, black, unfamiliar object on the table at their elbow. The shudder that went round the deck chairs and through the cabins as that unintended broadcast howled and boomed from the loudspeakers above decks and below was a presage of a world at that time unimagined—a world that now exists.

The question, then—the principal question in

the field of foreign relations in our time—is this: What will we do with that world? How will we live in it? How will we prevent war and preserve peace and attain the other basic objectives of our foreign policy in a world in which the substantial foreign relations of peoples are direct relations by direct and continuing communication with each other? How will we realize the tremendous promise of common understanding and mutual confidence which that world holds out? How will we avoid its dangers of bickering quarrels, whispered suspicions, inspired panics, fear?

There may be questions of greater importance to the future peace of the world than these. If there are I do not know them. If the direct relations of peoples to peoples which modern communications permit are relations of understanding and confidence, so that the men and women of the world feel each other's presence and trust each other's purposes and believe that the common cause of all the people everywhere is peace, then any reasonably intelligent organization of the world for peace will work. If, however, the direct relations of the peoples with each other are relations of doubt and suspicion and misunderstanding, then no international organization the genius of man can contrive can possibly succeed.

Believers in the people have always felt that if the men and women of the world could reach each other across the apparatus of their governments they would recognize each other, and understand each other, and find their common purpose in each other. It is now technically possible, or all but technically possible, to realize that hope, at least so far as the industrialized nations of the world are concerned. Is it possible to realize it politically and socially also? And if so, how?

One practical way to answer that question is, of course, to deny that the hope has any basis in fact—which is another way of denying the belief in the people on which the hope is founded. Governments like the Nazi government in Germany and the militarist government in Japan have no difficulty with the new world of international communication. They exclude it so far as their own people are concerned, and for the rest betray it. Japanese radio sets were controlled by law before the war to prevent the reception of broadcasts originating outside the Japanese islands, and the Nazi leaders made the perversion of radio communication a principal instrument for the befud-

dlement and deception of their own people and the beguilement and deception of their neighbors.

For the democratic nations, however, and particularly for our own Nation, which has made the belief in the people its deepest and most enduring earthly belief, there is no easy escape by suppression or by fraud from the question technology has posed for us. Believing in the people, we believe necessarily in the people everywhere—not the people of this country only or of any other single country but throughout the world. We believe, that is to say, in the dignity and decency and goodwill of men as men wherever they are free to act and think as men. We have no choice, therefore, but to face the question in the terms in which it is asked and to make our answer.

If we believe in the people—in their motives and their instincts and their purposes as the people—we believe necessarily in communication between the peoples. We believe in the greatest possible freedom of such communication. Freedom of communication, freedom of exchange of ideas, is basic to our whole political doctrine. But at the same time we cannot help but realize that complete freedom of international communication, particularly when that communication is instantaneous and has all the emotional urgency of immediate and first-known things, can be dangerous also. We have seen skilful and dishonest demagogues pervert the instruments of international communication to their own purposes without the knowledge of their victims. And we have seen honest misunderstandings blown up into critical issues by ignorance and hysteria. We should be less than intelligent and certainly less than realistic if we did not take account of these things in deciding how we propose to live in the world we shall have to live in.

To me—and I must repeat again that I am speaking here for myself and not as an officer of a department in which I feel myself still strange—to me there is only one possible answer to this question from the democratic point of view—at least from the democratic point of view as we, in this country, hold it. The only possible protection against misuse of international communication, or misinterpretation of international communication, is not less communication but more.

We cannot exclude communication from this country without being false to every principle upon which this country was founded, and we cannot barricade ourselves against the interchange of

ideas without implying a mistrust of the ability of this people to separate the true ideas from the false which would be unworthy of any believer in the propositions of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. Let us be clear and clean and honest on that point first. No amount of metaphoric verbiage will ever obscure the fact that those who would keep the knowledge of ideas from the American people declare by that action that they do not trust the American people to know the true from the false, the decent from the vile, the pure from the impure. In a country in which the people are sovereign by basic law and the right of the people to decide for themselves has been established by constitutional guaranty, such a purpose is, in the most literal sense, subversive. Until the people decide for themselves, by constitutional procedure, to protect themselves in time of peace from the seduction of any man's words or any man's notions, it hardly lies in the mouths of others to protect them from themselves.

If that is clear—if it is clear that a democratic nation cannot protect itself from the risks of modern communication by less communication but only by more—the practical question for discussion becomes the question how and in what way communication between the democratic peoples of the world shall be increased and supplemented when it is necessary to increase it. If we are to meet the danger of misunderstanding by more understanding, and of ignorance by greater knowledge, and of incompleteness by completeness, how are we to proceed?

There may be occasions when it will be necessary for some agency of government to correct false statements capable of doing mischief. It may be desirable under certain circumstances to require the propagators of ideas to identify themselves and take responsibility for their doctrines in international communication as they do in ordinary conversation. But by and large the answer to the question of more communication internationally, like the answer to the question of less communication internationally, derives, for us at least, from the basic principle on which this Nation was established.

Those who believe in the people must believe that if the peoples of the world know each other and understand each other they will be able to deal with the distortions and the lies themselves. What is essential, then, is not to correct each mischievous

inaccuracy, each intended falsehood, each outburst of divisive propaganda. What is essential is to see to it that the peoples of the world know each other as peoples, that they understand each other as peoples. For if they know and if they understand they will fill in the gaps for themselves as they have been filling in the gaps for centuries—for countless generations. They will allow for the falsehoods as they have always allowed for them. They will trust in common human nature to set things straight.

The people are wiser over centuries and generations than those who think themselves far wiser than the people. They have the easy-going, sage, salt, human wisdom of the anonymous proverbs which no man ever signs because no man has the right to sign them. All they need to be wise with each other is the sense of each other—the human sense of each other as human beings.

It is a curious thing—a thing which will seem curious to our successors in this Nation—that the phrase we have used for this kind of added international information—this supplementary and saving information to the peoples about each other—is the phrase “cultural relations.” What we mean, of course, is something quite different from the popular meaning of those words. What we wish the people of other countries to know about ourselves, and what we, for our part, wish to know about the peoples of other countries, is not the condition of culture in the popularly distorted sense of that term. What we wish to know, and what we wish them to know, is something far deeper and far wider. We want men and women in other continents to know what our life as a people is like, what we value as a people, in what we are skilled and in what not skilled—our character, our qualities, our beliefs. We want them, when they hear or read of this dramatic event or that, to think at the same time who we are, what we are like—and, therefore, how the event should be interpreted. We want them to know our habits of laughing and of not laughing so that they will hear not only the words but the tone too and understand it. We want them to have the sense of us as men and women as we wish too to have the sense of them. Knowledge of all these things is, it is true, a knowledge of culture, but it is more than that. It is a knowledge of character. It is a knowledge of men.

Any man who wishes seriously to quarrel with a

phrase, however, must have a better phrase, and I have none to offer. I have only the deeply held conviction that the thing this phrase intends is, of all the things a democratic government can do to make the new-built world of international communication habitable, the most important.

What is unfortunate about the current designation is its suggestion to certain minds that a program of cultural relations is a decoration, a frill, an ornament added to the serious business of the foreign relations of the United States. You gentlemen, who know that a nation's culture is a nation's character, would not so interpret it, but others do. And when they do, they endanger the best hope this country now possesses of preparing the climate of understanding in which peace can breathe. The people of the five continents and the innumerable islands can only live together peacefully in the close and urgent contact of modern intercommunication if they feel behind the jangle and vibration of the constant words the living men and women. It is our principal duty, because it is our principal opportunity, to make that sense of living men and women real. Our country, with its great institutions of education and of culture, is prepared as are few others to undertake the work that must be done. If we will undertake it, believing in it with our hearts as well as with our heads, we can create not only peace but the common understanding which is the only guaranty that peace will last.

## Death of Foreign Minister Of the Lebanese Republic

[Released to the press January 12]

The Acting Secretary of State has sent the following message to His Excellency Abdul Hamid Karami, Prime Minister of the Republic of Lebanon, Beirut:

I am deeply grieved to learn of the death of the eminent Foreign Minister of Lebanon Selim Takla, in whose untimely passing the Lebanon has lost a courageous leader and all the peace-loving peoples a faithful and devoted friend and co-worker. I desire to express to Your Excellency and would request you to convey to the Lebanese people the deep sympathy of the American Government and people.

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State*

# International Cotton Advisory Committee

By JAMES G. EVANS<sup>1</sup>

**T**HE International Cotton Advisory Committee was established in accordance with a resolution approved by the participating governments at the International Cotton Meeting held in Washington, September 6-9, 1939. Recognizing the potential impact of the war which had just broken out in Europe, the participants limited the scope of their recommendations to approval of the following resolution:

"We the representatives of the Governments of India, Egypt, Brazil, the British Cotton Exporting Colonies, the French Cotton Exporting Colonies, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Peru, Mexico, the Sudan and the United States, have considered the world cotton situation and we agree that the regulation of world cotton supplies in relation to demand would help materially in improving the existing unbalanced condition.

"Normally we would have recommended steps to achieve international agreement for this purpose. We realize, however, that under existing international conditions, such a course is impracticable.

"As an interim measure, therefore, we have agreed to make the following recommendation to our respective Governments.

"That an advisory committee be set up in Washington e m b r a c i n g the different countries represented at the present conference and including in addition representatives of other nations of importance in the production and exporting of cotton; such committee to undertake the following functions:

"(a) To observe and keep in close touch with developments in the world cotton situation.

"(b) To suggest, as and when advisable, to the Governments represented

on it any measures it considers suitable and practicable for the achievement of ultimate international collaboration."

Representatives on the International Cotton Advisory Committee were designated by the governments participating in the above resolution, and in addition a representative was designated by the Government of Turkey. Three meetings have been convened since its formation: April 1, 1940, October 17, 1940, and April 11, 1941. At each of these meetings, which were held in Washington, the Committee reviewed the world cotton situation as well as the condition with respect to cotton in each of the countries represented.

When the International Cotton Meeting was called in the summer of 1939, the world carry-over of stocks of cotton was at a record high level and the United States had adopted a special export program to permit its cotton to move into foreign markets. This program was suspended early in 1940, but a similar one has recently been instituted.

At the present time the world carry-over stocks are even higher than in 1939, with prospects of still larger accumulations.<sup>2</sup> These conditions suggest the desirability of convening the fourth meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee as soon as possible to review the world situation and to consider suitable and practicable measures for the furthering of international collaboration with respect to surplus cotton stocks.

## Informal Relations With Finland Established

[Released to the press January 12]

The President has approved the assignment of Maxwell M. Hamilton, Foreign Service officer of class one, as United States representative in Finland with personal rank of Minister. Pending Mr. Hamilton's arrival, L. Randolph Higgs, a Foreign Service officer, will be in charge of the United States Mission in Finland. Mr. Hamilton's assignment does not constitute a resumption of formal diplomatic relations between the United States and Finland. The Soviet and British Governments have been kept fully informed.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Evans is an officer in the Commodities Division, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of United States cotton policy, see statement by Assistant Secretary Acheson as printed in the BULLETIN of Dec. 10, 1944, p. 700.

# American Solidarity and Totalitarian Aggression

## Opposition to a United Front Against the Common Enemy

IN the period covered by the present report,<sup>1</sup> the United Nations have passed from defense to offense and are now pressing toward final victory over the Axis powers.

In this same period, the great majority of the American republics have made an important contribution to this result by giving practical effect, in the form of affirmative individual and collective action against the aggressors, to the inter-American agreements for the defense of the continent. In almost all of the republics adequate legislative and administrative measures have been taken for national and continental defense; and, what is more important, these measures have been applied with success because of the unwavering determination of the governments and peoples of the inter-American community to cooperate as fully as possible in the struggle against the common enemy.

However, it must unfortunately be recorded that the American republics have not been accompanied in this action by one of their members. The position taken by the Argentine Government immediately after the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Rio de Janeiro set in motion certain divergent tendencies which have finally brought about a definite cleavage between that Government and the other members of the community of American nations.

The position of the Argentine Government raises questions of the most fundamental character with respect to the principles and interests involved in the present world conflict and with respect to the nature and implications of American solidarity. The great majority of the republics of the continent have considered that the security, sovereignty, and independence of each one of them were at stake in the struggle between the Axis powers and the United Nations. It has also considered that certain moral and legal principles, collectively agreed upon, make imperative inter-American cooperative action for defense against a common danger or an attack by a non-American state against a member of the American community. The course

followed by the Argentine Government since the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs indicates that it does not share the general conviction on these two vital questions which has determined the attitude of the other 20 republics.

This cleavage within the continent not only prevented it from presenting a united front against Axis political aggression, but has also given comfort and assistance to those elements within the hemisphere which could be used by the totalitarian powers to serve their ends. The continuous activities of the Axis in America were not without effect, and there are groups of men within the continent who either actively favor the Axis cause because of their sympathies or convictions or can be used to serve that cause directly or indirectly because they hold views or interests antagonistic to continental unity. By adroitly exploiting these elements of dissension and disunity and by encouraging their aspirations to achieve governmental power, Axis influence created a real danger to the defense of the continent, through the alienation of those American republics which were victims of such activities from the principles of continental solidarity.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident from the foregoing that the crucial problem of political defense in America during the period covered by the present report has related to the maintenance of continental unity, the indispensable foundation for that defense. It is therefore appropriate that in the first two chapters the scope and significance of American solidarity, as well as the manner in which it has been given expression and maintained during the emergency, should be examined in detail.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. I of the Annual Report of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 1943-44; prepared by the Comité Consultivo de Emergencia para la Defensa Política at Montevideo. For an article on the organization and work of the Committee, see BULLETIN of Jan. 7, 1944, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. II of the Annual Report of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, 1943-44, discusses the measures adopted by the American republics to meet this situation.

### A. The Bases of American Solidarity

When the second World War began in September 1939, the pan-American system was in fact, if not in form, a close union of 21 sovereign states.

In this system, the obligatory or compulsory character of the commitments is secondary to the spirit in which they are assumed; they rest upon a high sense of moral values in international relations and upon an enlightened self-interest which postulates that the security and peace of each member of the community is of vital concern to all the others. The relations among the members of the community are governed by a series of basic principles which include the following: equality of all states, large or small; respect for treaty obligations; non-intervention by one state in the internal or external affairs of another; condemnation of aggression; non-recognition of territory acquired by force; peaceful settlement of international disputes and collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace, including the exercise of political, juridical, or economic pressure to induce states not to disturb the peace and thus endanger inter-American unity. These principles are essentially and inherently antagonistic to policies or acts based upon ideas of domination, balance of power, or division of the continent into rival groups of states.<sup>3</sup>

It is highly significant that, in preparing to meet the danger to world peace which began to take definite shape in Central Europe and Asia in 1933, the American community first completed the political and juridical structure designed to preserve internal peace and unity. At the Inter-American

Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires in 1936, the American republics adopted certain treaties and agreements giving more definite and concrete expression to the above-mentioned principles of continental policy, and agreed upon a great variety of methods and procedures to improve and intensify their cooperative relations.<sup>4</sup>

After thus safeguarding the internal front, these republics agreed, at the same conference, to consult together "in the event of an international war outside America which might menace the peace of the American republics" in order to determine the action necessary to preserve the peace of the continent. Two years later, at the Eighth International Conference of American States, held at Lima, the American republics reaffirmed their decision to maintain the principles of continental solidarity, and to defend them against "any foreign intervention or activity that may threaten them". It was specifically established that the peace, security, and territorial integrity of each of the American republics is a matter of common concern and that in the event they should be threatened by acts of any nature these republics were determined "to make effective their solidarity, coordinating their respective sovereign wills by means of the procedure of consultation", and would use for this purpose "the measures which in each case the circumstances may make advisable".

Several months later, the second World War began with the German invasion of Poland. In accordance with the above-described agreements, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics met in Panamá in September 1939 and agreed upon a series of measures by which they hoped to prevent the war from spreading to the American continent. The fall of France early in 1940, and the prospect of the creation of a new Axis-imposed order in Europe, led to the Second Meeting of Foreign Ministers at Habana in July of that year. It was agreed at this meeting 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."

<sup>3</sup>The idea of collective action to maintain peace and unity is an inheritance from the Hispanic-American conferences held during the nineteenth century, which established the ideological bases of pan-Americanism. See treaties of union and confederation signed at the conferences held at Panamá in 1826, Lima in 1848, Santiago in 1856, and Lima in 1864.

<sup>4</sup>These agreements were: (1) Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace; (2) Additional Protocol Relative to Non-Intervention; (3) Convention to Coordinate, Extend and Assure the Fulfillment of the Existing Treaties Between American States; (4) Inter-American Treaty on Good Offices and Mediation; (5) Treaty on the Prevention of Controversies; and (6) Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Cooperation.

It was likewise agreed that in the event such an act of aggression were committed, or there was reason to believe that such an act was being prepared for by a non-American state, the American republics would consult among themselves in order to agree upon the measures which it might be advisable to take, and likewise that all the signatory states, or two or more of them, should proceed to negotiate the complementary agreements necessary in order to organize cooperation for defense and the assistance that they should lend each other.

The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs was held 5 weeks after the war had at last reached the American continent. The issue before the meeting was whether an act of aggression within the meaning of the existing agreements had been committed against one of the members of the community, and if so, what measures should be taken, individually and collectively, to implement these agreements, pursuant to the Declaration of Habana and other inter-American commitments above mentioned. A full and complete answer to both questions is found in the 40 resolutions approved by the meeting. These resolutions established the policies and procedures to be followed in order that each country might make the fullest contribution to the common defense. The American governments thus coordinated "their respective sovereign wills by means of the procedure of consultation" in a matter of supreme individual and collective importance, acting independently in their individual capacity and fully recognizing their juridical equality as sovereign states.

#### B. American Solidarity in the Present War

The keystone of the program of defense and offense against the Axis agreed upon at Rio de Janeiro is found in resolution I of that meeting, in which the American republics reaffirmed "their declaration to consider any act of aggression on the part of a non-American State against one of them as an act of aggression against all of them, constituting as it does an immediate threat to the liberty and independence of America". They likewise reaffirmed "their complete solidarity and their determination to cooperate jointly for their mutual protection until the effects of the present aggression against the Continent have disappeared".

As the indispensable basis for this joint coopera-

tive effort, they agreed to sever diplomatic relations with Japan, Germany, and Italy, "since the first-mentioned State attacked and the other two declared war on an American country". That is to say, the attack and the declarations of war referred to in and of themselves constituted the *casus foderis*, and were so considered by the American republics. The fact that the same attack and declarations carried with them an immediate threat to all the other members of the American community, and that, moreover, each one of them was the victim of direct acts of political aggression, characterized by the ministers of foreign affairs as "preliminary to and an integral part of a program of military aggression" (resolution XVII), was a contributing cause of the decisions adopted by the American governments at Rio de Janeiro.

However, in an effort to preserve the unanimity which is one of the most cherished ideals of the pan-American system, the Meeting abandoned a more categorical and unequivocal condemnation of the Axis in resolution I, which would have provided for immediate action by the governments, and accepted the formula proposed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic. In accordance therewith, it was agreed that the American republics would sever relations with the aforementioned Axis states "in accordance with the procedures established by their own laws and in conformity with the position and circumstances obtaining in each country in the existing continental conflict".

In view of the grave danger to which the Rio resolutions refer, which manifestly could not be met by dilatory or indecisive measures, and of the spirit and principles of American solidarity, 20 republics arrived at the same conclusion with respect to the significance which should be given the aforementioned formula and, each following its own procedures, assumed without vacillation or qualification the common responsibility for the individual and collective defense of the continent envisaged by those resolutions. The basic reasons for the adoption of this attitude by the American republics have been clearly set forth by the Governments of Venezuela and Colombia in the joint declaration of August 7, 1944, explaining their decision to abstain from entering into diplomatic relations with the Argentine Government:





"Venezuela and Colombia understand that the collective interest in the maintenance of the security of the Continent does not admit of any special interests of nations or groups of nations to which the supreme welfare of America could be subordinated or which should at this time be given expression in a manner different or apart from that agreed upon in the Pan American Conferences.

"While recognizing that there are economic, political and social problems within the Continent which must be studied and solved in a different manner in each country, it is clear to the Governments of Venezuela and Colombia that in America only uniform action before, during and after the war can assure to the group of free nations of America the importance and influence to which they are naturally entitled in the struggle for the supremacy of the principles upon which their political organization is founded."

The Argentine Government has, however, adopted a different view of inter-American commitments, because of which, both before and after its severance of diplomatic relations with the Axis, it has withheld from the common effort in a war in which the highest values of civilization are at stake.

At the time of the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Rio de Janeiro, the Argentine Government took the position that circumstances prevailing in the country required that it remain neutral. Pursuant to that decision, steps were taken to insure that war problems should not be freely and openly discussed. Certain measures of control over aliens, of a regulatory nature, were adopted, but, in view of the neutrality decreed by the Government, these could not be applied against Axis nationals. It was, therefore, impossible to utilize them to prevent subversive activities by such nationals; nor was the excellent system of peacetime legislation or the existing police organization for the defense of the state and its institutions available to serve this purpose.

The Argentine Government considered that it had adequately responded to the requirements of American solidarity in this emergency by granting non-belligerency status to ships of the American republics entering Argentine ports.

In effect, the decision of the Argentine Government appeared to place the Axis and the United

Nations on an equal footing, without taking into account the fact that the Axis organization of espionage agents, saboteurs, and propagandists, which was the result of long years of careful preparation, gave the Axis a base in Argentina from which to attack, more or less at will, the republics of the continent.

Subsequent regimes have maintained the same attitude, with the exception of the decision of President Ramirez to sever relations with the Axis. However, this measure was very promptly nullified by the present administration, which stopped the anti-totalitarian program by which it was proposed to implement the severance of relations. The repatriation of Axis diplomatic officials and other measures which appear to be designed to combat Axis subversive activities have not affected the basic attitude of the Government with respect to the world conflict and the inter-American agreements. In fact, any suggestion, from any source, that the Argentine Government give effect to the severance of relations in accordance with existing commitments and American solidarity is viewed by that Government as an attempt at external pressure and, therefore, derogatory of the national prestige and sovereignty.

The course followed by the Argentine Government has compelled the great majority of the other republics, after exchange of information and mutual consultation, to refrain from entering into diplomatic relations with that Government. During July and the early part of August, most of the governments made public statements of the reasons for that decision.

In view of the attitude of the Argentine Government, the Committee has found itself obliged on several occasions to reaffirm, in its relations with that Government, the bases established by the American republics for the political defense of the hemisphere.

These occasions were as follows: (1) On January 22, 1943 the Committee published a memoran-

The second Annual Report of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense describes the measures taken by the American republics for defending this continent from political attack by the Axis powers. The Committee's report evaluates American solidarity and the measures taken to maintain that solidarity. Through a system of intensive collaboration suggestions for meeting particular situations were recommended to the participating governments. The experience of the Committee as an effective corporate body in international organization may be a model for post-war world collaboration. The Committee offers an appraisal of the defense structure created by the American republics in order to protect themselves against subversive political attack.

which could be used for political defense, in which it was stressed that such measures could produce no practical results if they were not applied with the specific purpose of achieving the objectives agreed upon at Rio de Janeiro; (4) on September 6, 1944 it sent a memorandum to the American governments and to the Pan American Union, recommending that they solve the problem created in the Committee as a result of the fundamental divergence between the Argentine Government and the other republics. This led to the withdrawal of the Argentine Delegation from the Committee.

### 1. Memorandum on Axis-Espionage Activities in Argentina<sup>2</sup>

This memorandum revealed that Argentina was being used as a base for intensive Axis subversive activities directed against the American continent and the United Nations. It was conclusively demonstrated that Axis diplomatic officials were flagrantly abusing the principles which govern diplomatic relations between civilized nations. It was specifically established that these diplomats had organized and were directing, financing, and coordinating the activities of the different groups or cells of agents, and it was also shown that diplomatic channels were being used for the transmis-

sion of information to the High Command in Berlin. The conclusion was inescapable that an effective basis for political defense against subversive activities could not be established without a severance of relations with the Axis, pursuant to resolution I of Rio de Janeiro.

### 2. Report on the Consultative Visit to Argentina

The delegation which made the consultative visit to the Argentine Republic in April 1943 was able to demonstrate how the failure of the Argentine Government to act jointly with the other republics, in accordance with the agreements of Rio de Janeiro, had made it impossible for the continent to present a united front to the Axis. After pointing out the consequences of neutrality, in terms of the inadequate political-defense structure of the country, the delegation indicated that it was natural and understandable that the officials, charged with applying general peacetime formulae for the defense of the state and its institutions instead of a specific emergency formula for defense against the totalitarians, should be guided by the policy of their Government. This was evidenced by the inability of the Argentine officials to act energetically against Axis nationals and agents in the manner envisaged by the conclusions of the Rio Meeting and the resolutions of the Committee.

The delegation also indicated that a declaration of intention to cooperate in continental defense is not sufficient if unanimity does not exist in the recognition of the nature and source of the danger which menaces the continent. It stated that the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs clearly recognized that continental defense is indivisible and must of necessity be total in character. To achieve and maintain this unity, there must necessarily be a common basis of action, the first requisite of which is that a clear distinction be drawn between friend and foe.

### 3. Memorandum of June 2, 1944

This memorandum was sent to the Government of Argentina more than four months after its severance of relations with the Axis, and in it the Committee reiterated the considerations set forth in the above-mentioned report on the consultative

<sup>2</sup> See first Annual Report of the Committee, pp. 107-129 for the text of the memorandum and pp. 43-46 for a discussion of the memorandum.

visit. In its judgment, the severance of diplomatic relations had not affected the previous situation.

In this document the Committee again stressed that a technically complete political-defense structure would be inadequate if not employed for the purposes determined at Rio de Janeiro. In the Committee's opinion, as set forth in the memorandum, organization alone, or legislative measures, no matter how perfect, cannot be effective in the absence of a firm determination on the part of the American governments to assume the responsibility and undertake the action necessary for the defense of the continent against the Axis. Without that determination, any measure which might be taken, including severance of relations with the totalitarians, would be without significance.

#### *4. Communication of September 6, 1944 to the American Governments*

It is highly significant that the division within the continent described above has had profound repercussions upon the Committee's organization and deliberations, culminating in the withdrawal of the Argentine Delegation, which took place on September 9, 1944. These repercussions were inevitable in view of the fact that the objectives of political defense which the American republics committed themselves to achieve at Rio de Janeiro constitute the policy directives of the Committee and that, pursuant to article 2 of its regulations, it must represent and act "on behalf and in the interest of all the Governments, members of the Pan American Union".

However, because of the basic cleavage between the policy agreed upon at Rio de Janeiro and the attitude of the Argentine Government with respect to the present world conflict, the member appointed by that Government found it impossible to support the Committee's policy directives and consequently to act as the representatives of the collective interests of the continent which they define. This member, therefore, considered himself as the exclusive "delegate" of the country which named him and, hence, obliged to reflect its international position. As a consequence he considered himself bound to oppose or unable to favor measures by which the Committee sought to implement the declared policy of the American republics.

Moreover, since the Committee represents and acts on behalf of the American republics, pursuant to article 2 of the above-mentioned regulations, only in relation to the interest defined by the policy directives of resolution XVII of Rio de Janeiro, the Committee found it impossible to represent and act on behalf of the Argentine Government, in view of the divergence between these directives and the concept of national and continental interest on which the present international position of that Government is based.

In view of this situation, the Committee resolved, on December 3, 1943, that its secretariat should maintain strict secrecy with respect to the confidential documents and reports received by the delegations that carried out the consultative visits to the various republics, and should make them available "only to those members of the Committee who act on behalf of the community of States which, by breaking diplomatic relations with or declaring war against the Axis, have recognized that the said Axis has committed against them, either individually or collectively, acts of aggression as defined by the pertinent resolutions of inter-American conferences." This decision was considered to be in the nature of a provisional emergency measure, designed to continue only so long as the circumstances in which it originated remained unchanged.

The measure therefore became inoperative after the Argentine Government severed relations with the Axis on January 26, 1944, since the Committee expected that this action would enable the member designated by that country to join fully and without qualifications in the work of his colleagues. However, such was not the case, and the previous situation remained unchanged.

For this reason, the Committee transmitted to the governments of the American republics and to the Pan American Union a communication dated September 6, 1944 calling their attention to the problem and recommending that they "terminate the division existing within the Committee as a result of the above-mentioned fundamental divergence on policy which separates the government of the Argentine Republic from the other countries of the Continent".

In view of the issues involved in the conflict and of the traditions and principles of American solidarity, the Committee for Political Defense has from the very beginning of its labors proceeded on the assumption that the American continent would act as a unit against the Axis. It could not proceed upon any other basis because of the categorical and unequivocal directives contained in its charter and of the terms of other existing inter-American agreements. These were concluded in response to an immediate threat to the security and integrity of each and every American republic and to the principles of liberty and free government and of progressive and civilized international order which are among the most precious heritages and achievements of the new world.

### C. American Solidarity in the Post-War

In its first Annual Report, the Committee for Political Defense stated that:

"A life and death clash between the aims and strategy of the Axis and those of the people of the American Republics was inevitable. This had to be so, not only because of the direct threat to the independence and integrity of our Republics implicit in the expanding conquests of the members of the Tripartite Pact, but because a compromise or an attitude of neutrality between the two systems is inconceivable. There is a fundamental and absolute incompatibility between them."

Upon being informed of this action, the Argentine Government immediately withdrew its delegation from the Committee, which made it unnecessary for the governments and the Pan American Union to take action on the problem.<sup>6</sup>

The step taken by the Committee and the action of the Argentine Government were unfortunate but inevitable consequences of the fundamental divergence in the attitude with respect to the present world conflict assumed by that Government on the one hand and by the other American republics on the other.

The Americas had reason to expect from the Argentine Government more than an attitude which placed the Axis aggressors and the United and Associated Nations, including the 20 American republics, on a footing of apparent equality. This attitude, as indicated previously, has manifestly

been prejudicial to these republics and to American unity.

The conflict referred to above is now being rapidly and definitely decided in favor of the United and Associated Nations, among whom are 20 American republics.

In meeting the challenge of the Axis powers, the American republics have relied upon principles and procedures of cooperation which many believed a few years ago to represent, at best, an idealistic or wishful approach to the hard realities of international relations. It is precisely because the inter-American system has as its principal objective the promotion and protection of the best interests of the peoples of the continent that it has so adequately stood the test of this war and has, in fact, been developed and extended to meet the urgent problems arising from the war. The premise of this system is that only through cooperation and the assumption of a common responsibility for the maintenance of the peace and security of each member of the community can the vital interests of all be fully served, and that thus alone can the sovereignty and independence of each state be effectively assured.

It is out of principles and instrumentalities such as those of the American system that the new international order must be built after the defeat of the Axis and of the retrogressive forces which it represents.

In making these observations, the Committee for Political Defense has in mind its own experience acquired in carrying out the task entrusted to it by the governments of the American republics. As an international body representing all of these republics, it has operated in a field in which the sovereignty of each state has its most vital and characteristic expression: the constitutional and institutional means for the preservation of the nation's security and existence. Instead of an attitude of reserve or distrust on the part of the governments and national officials, the Committee has

<sup>6</sup>In withdrawing from the Committee, the Argentine Government issued a press release, in which part of the Committee's communication was quoted and in which reference was made to supposed procedural irregularities in its adoption. In view of this, the Committee published the complete text of the document and set forth the facts with respect to the procedure which had been followed.

met with the most complete assistance and cooperation. The Committee believes that this attitude—a reflection of the unity of purpose and of objective that has moved all but one of the governments during this emergency—has great significance for the future and justifies the belief, now frequently expressed, that the inter-American system may offer valuable suggestions in the construction of the post-war world.

However, as indicated previously in this chapter, the Committee's experience demonstrates that existing commitments and instrumentalities for action would be of little or no use in the absence of the determination to use them in order to achieve the objectives agreed upon by the American community of free nations. Any break in American unity weakens the foundations of the whole structure and seriously jeopardizes the progress of the system.

The Committee is firmly convinced, moreover, that the end of the war will call for intensification of the cooperative effort and action which have characterized the American contribution to the defeat of the Axis.

This is so not only because of the vital part that the Americas must have in the reconstruction of

the world upon firmer foundations than those of the past, but also because the end of the war will not signify the end of the dangers against which the continent has struggled during this period of grave emergency. The seeds of a future resurgence of totalitarian ideas have already been sown in America, and they are being nurtured by the same kind of misguided and suicidal nationalism which plunged the world into the present conflict.

These dangers must be carefully prepared against with forethought and fought with vigorous and timely action in order to prevent the development within the continent of dangerous situations which will be a source of weakness and disunity in the inter-American community. The lack of unity and of purposeful orientation which was an important contributing cause of the great tragedy of this generation must not be repeated.

The preservation of inter-American unity is of vital present and future importance to the welfare and security of the continent. It must, however, be a unity based upon the principles of American solidarity, which require positive cooperative action in the realization of common objectives and which are antagonistic to totalitarian ideas of force and domination, either in their national or international manifestations.

## Conference of the American Republics

### ANNOUNCEMENT OF PLANS

[Released to the press January 9]

As the result of a full exchange of views among the interested American republics within recent weeks, agreement has been reached on the desirability of a conference of the American republics collaborating in the war effort to consider war and post-war problems of common interest.

The Government of the United States has felt for some time that there is need for such a conference and looks forward to it with the confident expectation that it will serve to strengthen the contribution of the American republics to the achievement of our common objectives in the war and at the same time to reaffirm their leadership

in the constructive effort to win a secure and lasting peace. It will be the work of the conference to implement the inter-American system in full support of these great objectives. At the same time, the conference will have the opportunity to explore fully what measures of economic cooperation can be adopted, with a view to laying the foundation for the general improvement of basic economic conditions in the Americas, looking toward a rising standard of living throughout the hemisphere.

Consultations are taking place with respect to the time, place, and agenda for this conference.

## DESIGNATION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE AS UNITED STATES DELEGATE

[Released to the press January 13]

The American republics collaborating in the war have agreed, as a result of consultation through regular diplomatic channels, to hold a conference on urgent war and post-war problems. The Government of Mexico has now invited the other governments to hold the conference in Mexico City, beginning February 15, 1945. The United States Government is most appreciative of Mexico's graciousness in offering Mexico City as the site for the conference.

The Secretary of State, the Honorable Edward

R. Stettinius, Jr., will be this Government's Delegate, and the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, Assistant Secretary of State, will be Alternate Delegate. There will be a further announcement at a later date regarding the other members of the United States Delegation.

The purpose of the conference is to discuss important problems of war and peace of concern to the participating governments. The agenda is now being considered jointly by the respective governments.

REMARKS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROCKEFELLER<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 11]

ANNOUNCER: Mr. Rockefeller, there has been a good deal in the papers recently about a conference in Mexico City to discuss urgent problems of war and peace. What is the story back of this?

MR. ROCKEFELLER: Our joint war effort. The intensification of inter-American cooperation in support of final victory. You know as well as I do what that cooperation has meant to this country since Pearl Harbor. You know of the air and naval bases made available throughout this hemisphere, you know of the stamping out of Axis activities in most of the vulnerable spots for our common defense. You know of the supply of strategic raw material from the other republics without which the miracle of war production in this country would not have been possible. Specifically, there will be discussion of measures for winning the war more quickly and the problems of collective security thereafter. The conference will also deal with the economic and social problems of the Americas.

ANNOUNCER: I understand that this is to be a conference of the American republics whose governments are cooperating in the war effort. Is that why representatives of the present Argentine Government will not be included?

MR. ROCKEFELLER: Yes, it is. It is a meeting of those nations whose governments have been cooperating fully in the making of the war and the making of the peace. One of our deepest regrets is that the people of Argentina, with their great freedom-loving tradition, will not be represented in this meeting.

ANNOUNCER: I am interested in what you say about the objectives of the conference. How important are they to the future of the people of this hemisphere?

MR. ROCKEFELLER: Very important, I can assure you. The unity of the American Hemisphere will always be our first line of defense; and more than that, the friendship and cooperation between these many nations who are devoted to freedom can and will have a strong influence on the peace of the world which the United Nations are determined to win for future generations. These are days that call for complete honesty and straightforward dealing—a frank facing of our common problems, the working out together of solutions which reflect the mutual best interests of all, because these are days when the salvation of the world depends on the people of the world and the people demand honesty, candor, and straight speaking. Democracy must be felt throughout this hemisphere as a dynamic force which is constantly working for the security, well-being, and future opportunity of the people of the Americas.

It is my confident belief that the people of the American republics realize increasingly that their best interests are inseparably interwoven with those of their neighbors and thus the problems of all must be discussed and plans made which will lead, when victory has been won, to higher earning power, better living standards, better health, education, security, and freedom from fear for all people of the Americas.

<sup>1</sup> Made on the March of Time broadcast over the blue network on Jan. 11, 1945.

## The Work of the Special Economic Mission

[Released to the press January 14]

The Department of State is now able to announce the first gratifying result of the work of the Special Economic Mission, which, under the chairmanship of Ambassador William S. Culbertson, spent last summer and fall in French North Africa and the Middle East, investigating the prospects of resumption of private trade with those areas.<sup>1</sup>

In December, Ambassador Culbertson proceeded to Paris to collaborate with our Embassy in conversations with the Provisional Government of the French Republic. These conversations had for their purpose the implementation for French North Africa and West Africa of certain of the recommendations of the Special Economic Mission. The Embassy in Paris has informed the Department of State that as a result of these discussions the French authorities have agreed to the resumption of private trade in French North and West Africa with certain qualifications which appear to be necessary during the transition period.

The more substantive conclusions of the Special Economic Mission, now accepted by the French Provisional Government, include, as regards exports from the United States, the provision that all civilian supply for French North and West Africa, beginning January 1, 1945, will be on a cash basis, and that no French African civilian imports will be bought through the lend-lease mechanism after June 30, 1945. In the intervening period, the French authorities undertake to reach agreement with this Government for the return to private commercial channels of as many categories of their imports for African territories as is possible. Certain bulk commodities such as coal, sugar, and wheat will remain the procurement responsibility of the French Supply Council as far as supplies originating in the United States are concerned, because of the nature of the products and the distribution problem involved. Other proposed imports such as trucks, farm machinery, and office equipment will be returned to private commercial channels, and the latter list of

eligible items will be expanded as quickly as appropriate arrangements can be made. The local French authorities in French Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and French West Africa will establish a simplified system of import-licensing for private commercial transactions. This control will be necessary to keep the volume of trade within the mutually agreed limits in supply and shipping and will also make it possible for the French to issue foreign-exchange permits in advance for their importers who propose buying in this country within the framework of the agreed supply program.

As a result of the recent negotiations in Paris, the French will also henceforth permit all exports from French North and West Africa to be handled as normal private commerce, with the exception of strategic commodities critically needed by and allocated to the French or their Allies in connection with the combined war effort. The United States Government, in view of the continued existence of certain problems in connection with internal and ocean transport, will temporarily maintain a representation of the U. S. Commercial Company in French North Africa, which staff will be available as an optional service agency to United States importers in completing their purchasing and forwarding arrangements with French exporters. The above procedure envisages complete freedom of exchange of communication between buyer and seller, with Government participation limited to an expediting function only, at the request of the private business interests that may be involved.

In anticipation of the reopening of private trade between French North and West Africa and the United States, which has now been accepted in principle by the French Provisional Government, the Department has been strengthening its commercial services and personnel in the consular offices throughout the area. These consular posts are therefore now preparing to assist American import and export trade in any way possible and to facilitate either the resumption of former commercial connections or the development of new business relations. French North Africa, like French West Africa, is no longer considered a military zone,

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 10, 1944, p. 720.

and commercial travel is permitted, subject to the necessary limitations of air and ocean passenger transport. The French authorities have undertaken to act promptly on applications for travel to French Africa which may be referred to them. This Government will maintain an active interest in facilitating such commercial travel.

The negotiations recently concluded in Paris are considered a significant development in the pattern of American post-war commercial relations with other nations, in that French North and West Africa are the first liberated areas wherein trade can now be expected to return to private channels. The existence of military operations, and the controls of shipping and supply which were necessary in the southern Mediterranean long after that territory ceased to be a scene of actual operations, have delayed the resumption of private trade with French territories longer than the Department and other interested agencies of the Government had hoped. The Embassy in Paris has reported, however, that the recent discussions with the French authorities took place in a spirit of cordiality and mutual understanding which, it is anticipated, will lead to a relatively earlier solution of similar problems in metropolitan France.

## Consideration of the Purposes Of the Anglo-American Oil Agreement

[Released to the press January 10]

The Department of State has consistently advocated the development of broad international understandings for the promotion of sound trade and commerce between nations as essential to the building of world-wide peace and prosperity. The Anglo-American Oil Agreement was concluded in an endeavor to apply this cooperative approach to particular problems and to lay the basis for the removal of possible causes of friction in the field of international oil.

However, in view of the misunderstanding that has arisen concerning the purpose and scope of that agreement, the Department has requested the President to withdraw the agreement from the Senate. The purpose of this course is to permit consideration of the best way to achieve the fundamental purposes underlying the agreement—pre-

venting friction between nations growing out of problems of foreign oil and assuring to all an adequate supply. It appears to the Department that the misunderstandings which have arisen come not from lack of agreement upon these objectives but from the implementing features attending them.

### MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE SENATE

[Released to the press by the White House January 10]

Pursuant to the recommendation of the Secretary of State, on August 24, 1944, I transmitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification an agreement on petroleum between the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland which was signed in Washington on August 8, 1944.

At that time I considered that the agreement constituted an important step forward in removing possible causes of friction in international trade in petroleum and promoting cooperation among the nations in the development of that trade. I have not changed my opinion in this respect. However, I am informed that fears have been expressed as to the scope and effect of the document, as now worded: some voicing concern lest it authorize acts by the petroleum industry inconsistent with the provisions of existing law, others lest it hold potentialities harmful to the industry. It is my belief that these fears are without foundation. Certainly no such possibilities were intended or designed by the American representatives who negotiated the agreement.

Since there is general accord that an understanding on international trade in petroleum between the United States and the United Kingdom is desirable and in the public interest, it would be unfortunate if this should be delayed, if not prevented, through a misunderstanding as to the purpose and scope of a particular document.

The Secretary of State, accordingly, has recommended that I request the Senate to return the agreement in order that consideration may be given, in consultation with the Government of the United Kingdom, to whatever revision appears to be necessary to achieve its objectives and to remove grounds for misunderstanding. I, therefore, request that the agreement be returned for this purpose.

## Exchange of Experts Among the American Republics Under Travel-Grant Program

[Released to the press January 8]

During the last 6 months, from July through December 1944, 16 professors or technical experts of this country have received travel grants as visiting professors and consultants, or for special projects, in the other American republics, under the program for the exchange of professors and leaders between this country and the other American republics, administered by the Department of State of the United States Government.

This program of cultural and scientific interchange among the republics of the Western Hemisphere, inaugurated in July 1940, is administered by the Division of Cultural Cooperation, Department of State. In the case of the visiting professorships, the Department of State and the receiving university jointly assume the financing of the program. Upon the request of a university in one of the other American republics, the Department of State consults with government and private agencies and prepares a panel from which the professor is selected.

In addition to arranging for these visits of professors and consultants, the Department of State has awarded a limited number of travel grants to specialists requested by public or private agencies in the other American republics and to specialists and investigators engaged in scientific or cultural projects of mutual interest to the United States and the other American republics. These grants are financed entirely, or in part, by the Department of State.

The following persons have received grants for visiting professorships: Dr. J. A. Thompson, professor of Romance languages, Louisiana State University; lecturer at the University of Habana Summer School, Habana, Cuba; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, professor of sociology, Atlanta University; lecturer at the Haitian Summer School, Port-au-Prince, Haiti; Dr. James C. Andrews, professor of medicine, University of North Carolina; visiting professor at the University of Guatemala under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations; Dr. E. W. Lindstrom, vice dean, Graduate College, Iowa State University; visiting professor in the School of Agriculture, National University, Medellín, Colombia;

Dr. F. C. Hayes, head of the department of modern languages, Guilford College; visiting professor of English at Chulquisaca University, Sucre, Bolivia; Professor V. L. Annis, associate professor of architecture, University of Southern California; visiting professor of architecture at the University of Guatemala; Dr. Walter H. Delaplane, assistant professor of economics, Duke University; visiting professor of economics at the National University, Asunción, Paraguay; Mr. J. G. Bradshaw, of Seattle, Washington; visiting professor and advisor to the president of the Gimnasio Moderno, Bogotá, Colombia.

The following two visiting professors received renewals of their grants for the coming year: Dr. Donald Pierson, who has served for the past several years as visiting professor of sociology at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política, São Paulo, Brazil; and Dr. Morton D. Zabel, professor of English, Loyola University, Chicago, for the past year visiting professor of American literature on the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, University of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The following persons received grants to serve as advisers or consultants in their special field of investigation: Dr. Ruth Leslie, assistant professor of home economics, University of Texas, serving as biochemical technician in the Brazilian Ministry of Labor, Industry, and Commerce, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Dr. C. L. Christenson, professor of economics, Indiana University, serving as adviser on price control in the Costa Rican Ministry of Finance, San José, Costa Rica; Dr. Clay Huff, professor of bacteriology, University of Chicago, serving as guest investigator in the Institute of Public Health and Tropical Diseases, México, D.F.

Grants for special projects were awarded to the following professors: Dr. E. B. Helm, head of the Department of Music, Western College, to visit Brazil to study Brazilian music; Dr. Samuel F. Bemis, professor of history, Yale University, to visit Cuba to carry on archival research and confer with Cuban historians; Mr. Aubrey Gates, associate director, Agricultural Extension Service, Little Rock, Arkansas, to study extension education work in several of the other American republics.

Since the inauguration of the program of the



Department of State for the exchange of professors and leaders of thought and opinion between the United States and the other American republics, approximately 250 such professors and leaders have visited the United States, and a lesser number from the United States have visited the other American republics. In addition, the Department of State serves as a clearing house for similar programs with the other American republics carried on by other government agencies and by professional groups, scientific and educational foundations, and other private agencies.

## Visiting Professors From China

[Released to the press January 9]

Six professors from leading Chinese universities are expected to arrive in this country in the spring of 1945. These men will spend a year in the United States as guests of the Department of State. Each man has been appointed by his university as an official representative in this country to visit American universities, to give public lectures, to read recently published material in his own field, and to make the acquaintance of American scholars and educators.

This program of the Department to bring visiting professors from China to the United States is now entering its third year. A total of 12 Chinese professors have visited American colleges and universities under similar arrangements during the last 2 years. Five of the professors who will spend the year 1945-46 in the United States are listed below.

Y. P. MEI, *philosopher and president of Yenching University*. President Mei has been selected to represent his university, which has recently opened in Chengtu after the loss to the Japanese of its home campus outside Peiping. He received his B.A. degree from Oberlin in 1924 and his Ph.D. degree in 1927 from the University of Chicago. He has also studied at Harvard. He hopes to come to the United States in February and to travel extensively in this country.

L. K. TAO (TAO MENG-HO), *director of the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica*. Dr. Tao, a graduate of London University, was a professor at National Peking University from 1914 to 1925. In 1926 he founded the Institute of So-

cial Research in Peiping, under the auspices of the China Foundation, and became its director. When the Institute was incorporated with the Institute of Social Sciences of Academia Sinica in 1935, he was made its director and since that time has held the post. Dr. Tao intends to visit as many similar research agencies in the United States as possible during his year's stay.

TUNG-CHI LIN, *professor of political science at Fuhtan University, Chungking*. Dr. Lin received a Ph.D. degree in political science at the University of California in 1934. From 1931 to 1933 he was lecturer in the department of government and history at Mills College. Since his return to China in 1934 he has taught at Nankai University and edited the Nankai Quarterly, 1935-37, has been dean of the College of Letters and Law and chairman of the department of political science of the National University of Yunnan, 1937-42, and since 1942 has been in his present position. During the past 10 years he has published many research articles both in China and abroad and has worked particularly in the field of the development of Chinese culture and polity.

TSI-ZE NY, *director of the Institute of Physics, National Academy of Peiping, Kunming*. Dr. Ny is a specialist in spectroscopy and applied optics. This will be his first visit to the United States. He studied in France at the University of Paris from 1924 to 1927 and from 1929 to 1931. He has held his present position since 1931. He was a member of the Council of the French Physical Society from 1935 to 1938 and has been vice president of the Chinese Physical Society since 1942. He has published 50 papers in his field, many of them in French journals. He will come to the United States in March or April.

THOMAS L. YUAN, *professor of health and physical education and dean of students, Northwest Teachers College, Lanchow*. Dr. Yuan took his B.S. in physiology at the University of Chicago in 1925 and studied at Johns Hopkins and Columbia during the next two years. Upon his return to China in 1927 he taught at Peiping Normal University almost continuously for 10 years. Since 1937 he has been in his present position. He expects to arrive in the United States in June and hopes to visit centers of health education and intends to study particularly school health work.

An announcement concerning the sixth professor will be made at a later date.

American institutions and individuals may send greetings, letters, or invitations to these professors in care of the Division of Cultural Cooperation, Department of State. This Division will be glad to answer any inquiries.

## Monetary Agreement, United Kingdom and Belgium

The American Embassy at London transmitted to the Department, with a despatch dated October 10, 1944, a copy of Command Paper 6557 containing the text of the Monetary Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Belgium signed at London October 5, 1944.

The agreement, which abrogates the Anglo-Belgian Financial Agreement of June 7, 1940, came into force on the date it was signed and will terminate three years from that date unless the contracting governments agree otherwise. The agreement provides, however, that either party may at any time give notice of its intention to terminate the agreement and that the agreement shall cease to have effect three months after the date of such notice.

The agreement embodies several provisions designed to facilitate exchange relations and maintain stable exchange value for the two currencies. It establishes a rate for the Belgian franc at 176.625 to the pound, to be altered only after consultation. This rate is to serve as the basis for all currency transactions between the two countries and the territories over which they have jurisdiction. Belgian francs and pounds necessary for financing of payments between the sterling and Belgian franc areas will be supplied by the Bank of England and the National Bank of Belgium up to a limit of £5,000,000 or its equivalent, after which the excess is to be paid in gold at the free disposal of the creditor. Expressly excluded, however, are the sterling balances already held on Belgian account.

Looking toward the eventual reestablishment of multilateral payments and free convertibility of the currencies is a provision that pounds held by residents of the Belgian monetary area or Belgian francs held by residents of the sterling area are to be freely transferable between residents of the

two currency areas, and that later if conditions permit the currencies may be made available to persons outside these areas for payments of a current nature.

Article 9 of the agreement provides that "the sterling area" shall have the meaning from time to time assigned to it by the exchange-control regulations in force in the United Kingdom, and defines "the Belgian monetary area" as including Belgium, Luxembourg, Belgian Congo, and the Mandated Territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

Article 8 provides that if during the currency of this agreement the contracting governments adhere to a general international monetary agreement, they will review the terms of the present agreement with a view to making any amendments that may be required.

## United States Fisheries Mission to Mexico

By an exchange of notes signed at Mexico City September 7 and October 18, 1944 the Governments of the United States and Mexico agreed to extend for a period of two years, or until October 23, 1946, the agreement relating to the United States Fisheries Mission to Mexico effected by exchanges of notes signed at Mexico City April 17, May 22, July 22 and 27, and October 24, 1942.

The agreement of 1942 relates to the activities of the United States Fisheries Mission in Mexico and provides for the assignment to Mexico, on a part-time basis for a period of two years, of Milton J. Lindner, aquatic biologist of the Fish and Wildlife Service, and J. Adger Smyth, associate aquatic biologist of that Service.

Mr. Lindner, who at the request of the Mexican Government has been assigned to Mexico for varying periods since 1940, is assisting in planning and directing a cooperative study to formulate through biological and statistical research a plan for the administration, regulation, and scientific management of the shrimp and other marine fisheries of Mexico.

Mr. Smyth, who, also at the request of the Mexican Government, had previously been assigned to Mexico for a period of one year beginning in April 1941, is assisting in the cooperative program to improve the fresh-water fisheries of Mexico.

## Countries Signing Documents Concluded at International Civil Aviation Conference

Country	Final Act	Interim Agreement	Convention	Transit Agreement (Two Freedoms)	Transit Agreement (Five Freedoms)
Afghanistan.....	X	X	X	X	X
Australia.....	X	X	X	X	X
Belgium.....	X	X	X	X	X
Bolivia.....	X	X	X	X	X
Brazil.....	X	X	X	X	X
Canada.....	X	X	X	X	X
Chile.....	X	X	X	X	X
China.....	X	X	X	X	X
Colombia.....	X	X	X	X	X
Costa Rica.....	X	X	X	X	X
Cuba.....	X	X	X	X	X
Czechoslovakia.....	X	X	X	X	X
Dominican Republic.....	X	X	X	X	X
Ecuador.....	X	X	X	X	X
Egypt.....	X	X	X	X	X
El Salvador.....	X	X	X	X	X
Ethiopia.....	X	X	X	X	X
France.....	X	X	X	X	X
Greece.....	X	X	X	X	X
Guatemala.....	X	X	X	X	X
Haiti.....	X	X	X	X	X
Honduras.....	X	X	X	X	X
Iceland.....	X	X	X	X	X
India.....	X	X	X	X	X
Iran.....	X	X	X	X	X
Iraq.....	X	X	X	X	X
Ireland.....	X	X	X	X	X
Lebanon.....	X	X	X	X	X
Liberia.....	X	X	X	X	X
Luxembourg.....	X	X	X	X	X
Mexico.....	X	X	X	X	X
Netherlands.....	X	X	X	X	X
New Zealand.....	X	X	X	X	X
Nicaragua.....	X	X	X	X	X
Norway.....	X	X	X	X	X
Panama.....	X	X	X	X	X
Paraguay.....	X	X	X	X	X
Peru.....	X	X	X	X	X
Philippine Commonwealth.....	X	X	X	X	X
Poland.....	X	X	X	X	X
Portugal.....	X	X	X	X	X
Spain.....	X	X	X	X	X
Sweden.....	X	X	X	X	X
Switzerland.....	X	X	X	X	X
Syria.....	X	X	X	X	X
Turkey.....	X	X	X	X	X
Union of South Africa.....	X	X	X	X	X
United Kingdom.....	X	X	X	X	X
United States.....	X	X	X	X	X
Uruguay.....	X	X	X	X	X
Venezuela.....	X	X	X	X	X
Yugoslavia.....	X	X	X	X	X
Danish Minister.....	X	X	X	X	X
Thai Minister.....	X	X	X	X	X
	62	37	35	28	18
	64	39	37	30	20

X Indicates signature up to and including Jan 12, 1945.

<sup>1</sup> With reservation.

<sup>2</sup> Reservation that signature did not cover Newfoundland. On Jan. 15, 1945 the Newfoundland Government announced its decision to request withdrawal of the reservation and to agree that the "Two Freedoms Agreement" should apply to Newfoundland.

<sup>3</sup> Ad referendum.

## Interim Agreement on Aviation

### Canada

The Canadian Ambassador informed the Secretary of State in a note dated December 30, 1944 that the signature by H. J. Symington, on behalf of the Canadian Government, of the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation concluded at Chicago December 7, 1944 constitutes an acceptance of the Agreement by the Canadian Government and an obligation binding upon it. The note refers to the first paragraph of article XVII of the Interim Agreement which provides "that the Government of the United States of America shall be informed at the earliest possible date by each of the Governments on whose behalf the Agreement has been signed whether signature on its behalf shall constitute an acceptance of the Agreement by that Government and an obligation binding upon it".

## The Proclaimed List

[Released to the press January 14]

The Acting Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on January 13 issued Cumulative Supplement 5 to Revision VIII of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated September 13, 1944.

Cumulative Supplement 5 to Revision VIII supersedes Cumulative Supplement 4 dated December 15, 1944.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 5 contains 40 additional listings in the other American republics and 364 deletions; Part II contains 97 additional listings outside the American republics and 69 deletions.

The names of a considerable number of persons and firms in Ecuador have been deleted in the current supplement. These deletions are a consequence of the effective action taken by the Ecuadoran Government to eliminate Axis interests from the economy of the country. The individuals whose names have been deleted in this supplement no longer reside in Ecuador, and the assets of these persons in Ecuador are under the control of the Ecuadoran Government. It is the previously an-

nounced policy of the United States Government to coordinate its Proclaimed List controls with the controls established by other governments. Similar deletions will be made as rapidly as the effectiveness of the local control laws in the various countries makes the continued inclusion of particular names in the Proclaimed List no longer necessary.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Appointment of Officers

James E. McKenna as Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of the Foreign Service, for the orientation of Chiefs of Mission, concurrently with his duties as Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Public Affairs, effective January 2, 1945.

Eugene H. Dooman as Special Assistant to Mr. Dunn, effective January 1, 1945.

Edwin F. Stanton as Deputy Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, effective January 1, 1945.

Hamilton Fish Armstrong as Special Adviser to the Secretary, effective December 29, 1945.

### Establishment of the Foreign Trade Branch in the Division of Commercial Policy<sup>1</sup>

*Purpose.* This Order establishes a branch in the Division of Commercial Policy to coordinate and conduct the activities relating to the protection and promotion of foreign trade that are within the scope of the Department's responsibilities, and to cooperate with other government departments that have responsibilities in regard to such matters.

<sup>1</sup> *Background.* Reorganization Plan No. II as authorized by the Reorganization Act of April 3,

<sup>2</sup> Departmental Order 1303, dated and effective Jan. 8, 1945.

1939 became effective July 1, 1939, and provided for the transfer to the Department of State of the Foreign Commerce Service and its functions in the Department of Commerce, and of the Foreign Agricultural Service and its functions in the Department of Agriculture. The functions with respect to such services pertaining to activities in the United States and to the compilation, publication, and dissemination of information were specifically excluded from the transfer and remain with the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture.

A description of the functions transferred to the Department of State as now performed by the consolidated Foreign Service of the United States under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of State is included in Chapter XIV of the Foreign Service Regulations, which was prescribed by Executive Order 8307 of December 19, 1939 under the title "Protection and Promotion of American Economic Interests."

The Department's responsibilities in such matters were vested in the Division of Commercial Policy by Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944 which charged the Division with responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to the protection and promotion of American commercial and agricultural interests in foreign countries under the terms of Reorganization Plan No. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Establishment of Branch.* To carry out these responsibilities in close cooperation with the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture, and to coordinate the activities of other Divisions and Offices of the Department and of other government departments and agencies concerned with such matters, there is hereby established in the Division of Commercial Policy a Foreign Trade Branch (for Coordination of Protection and Promotion Activities). Establishment of this Branch does not affect the functions assigned to the Division of Communications and Records, Office of Departmental Administration, nor the functions assigned to the Office of the Foreign Service by Departmental Order 1218, January 15, 1944, p. 35 and p. 40.

E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.

January 8, 1945.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 291

JANUARY 21, 1945

## *In this issue*

### AMERICA'S PLACE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

*Address by the Under Secretary of State*

### UNITED STATES-MEXICAN WATER TREATY: *Jurisdiction of the*

*International Boundary and Water Commission and Its National Sections*

### TRADE CONTROLS TODAY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

*By Frederick Winant*



# Contents

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## BULLETIN

VOL. XII • No. 291



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January 21, 1945

*The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Affairs, 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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	Page
<b>AMERICAN REPUBLICS</b>	
Recommendation on Argentina's Request Concerning Her Relations With the American Republics . . . . .	91
People-to-People Relations Among the American Republics: Address by Pierre De L. Boal . . . . .	96
<b>EUROPE</b>	
On Restoration of Liberties to Greece: Exchange of Messages Between the Prime Minister of Greece and the President . . . . .	91
<b>CULTURAL COOPERATION</b>	
Everett A. Tunniciuff Returns From China . . . . .	107
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
International Wheat Council: Designation of Chairman of American Delegation . . . . .	79
Trade Controls Today in the Middle East. By Frederick Winant . . . . .	80
Endorsement of the French Import Program. . . . .	90
Meeting of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee: Remarks by Assistant Secretary Rockefeller Upon Accepting the Chairmanship . . . . .	92
Maintenance of the Economics of the Liberated Countries: Joint Statement by the Department of State and the British Embassy . . . . .	95
Meeting of the Rubber Study Group . . . . .	108
<b>GENERAL</b>	
Radio Programs To Be Sponsored by the Department of State . . . . .	82
Death of Thomas Riggs: Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	107
Visit of British Secretary of State for the Colonies . . . . .	107
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
Discussions Between the United States and the United Kingdom on War Crimes . . . . .	81
America's Place in World Affairs: Address by the Under Secretary of State . . . . .	87
Discussions on Civil Aviation Between United States and Canadian Representatives . . . . .	110
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
United States-Mexican Water Treaty: Jurisdiction of the International Boundary and Water Commission and Its National Sections . . . . .	71
Armistice Terms for Hungary . . . . .	83
Trade Marks . . . . .	107
Acceptance of Aviation Agreements. . . . .	108
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences. . . . .	108
Inter-American Automotive Traffic . . . . .	108
UNRRA Sanitary Conventions of 1944 . . . . .	109
International Status of Refugees . . . . .	110
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	111
<b>THE FOREIGN SERVICE</b>	
Confirmations . . . . .	110
Consular Offices . . . . .	110
<b>THE CONGRESS</b> . . . . .	110
<b>PUBLICATIONS</b> . . . . .	111

# United States-Mexican Water Treaty

## Jurisdiction of the International Boundary and Water Commission and Its National Sections<sup>1</sup>

General supervision of the administration of the pending United States-Mexican water treaty, which was signed on February 3, 1944,<sup>2</sup> with a supplementary protocol signed on November 14, 1944,<sup>3</sup> is delegated to the International Boundary Commission created by the convention with Mexico,<sup>4</sup> March 1, 1889, the name of the Commission being changed by the pending treaty to the International Boundary and Water Commission. A little of the background and history of this Commission would, therefore, be enlightening.

### Boundary Convention of 1884

The convention of November 12, 1884 between the United States and Mexico provided in substance that the boundary line should forever remain as described in the treaties of 1848 and 1853 and should follow the center of the normal channels of the Rio Grande and the Colorado River, where they form the boundary line, unaffected by alterations caused by slow and gradual erosion and deposits of alluvium; but that any other change wrought by force of the current, whether by cutting a new bed or by deepening of another channel, should produce no change in the boundary line as fixed in the early treaties, which line should continue to follow the middle of the original channel bed.

### Convention of 1889

To facilitate the carrying out of the principles contained in the convention of 1884, the convention of 1889 made provision for an International Boundary Commission, to be composed of a commissioner and a consulting engineer for each country and of such other personnel as each Government might see fit to add to its staff. The convention then provided that all differences or questions that might arise on the water boundary, whether growing out of alterations or changes in the bed of the boundary rivers, or of works that might be con-

structed in these rivers, or of any other cause affecting the boundary line, should be submitted to the Commission for its decision. The Commissioners were charged with examining changes in the international portions of the Rio Grande and the Colorado River and with deciding whether or not the changes occurred through avulsion or erosion. They were also charged with the duty of deciding whether works are being constructed in the boundary portion of either of those streams, such as are prohibited by treaty provisions. Various powers were given the Commission in aid of its jurisdiction. Veto power was given to the two Governments over the decisions of the Commission, to be exercised within one month from the date of the decision.

Although this convention, by its terms, was to be in force for a period of five years, it was extended from time to time; and by the convention of November 21, 1900 it was extended indefinitely, with the right being retained in either Government to terminate it upon certain notice.

### Banco Convention of 1905

By the Banco Convention of March 20, 1905 the powers of the Commission were further extended. Under this convention the Boundary Commission was charged with the duty of surveying so-called "bancos", which are small tracts of land that have become separated from one country by avulsive changes of the river and attached to the other country. These bancos, within certain limitations, were to be eliminated by the Commission from the effects of the convention of

<sup>1</sup> Prepared by Frank B. Clayton, Counsel for the United States Section of the International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico. See also BULLETIN of Mar. 25, 1944, p. 282, for an article by Charles A. Timm on the water treaty.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 5, 1944, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 19, 1944, p. 616.

1884, so as to preserve so far as possible the arcifinious boundary as the real boundary between the two countries, by transfer of sovereignty and jurisdiction. This was to apply on both rivers, not only as to bancos which were formed and surveyed at the time of the convention, but also as to those which might subsequently be formed.

#### Water Convention of 1906

The convention of May 21, 1906 provided for the equitable distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande above Fort Quitman, Texas. The United States Section of the International Boundary Commission has exercised supervisory administration over the terms of this convention, since the act of June 30, 1932 transferred the powers, duties, and functions of the United States Section of the International Water Commission to the United States Section of the International Boundary Commission.

#### Rectification Convention of 1933

By the convention of February 1, 1933 the two Governments agreed upon a rectification of the channel of the Rio Grande between El Paso and Fort Quitman, Texas, and the International Boundary Commission was charged with the duty of constructing the works and of maintaining and preserving the rectified channel. This project was completed some years ago and is now being operated and maintained jointly by the two Sections of the Commission.

#### Acts of Congress

The foregoing treaties constitute the principal source of the present jurisdiction, powers, and duties of the International Boundary Commission. The powers of the Commission have, however, been extended from time to time by exchanges of diplomatic notes, implemented by congressional acts and appropriations. The jurisdiction of the United States Section has also been amplified by acts of Congress. Reference has already been made to the act of June 30, 1932, whereby the powers, duties, and functions of the United States Section of the International Water Commission were transferred to the United States Section of the International Boundary Commission. By the act of August 19, 1935<sup>4</sup> Congress authorized the President to designate the United States Commissioner

to cooperate with representatives of Mexico in a study regarding the equitable use of the waters of the Lower Rio Grande and the Lower Colorado River and Tijuana River, for the purpose of obtaining information which might be used as a basis for the negotiation of a treaty with Mexico relative to the use of the waters of those rivers. It was under the authority of this act that the data were assembled and negotiations with Mexico were commenced which led to the formulation of the present treaty.

This act further authorized the Secretary of State, acting through the United States Commissioner, to conduct investigations relating to the defining, demarcation, fencing, or monumentation of the land and water boundaries between the United States and Mexico, to flood control, water resources, conservation and utilization of water, sanitation and prevention of pollution, channel rectification and stabilization, and other related matters on the international boundaries; to construct and maintain fences, monuments, and other demarcations of the boundaries, and sewer systems, water systems, and electric light, power, and gas systems crossing the international border; and to continue such works and operations as were then in progress and authorized by law. The President was authorized to construct, operate, and maintain, on the Rio Grande below Fort Quitman, Texas, such works as were recommended to him as the result of such investigations and which he deemed necessary and proper, and to construct any works which might be provided for in a treaty with Mexico; and to repair, protect, maintain, or complete works then existing or under construction, and to construct any works designed to facilitate compliance with the provisions of the treaties between the United States and Mexico. This act served the purpose of more definitely determining the scope of activity of the United States Section and of crystallizing its functions.

Under the authority conferred by this act, and pursuant to exchanges of diplomatic notes with Mexico, several projects, implemented by congressional acts and appropriations, have been initiated by the Boundary Commission. Among them are the Nogales Flood Control Project, the Lower Tijuana Valley Sanitation Project, and the Lower Rio Grande Flood Control Project. The first two projects have been completed. The last, which is

<sup>4</sup> 49 Stat. 660.



designed to afford flood protection to the Lower Rio Grande Valley in the United States and Mexico, is in the process of completion. Each Section of the Commission—the United States and the Mexican—is carrying on the works situated within its own borders, independently of the other.

By Public Resolution approved February 13, 1935<sup>4</sup> the United States Section was authorized to conduct an investigation to determine the feasibility of effecting the canalization of the Rio Grande from the Caballo reservoir site in New Mexico to the international diversion dam near El Paso, in order to facilitate Federal control of the channel of the Rio Grande and compliance by the United States with its obligations under the Water Convention of 1906. As a feature of this project, the construction of a diversion dam on the Rio Grande just above El Paso, wholly within the United States, was authorized by the act approved August 29, 1935.<sup>5</sup> In order to regulate and control water deliveries to Mexico under the convention of 1906, the construction by the United States Section of the canalization feature of the project was authorized by the act of June 4, 1936.<sup>6</sup> This project, consisting of the canalization of the channel of the Rio Grande from Caballo Dam to the American dam, a distance of about 100 miles, is nearing completion. The American dam and canal feature of the project is completed and is now being maintained by the United States Section under the authority of the act of August 19, 1935. The United States Section has also built and is maintaining fences along the land boundary. In connection with its hydrographic studies along the Rio Grande the United States Section operates some 50 gaging stations, over a distance of some 1,500 miles of the Rio Grande stream system.

#### Precedents for International Commissions

The foregoing account presents a background of the Commission and its jurisdiction and functions. The pending treaty serves merely to extend that jurisdiction to embrace general supervision over the carrying out of treaty functions. The designation of an international joint commission to administer the terms of a treaty is by no means novel. Many precedents exist, some of them going back many years into the past. Among these precedents might be mentioned the treaty of December 24, 1915 between Great Britain and Italy

providing for a permanent mixed commission to give effect to the agreements for the administration of the River Juba; the series of treaties relating to the utilization and distribution of the waters of the Tartaro River, including the treaty of November 16, 1599 between Venice and Mantua, which provided for the appointment of commissioners to carry out the provisions of that treaty and of an earlier treaty; the treaties of May 26, 1866 and July 11, 1868 between France and Spain relating to the utilization of the boundary waters of the two countries; the treaty of December 17, 1914 between France and Italy with regard to the utilization of the waters of the River Roya and its affluents, and which likewise provided for an international commission to administer the agreement; and the treaty of August 11, 1927 between Spain and Portugal relating to the River Duro, providing for an international commission to carry out certain of its provisions. Two of the oldest commissions set up to administer the use of the waters of international streams are the Central Commission of the Rhine, which was set up in 1815, and the European Commission of the Lower Danube, which was set up in 1856. Finally, there might be mentioned the treaty of January 11, 1909 between the United States and Great Britain relating to boundary waters and questions arising along the boundary between the United States and Canada, which set up an International Joint Commission with jurisdiction to pass upon the various questions arising under the treaty and to supervise the enforcement of various treaty provisions, including those relating to the use, obstruction, or diversion of boundary waters on either side of the line. This latter treaty, it is true, is subject to termination upon 12 months' notice by either party. The substantive provisions of this treaty and the pending United States-Mexican water treaty, however, are quite dissimilar, and there is no provision in the treaty of 1909 for the construction of any joint works of a permanent character, as is true of the present treaty. Because of the necessity of determining, with finality, the respective rights of the two countries in the waters of their international streams, and because of the fact that great inter-

<sup>4</sup> 49 Stat. 24.

<sup>5</sup> 49 Stat. 961.

<sup>6</sup> 49 Stat. 1463.

national works of a permanent character are provided for, it was inexpedient in the present treaty to provide for its unilateral termination. This may be done only by mutual agreement.

#### Jurisdiction of Commission Under Treaty

The specific powers and functions imposed upon the International Boundary Commission in the pending treaty must be considered. It is important, therefore, to bear in mind the distinction between the jurisdiction of the Commission, as such, and the jurisdiction of its two component Sections: the United States and the Mexican. The powers of the Commission can be conveniently discussed as falling into three main categories: (1) jurisdiction over works; (2) jurisdiction over the administration of treaty functions; and (3) jurisdiction over the settlement of disputes. There is some overlapping of these functions.

#### *Jurisdiction Over Works*

With regard to the first, the pertinent portions of certain articles of the treaty are as follows:

##### "ARTICLE 2

"The jurisdiction of the Commission shall extend to the limitrophe parts of the Rio Grande (Rio Bravo) and the Colorado River, to the land boundary between the two countries, and to works located upon their common boundary, each Section of the Commission retaining jurisdiction over that part of the works located within the limits of its own country. Neither Section shall assume jurisdiction or control over works located within the limits of the country of the other without the express consent of the Government of the latter. The works constructed, acquired or used in fulfillment of the provisions of this Treaty and located wholly within the territorial limits of either country, although these works may be international in character, shall remain, except as herein otherwise specifically provided, under the exclusive jurisdiction and control of the Section of the Commission in whose country the works may be situated."

The purpose of this provision was to delimit the jurisdiction of the Commission and of the respective Sections. It makes plain that, as between the two nations, the joint jurisdiction of the Commission extends only to the limitrophe portions of

the boundary rivers, to the land boundary, and to works located thereon, and that neither Section of the Commission has any jurisdiction over works situated within the country of the other, even though these works are acquired or utilized in carrying out the provisions of the treaty.

By way of illustration, the effect of this provision is that the Mexican Section shall have no voice in the operation of Davis Dam, Imperial Dam, or the All-American Canal, even though these structures are used in making deliveries of water to Mexico under the treaty. The provision has no bearing upon internal arrangements with respect to the operation and maintenance of these structures.

##### "ARTICLE 12

"(b) The United States, within a period of five years from the date of the entry into force of this Treaty, shall construct in its own territory and at its expense, and thereafter operate and maintain at its expense, the Davis storage dam and reservoir, a part of the capacity of which shall be used to make possible the regulation at the boundary of the waters to be delivered to Mexico in accordance with the provisions of Article 15 of this Treaty."

It will be noted that the obligation here imposed is simply that the United States, and not any particular agency thereof, shall construct, operate, and maintain the Davis Dam and reservoir, a part of the capacity of which is necessary to make possible the regulation at the boundary of the waters to be delivered to Mexico. No specific jurisdiction is conferred on the United States Section of the Boundary Commission by virtue of this provision.

##### "ARTICLE 20

"The two Governments shall, through their respective Sections of the Commission, carry out the construction of works allotted to them. For this purpose the respective Sections of the Commission may make use of any competent public or private agencies in accordance with the laws of the respective countries."

The effect of this provision is to vest in the respective Sections of the Commission the responsibility for the construction of the works required by the terms of the treaty. The actual construction may be carried on by any competent public or pri-

vate agency. The sole purpose of the provision is to vest the responsibility for carrying out the provisions of the treaty in one central agency, to which either country may look for compliance with the treaty terms. Here again, control of internal arrangements is not sought.

"ARTICLE 23

"Each Government shall retain, through its own Section of the Commission *and within the limits and to the extent necessary to effectuate the provisions of this Treaty,*<sup>3</sup> direct ownership, control and jurisdiction within its own territory and in accordance with its own laws, over all real property—including that within the channel of any river—rights of way and rights *in rem*, that it may be necessary to enter upon and occupy for the construction, operation or maintenance of all the works constructed, acquired or used pursuant to this Treaty. Furthermore, each Government shall similarly acquire and retain in its own possession the titles, control and jurisdiction over such works."

"ARTICLE 24

"The International Boundary and Water Commission shall have, in addition to the powers and duties otherwise specifically provided in this Treaty, the following powers and duties:

"(b) To construct the works agreed upon *or to supervise their construction* and to operate and maintain such works *or to supervise their operation and maintenance*, in accordance with the respective domestic laws of each country. Each Section shall have, *to the extent necessary to give effect to the provisions of this Treaty*, jurisdiction over the works constructed exclusively in the territory of its country whenever such works shall be connected with or shall directly affect the execution of the provisions of this Treaty."<sup>3</sup>

These two provisions are the crucial ones in determining the extent of the jurisdiction of the two Sections over works situated within their respective countries. It was felt necessary to have a central agency in which would be vested sole responsibility, subject, of course, to the control of the two Governments, for the carrying out of treaty terms. It would be impracticable to require the United States to deal with several Mexican agencies with respect to various provisions of the treaty, even

though these agencies should, as a matter of internal arrangement, discharge some of the functions imposed upon the Mexican Section. By virtue of these provisions the United States looks to, and deals only with, the Mexican Section. The Mexican Section, in turn, deals with whatever Mexican agencies may be entrusted with various functions connected with the fulfilment of treaty terms. Similarly, the Mexican Section has a right to deal only with the United States Section of the Commission and is not required to deal with various other agencies, although, as a matter of internal arrangement, other agencies within the United States may directly operate and maintain some of the facilities connected with the fulfilment of treaty terms. The significant words in article 23 are "within the limits and to the extent necessary to effectuate the provisions of this Treaty" and, in article 24, "to the extent necessary to give effect to the provisions of this Treaty."

By way of illustration, part of the capacity of Davis Dam is necessary to regulate Mexico's water at the boundary. This does not mean that the United States Section of the Commission must build Davis Dam, nor that it must exercise jurisdiction over its maintenance and operation. Neither does article 12(b), quoted above, require this. On the contrary, the only requirement is that the dam be built by the United States and that its operation and maintenance be such as to insure that releases are made at the times and in the amounts necessary to satisfy treaty requirements.

RIO GRANDE

On the Lower Rio Grande the treaty works which would fall under the jurisdiction of the Commission are the international storage, flood-control, and diversion dams and incidental works. Since from Fort Quitman, Texas, to the Gulf of Mexico the Rio Grande is the boundary between the two nations, it is obvious that these works are purely international in character, and consequently they must be under the jurisdiction of an international agency.

Certain international storage dams are specifically provided for by the treaty. With respect to the other works, there is no absolute obligation upon the part of the two Governments to con-

<sup>3</sup> Italics are the author's.

struct any of them. The jurisdiction of the Commission with respect to these works in the first instance is to investigate, study, prepare plans, and make recommendations. Only with the approval of the two Governments can any of such works, including hydroelectric works at the international storage dams, be built.

#### COLORADO RIVER

With respect to the Colorado River, the only works which are specifically enumerated are those provided for by article 12 of the treaty. The first of these is the Mexican diversion structure, which will be under the jurisdiction of the Commission only if it is built in the boundary section of the river. In that event the structure will be built, operated, and maintained by the Commission, but at the expense of Mexico. Regardless of where it is located, provision is made for the construction of such levees, interior drainage facilities, and other works as may be necessary to protect lands within the United States against damage from such floods and seepage as might result from the construction, operation, and maintenance of this diversion structure. These works are to be constructed, operated, and maintained at the expense of Mexico by the respective Sections of the Commission or under their supervision, each within the territory of its own country. The United States agrees to build the Davis storage dam and reservoir within its own territory. It should be noted that the Commission is to have no jurisdiction whatsoever over the construction, maintenance, or operation of this structure. Congress had already authorized the building of this dam by the Bureau of Reclamation prior to the negotiation of the present treaty, and work had actually started before the necessity of the war program required its suspension. The United States further agrees to construct, or acquire, in its own territory the works necessary to convey water to the Mexican diversion points on the international land boundaries, including (1) the canal and other works from the lower end of the Pilot Knob Wasteway to the international boundary; (2) if requested by Mexico, a canal connecting the Mexican main diversion structure with the Mexican canal system at the international boundary near San Luis, Sonora. These works are to be constructed, or acquired, and operated and maintained at the expense of Mexico. Here again neither the Commission nor the Mexican Section

has any jurisdiction over their construction, operation, or maintenance. Provision is made for the construction, operation, and maintenance of stream-gaging stations and water-measuring devices in the limitrophe section of the river and on all facilities used for the delivery of water to Mexico. The Commission, however, has jurisdiction over only those situated in the limitrophe section of the river. Article 13 of the treaty authorizes the Commission to investigate and prepare plans for flood control on the Lower Colorado River between Imperial Dam and the Gulf of California, but the two Governments agree to construct only such works as they may specifically approve.

The works enumerated are all the works provided for by the treaty with respect to the Colorado River. No others can be constructed by the Commission or by the United States Section under the terms of the treaty.

#### TIJUANA RIVER

With respect to the Tijuana River, the jurisdiction of the Commission is limited to investigating and submitting to the two Governments for their approval recommendations for the equitable distribution of the Tijuana River system, plans for storage and flood control, estimates of costs, and recommendations as to the manner in which the works or the costs thereof should be prorated between the two Governments. The two Governments assume no obligation other than to construct such works and to carry out such other recommendations of the Commission as they may mutually approve.

#### *Jurisdiction of Commission Over Administration Of Treaty Functions*

With respect to the administration of treaty functions, general supervision is confined to the International Boundary Commission. This was likewise true with respect to the convention of March 1, 1889, the convention of March 20, 1905 providing for the elimination of bancos from the effects of the treaty of 1884, and the convention of February 1, 1933 providing for the rectification of the Rio Grande in the El Paso - Juarez Valley. Its jurisdiction is confined by article 2 of the treaty to the land and water boundaries and to works thereon. By paragraph (c) of article 24, the Commission is given jurisdiction

"to exercise and discharge the specific powers and duties entrusted to the Commission by this and other treaties and agreements in force between the two countries, and to carry into execution and prevent the violation of the provisions of those treaties and agreements".

Its jurisdiction, then, is limited to the discharge of the functions specifically provided for by treaty or by other agreement. These functions, as far as the joint Commission is concerned, are confined to the construction, operation, and maintenance of purely international works, which have already been discussed, and to matters of international import arising on the land and water boundaries between the two countries.

#### *Jurisdiction Over Settlement of Disputes*

Very little need be said about the jurisdiction of the Commission over the settlement of disputes. Paragraph (d) of article 24 vests in the Commission power

"to settle all differences that may arise between the two Governments with respect to the interpretation or application of this Treaty, subject to the approval of the two Governments. In any case in which the Commissioners do not reach an agreement, they shall so inform their respective governments reporting their respective opinions and the grounds therefor and the points upon which they differ, for discussion and adjustment of the difference through diplomatic channels and for application where proper of the general or special agreements which the two Governments have concluded for the settlement of controversies."

Since the decisions of the Commission in this respect are subject to the approval of the two Governments, the Commission in effect acts only in an advisory capacity.

#### **Approval or Veto Power of Governments**

It should be noted at this point that all the decisions of the Commission, whether they pertain to works, or to the administration of treaty provisions, or to the settlement of disputes, are subject to the approval of the two Governments. In many cases specific approval is required. In all other cases a veto power is reserved in each of the two

Governments by virtue of article 25, which provides in part that—

"except where the specific approval of the two Governments is required by any provision of this Treaty, if one of the Governments fails to communicate to the Commission its approval or disapproval of a decision of the Commission within thirty days reckoned from the date of the Minute in which it shall have been pronounced, the Minute in question and the decisions which it contains shall be considered to be approved by that Government. The Commissioners, within the limits of their respective jurisdictions, shall execute the decisions of the Commission that are approved by both Governments.

"If either Government disapproves a decision of the Commission the two Governments shall take cognizance of the matter, and if an agreement regarding such matter is reached between the two Governments, the agreement shall be communicated to the Commissioners, who shall take such further proceedings as may be necessary to carry out such agreement."

#### **Jurisdiction of the United States Section**

Much of what has been said with respect to the jurisdiction of the Commission is applicable also to the jurisdiction of the United States Section. The jurisdiction of the Commission, of course, attaches only to the purely international works and to the joint administration of treaty functions. The jurisdiction of the United States Section of the Commission attaches to the United States portion of the international works, to works in this country to be used exclusively or primarily for the performance of treaty functions, and to general administration of the United States obligations and the protection of its rights under the treaty. If this was not made plain by the treaty itself, it is now made entirely clear by the provisions of the protocol, which will become an integral part of the treaty, if and when both are ratified. The protocol refers primarily to jurisdiction over works under the terms of the treaty. To the extent that works situated in this country are to be used exclusively for the performance of treaty functions, they will be under the jurisdiction of the United States Section. The same

is true as to those works along the boundary used primarily for this purpose. The works that are to be used only partly for the discharge of treaty functions will be left under the jurisdiction and control of the agency which now or hereafter may be vested by domestic law with such jurisdiction and control. The Commission, as such, has no control over any works situated within this country. Most of the works which are to be constructed are specifically enumerated in the treaty. Those which are not specifically enumerated, but which are to await further investigation and study, are narrowly circumscribed. Those on the Rio Grande are confined almost entirely to the main stream. No works other than stream-gaging stations on the United States tributaries of the Rio Grande are provided for. On the Colorado River the only works the construction of which is not specifically provided for by the treaty but which may be built under its terms are flood-control works below Imperial Dam. With respect to all the works which are left to future determination there is, of course, the necessity for the joint approval of the two Governments and the necessity for congressional appropriations. A few illustrations will be helpful:

#### RIO GRANDE

On the Rio Grande, as has been said, the only works which are contemplated immediately are the international storage and flood-control dams, which must necessarily fall under the jurisdiction of the Commission. Diversion dams and other ancillary works, and works of flood control and river rectification are left for future determination. To the extent that they may be built in the future, the international works of this character would likewise be under the jurisdiction of the Commission. The only works, then, which apparently come under the jurisdiction of the United States Section alone are the gaging stations near the mouths of the tributaries, necessary to measure the United States contributions to the main stream. Many of these gaging stations are presently being operated and maintained by the United States Section.

#### COLORADO RIVER

With respect to the Colorado River, the jurisdiction of the United States Section is confined to those works situated along the boundary and to those which are to be devoted exclusively to the

fulfilment of treaty provisions, such as flood control and other protective works provided for by the treaty; the canal, and other works necessary to convey water from the lower end of the Pilot Knob Wasteway to the international boundary; the canal connecting the Mexican main diversion structure with the Mexican system of canals on the international land boundary near San Luis, Sonora, if such a canal is built under the provisions of the treaty; and the gaging stations necessary to measure the water deliveries to Mexico at any point on the boundary.

Since Davis Dam, Imperial Dam, and the Imperial Dam - Pilot Knob Reach of the All-American Canal are to be used only partly for the delivery of Mexican waters, these will presumably be left under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Reclamation, subject, of course, to the will of Congress.

#### *Jurisdiction of United States Section Over Administration of Treaty Functions*

The jurisdiction of the United States Section, as distinguished from that of the Commission, over the administration of treaty functions is very limited. The United States Section is the representative of the United States in performing the treaty obligations of the United States to Mexico, and also in seeing that Mexico's obligations to the United States are carried out. The underlying idea is that all treaty functions should be centralized in an international agency and that the functions to be performed by interior agencies, to the extent that they bear upon the performance of international functions, should be correlated and carried out in cooperation with the respective national Section.

#### RIO GRANDE

On the Rio Grande, for instance, the principal duties of the Commission will be to build, operate, and maintain the international works on the boundary portion of the river and to keep account of the waters allocated to each country. The duty of the United States Section will be to measure inflows into the main stream from the United States tributaries, so that the United States will receive credit therefor, and to measure certain diversions and uses which are chargeable against the United States allocations. With respect to the

use within the United States of its share of the waters, neither the Commission nor the United States Section has any jurisdiction whatsoever.

Present existing diversions in both countries are fully protected by the treaty. With respect to those which may be made in the future, the sole province of the United States Commissioner is to determine that at the times and places where the diversions are proposed there is sufficient water within the allocated share of the United States to satisfy the proposed use. Aside from this it is entirely a matter for State authorities, under State laws, to determine the disposition of the waters.

It is noteworthy that the treaty does not guarantee any contribution from the tributaries of the Rio Grande within the United States. It therefore makes no difference in the operation of the treaty whether these waters are utilized along the tributaries themselves or on lands in Texas bordering on the main stream below the tributaries. This is a matter entirely for the decision of the duly constituted State authorities under the provisions of State law. If and when hydroelectric power should be generated at the international dams, by agreement between the two countries, the disposition of the United States share of the power so generated is a matter for congressional determination. Article 19 provides:

"The two Governments shall conclude such special agreements as may be necessary to regulate the generation, development and disposition of electric power at international plants, including the necessary provisions for the export of electric current."

Under this provision and under the terms of the protocol, the disposition of the power belonging to the United States will be in the hands of such agency as is now, or may hereafter be, vested with such authority by act of Congress.

#### COLORADO RIVER

With respect to the Colorado, jurisdiction of the United States Section will extend to the construction, operation, and maintenance of the facilities to be used exclusively for the fulfilment of treaty obligations and to supervise water deliveries to Mexico. For this latter purpose its duty will simply be to communicate the Mexican schedules of delivery to the operators of Davis Dam, Im-

perial Dam, and the All-American Canal, in order that releases may be made in such a manner as to make possible the regulation at the boundary of the waters delivered to Mexico. It will also have the duty of measuring the water delivered to Mexico at all points of delivery.

#### Conclusion

Briefly, then, the treaty equitably apportions the waters of the three international streams. It makes provision for the construction or utilization of such works as are necessary to make the division effective and to permit the most efficient and economical use of the waters. It vests in an already existing and experienced international agency general supervision over the carrying out of treaty provisions, subject at all times to the control of the two Governments. The United States Section acts as the United States representative in the discharge of functions imposed upon the United States and in the protection of United States rights under the treaty, subject to the control of the United States Government and, where expenditures of funds are involved, to congressional appropriations. In effect, it acts as a clearinghouse through which matters involving treaty rights, obligations, and functions are cleared, without encroaching in any way upon the jurisdiction of any interior agency, Federal, State, or local.

## International Wheat Council

### DESIGNATION OF CHAIRMAN OF AMERICAN DELEGATION

[Released to the press January 16]

The Honorable Paul H. Appleby, who has been serving as chairman of the American Delegation to the International Wheat Council, recently resigned as a member of that body, and President Roosevelt has approved the designation of Mr. Leslie A. Wheeler, Director of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture, as chairman of this Government's Delegation to take the place of Mr. Appleby. Mr. Wheeler has been a member of the American Delegation to the Council since it was set up in 1942.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 5, 1944, p. 536.

# Trade Controls Today in the Middle East

By FREDERICK WINANT<sup>1</sup>

I WISH with all my heart and soul that today we might talk in the past tense of the war in Europe. Such is not our good fortune, although we shall be forever in debt to our fighting forces for their magnificent accomplishments on land, at sea, and in the air. The war in Europe continues—with the certainty of Allied victory but without an assurance of how long it will be until our prayers are granted.

In considering and planning civilian supplies, we cannot ignore the grim factor of a continuing and devastating war. In this total war, civilian supplies are contingent upon military supplies—even in an area from which military operations have receded. For these reasons, we must weigh carefully what should be done in regard to civilian supplies for the Middle East at this stage of affairs.

For some three months we and the British have been working on a scheme for the orderly relaxation of Middle East Supply Center controls. By way of parenthesis, I should add that when we started these considerations the future appeared brighter than it appears today. During this period of the past few months, James M. Landis, Director of American Economic Operations in the Middle East, with the personal rank of Minister, has concentrated to a large degree on the problem of relaxations. He has worked closely with officials concerned in our Government and with corresponding British officials in both London and Cairo. The subject of relaxation of Middle East Supply Center controls also received the serious attention of the Special Economic Mission to the Middle East under the chairmanship of Ambassador William S. Culbertson.

From these combined efforts, a plan has evolved which was put into effect on January 1, 1945—this, in spite of the change in certain timetables because of the continuance of the European war.

The most important feature of the change being made is that for a wide range of items Middle East Supply Center control over imports will cease. It will be for the Middle Eastern countries to make

their own arrangements with exporting countries for supply of these goods, subject only to limitations described below.

The shipping situation remains so acute as to limit total tonnage which can be allocated to meet Middle East requirements. Further, a number of commodities are still in very short supply throughout the world, and in respect to these commodities the Middle East Supply Center will continue to exercise its function of insuring that essential requirements of Middle East territories are adequately and equitably met.

It has been decided, therefore:

(a) that Middle East requirements of commodities, such as cereals, fertilizers, and tea, the movement of which makes heavy demands on shipping, will continue to be estimated and sponsored by the Middle East Supply Center;

(b) that import licenses for a comparatively short list of commodities and products in world short supply, such as trucks, tires, and textiles, will continue to require Middle East Supply Center approval, which, where possible, will be delegated to local Middle East Supply Center representatives;

(c) that for all other items Middle East Supply Center control will be withdrawn. There will still be, however, certain limitations on uncontrolled imports of supplies in this group. For example, certain exporting countries overseas may maintain export controls, and in addition, exchange-control regulations may be a limiting factor. Finally, as indicated above, the shipping situation will impose a tonnage ceiling on the amount of goods in this group which can be imported. It will therefore be the responsibility of the governments of Middle Eastern territories to decide what is to be imported and to insure that tonnage and supplies available are used to the best advantage and to meet essential needs.

The new plan is the first step in the gradual freeing of trade from wartime restrictions. As the supply and shipping situation eases, Middle East Supply Center control will be progressively withdrawn.

In giving thus the broad outline of the new plan, I believe I should add some caution as to the im-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Winant is an Adviser in the War Areas Economic Division, Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, Department of State.



mediate effect on supplies. It is not expected that the new plan will mean any radical change; rather the new plan should be accepted as providing a system for the progressive freeing of restrictions toward a better supply position and a more speedy service.

The chief difficulties in increasing quickly the quantity and kind of goods for Middle East consumption lie with shipping, certain supplies, and the dollar exchange.

In the matter of shipping, it is not reasonable in view of increasing war demands to expect additional tonnage. What we can anticipate, however, is a continued better utilization of the shipping space allocated for civilian cargoes, as has occurred in recent months. Of course, the shipping position for civilian cargoes will remain dependent upon the shipping position for military cargoes. War demands will continue to receive first priority.

The shortage of certain commodities needs no amplification at this point.

In regard to dollar exchange, there is little that can be predicted at the moment. The problem is not confined to the Middle East; it is a global problem. Just what will be worked out for the Middle East is difficult to foretell. You may be sure that we shall stay as close to this problem as such a situation permits.

In going ahead with the new plan at a time when it appears that the European war will last longer, perhaps much longer, than previously estimated, I believe we shall be taking some risks, but I feel that the risks are worth taking in order to start a trend away from war controls and a return to normal commercial transactions. Any such change whenever inaugurated will mean moving from a known operation to an operation involving certain unknown elements. Progress cannot be made without incurring some risks.

I believe that I could be accused of shortsightedness or perhaps of evading an issue if I were to confide my remarks to the present only. We all must look to the future and we all must try to make something of the future.

It was my privilege to serve as secretary of the Culbertson Mission in the Middle East during its study of existing wartime controls. The purpose of the Mission, as you probably know, was to review on the ground the problems involved in returning trade to normal channels as rapidly as wartime conditions permit and to recommend pro-

cedures which would insure the fullest possible participation of private business in such government transactions as may be required in view of wartime exigencies.

In the study of this problem in those countries of the Middle East visited by the members of the Mission, the relation of exports and imports naturally came to the fore. I believe all the members were struck by the great pent-up demand for goods of all sorts. The members were also attentive to the prospects of the long-range requirements of the area for certain products of American manufacture. As background, they reviewed the pre-war status of commerce between the United States and the Middle East. From these studies it was felt that the immediate prospect of large trade should not be confused with the long-range prospect; neither should the future be appraised inflexibly in terms of the past. In other words, the opinion reached was that trade with the Middle East would be greater in the future than in the past. The degree of increase in our exports generally will depend to a large extent on the ability and willingness of the United States to accept foreign products as imports. We must remember that exports and imports are partners in world trade and that the success of one partner is dependent upon the success of the other partner.

I should like to mention another matter and that is the role of the United States, as I see it, in the broader aspects of Middle East economics.

### Discussions Between the United States and the United Kingdom on War Crimes

[Released to the press January 17]

The Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom are at present, as they have been for some time past, in regular consultation on the subject of war crimes and war criminals. Neither Government has yet communicated to the other or to the United Nations War Crimes Commission its final views on the recent recommendations made by the Commission. Both Governments hope to do this in the near future as soon as the present discussions between them have been concluded.

During the war we found it desirable to participate in the general economic plans of the countries of the Middle East. We did this for the better prosecution of the war and for the benefit of the peoples of the Middle Eastern countries. In so performing a war function, we have gained a better insight into the problems of the area as a whole and of the individual countries which go to make up that area. At the same time, the people and officials of the several countries have learned more about American products and American ways. In short, we have developed a better and more realistic understanding with that part of the world.

For myself, and I speak personally, I hope strongly that we shall continue our interests in the broad economic life of the Middle East. I have in mind certain functions performed through the instrumentality of the Middle East Supply Center during the war period, such as agricultural improvement, public health as evolved from the handling of medical supplies, and statistical and research undertakings which have registered beneficial effects.

Assistance of this kind in a form which would be welcomed by the people concerned would be in keeping with the excellent reputation of the United States in the Middle East in matters of general public welfare. The high cultural standard of the American University at Beirut and other universities and educational centers of similar origin and sponsorship; the human appeal of the hospitals and public-health units so wisely administered without religious prejudice; the technical ability of graduates returning from agricultural colleges in the United States; the world renown accruing from the discoveries of our archeologists—all these benefits have left a lasting impression on the minds and hearts of the peoples and governments of the countries of the Middle East.

There is little doubt that the Middle Eastern authorities will look to the United States for assistance in those fields where for generations our educators, missionaries, scientists, and technicians have made so large a voluntary contribution. There is little question that Americans will be wanted as advisers on problems of agriculture, sanitation, disease, nutrition, and rural education.

They will also be wanted in other technical fields, such as motor transport and communications.

In my opinion, it will be sound foreign policy and in the public interest for the United States Government to prepare for these anticipated requests with a broad-gage program for providing competent technicians at a reasonable cost. I believe that a continued association of this nature on the part of our citizens with the peoples of the Middle East will help in making something of the future.

## Radio Programs To Be Sponsored by the Department Of State

[Released to the press January 19]

The Department of State will sponsor the first six in a series of programs dealing with the subject "America's Foreign Policy", to be broadcast over the network of the National Broadcasting Company on consecutive Saturdays at 7 p.m., E.W.T., beginning February 24.

The theme of the Department's programs will be "Building the Peace". Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., it is expected, will participate in the opening program. Participating in subsequent programs will be Under Secretary Joseph C. Grew and Assistant Secretaries Dean Acheson, William L. Clayton, Nelson A. Rockefeller, James C. Dunn, Julius C. Holmes, and Archibald MacLeish. Mr. MacLeish will act as chairman for the six broadcasts.

The broadcasts will undertake first to study the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Subsequently the series will turn to foreign economic policy, policy toward liberated areas and enemy countries, and Latin American relations. Questions from qualified experts and the radio audience will be invited.

Specific participants in the individual broadcasts will be announced later.

This will be the second time that officials of the Department of State have appeared on the air to interpret the Department's organization and its actual work in promoting international cooperation and security. A series of four broadcasts entitled "The Department of State Speaks", was presented by the National Broadcasting Company during January 1944.

# Armistice Terms for Hungary

[Released to the press January 21]

The terms of the Hungarian armistice agreement which has been signed in Moscow follow:<sup>1</sup>

AGREEMENT CONCERNING AN ARMISTICE BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE ONE HAND AND HUNGARY ON THE OTHER

The Provisional National Government of Hungary, recognizing the fact of the defeat of Hungary in the war against the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and other United Nations, accepts the armistice terms presented by the Governments of the above-mentioned three powers, acting on behalf of all the United Nations which are in a state of war with Hungary.

On the basis of the foregoing the representative of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, Marshal of the Soviet Union K. E. Voroshilov, duly authorized thereto by the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, acting on behalf of all the United Nations which are at war with Hungary, on the one hand and the representatives of the Provisional National Government of Hungary, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. János Gyöngyösi, Colonel General János Vörös, and State Secretary of the Cabinet of Ministers, Mr. István Balogh, on the other, holding proper full powers, have signed the following conditions:

ARTICLE I. (A) Hungary has withdrawn from the war against the U. S. S. R. and the other United Nations, including Czechoslovakia, has severed all relations with Germany and has declared war on Germany.

(B) The Government of Hungary undertakes to disarm the German armed forces in Hungary and to hand them over as prisoners of war.

The Government of Hungary also undertakes to intern nationals of Germany.

(C) The Government of Hungary undertakes to maintain and make available such land, sea and air forces as may be specified for service under the general direction of the Allied (Soviet) High Com-

mand. In this connection Hungary will provide not less than eight infantry divisions with corps troops. These forces must not be used on Allied territory except with the prior consent of the Allied Government concerned.

(D) On the conclusion of hostilities against Germany, the Hungarian armed forces must be demobilized and put on a peace footing under the supervision of the Allied Control Commission. (See Annex to Article I.)

ARTICLE II. Hungary has accepted the obligation to evacuate all Hungarian troops and officials from the territory of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania occupied by her within the limits of the frontiers of Hungary existing on December 31, 1937, and also to repeal all legislative and administrative provisions relating to the annexation or incorporation into Hungary of Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Rumanian territory.

ARTICLE III. The Government and High Command of Hungary will ensure to the Soviet and other Allied forces facilities for the free movement on Hungarian territory in any direction if, in the opinion of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, the military situation requires this, the Government and High Command of Hungary giving such movement every possible assistance with their own means of communication and at their own expense on land, on the water and in the air. (See Annex to Article III.)

ARTICLE IV. The Government of Hungary will immediately release all Allied prisoners of war and internees. Pending further instructions the Government of Hungary will at its own expense provide all Allied prisoners of war and internees, displaced persons and refugees, including nationals of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, with adequate food, clothing, medical services, and sanitary and hygienic requirements, and also with means of transportation for the return of any such persons to their own country.

ARTICLE V. The Government of Hungary will immediately release, regardless of citizenship and nationality, all persons held in confinement in

<sup>1</sup>Telegraphic text. For armistice terms for Rumania, see BULLETIN of Sept. 17, 1944, p. 280, and for Bulgaria, Oct. 29, 1944, p. 492.

connection with their activities in favor of the United Nations or because of their sympathies with the United Nations' cause or for racial or religious reasons, and will repeal all discriminatory legislation and disabilities arising therefrom.

The Government of Hungary will take all the necessary measures to ensure that all displaced persons and refugees within the limits of Hungarian territory, including Jews and stateless persons, are accorded at least the same measure of protection and security as its own nationals.

ARTICLE VI. The Government of Hungary undertakes to return to the Soviet Union, and also to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and to the other United Nations, by the dates specified by the Allied Control Commission, and in complete good order, all valuables and materials removed during the war to Hungary from the United Nations' territory and belonging to state, public or cooperative organizations, enterprises, institutions or individual citizens, such as factory and works equipment, locomotives, rolling stock, tractors, motor vehicles, historic monuments, museum treasures and any other property.

ARTICLE VII. The Government and High Command of Hungary undertake to hand over as booty into the hands of the Allied (Soviet) High Command all German war material located on Hungarian territory including vessels of the fleet of Germany.

ARTICLE VIII. The Government and High Command of Hungary undertake not to permit, without the authorization of the Allied Control Commission, the export or expropriation of any form of property (including valuables and currency) belonging to Germany or her nationals or to persons resident in German territory or in territories occupied by Germany. They will safeguard such property in the manner specified by the Allied Control Commission.

ARTICLE IX. The Government and High Command of Hungary undertake to hand over to the Allied (Soviet) High Command all vessels belonging to or having belonged to the United Nations which are located in Hungarian Danubian ports, no matter at whose disposal these vessels may be, for use during the period of the war against Germany by the Allied (Soviet) High Command in the general interests of the Allies, these vessels subsequently to be returned to their owners.

The Government of Hungary will bear the full material responsibility for any damage or destruction of the aforementioned property until the moment of its transfer to the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

ARTICLE X. Hungarian merchant vessels, whether in Hungarian or foreign waters, shall be subject to the operational control of the Allied (Soviet) High Command for use in the general interests of the Allies.

ARTICLE XI. The Government of Hungary will make regular payments in Hungarian currency and provide commodities (fuel, foodstuffs, et cetera), facilities and services as may be required by the Allied (Soviet) High Command for the fulfillment of its functions as well as for the needs of missions and representatives of the Allied states connected with the Allied Control Commission.

The Government of Hungary will also assure, in the case of need, the use and regulation of the work of industrial and transport enterprises, means of communication, power stations, enterprises and installations of public utility, stores of fuel and other material in accordance with instructions issued during the armistice by the Allied (Soviet) High Command or the Allied Control Commission. (See Annex to Article XI.)

ARTICLE XII. Losses caused to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia by military operations and by the occupation by Hungary of the territories of these states will be made good by Hungary to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, but taking into consideration that Hungary has not only withdrawn from the war against the United Nations but has declared war against Germany, the parties agree that compensation for the indicated losses will be made by Hungary not in full but only in part; namely, to the amount of 300,000,000 American dollars payable over six years in commodities (machine equipment, river craft, grain, livestock, et cetera), the sum to be paid to the Soviet Union to amount to 200,000,000 American dollars and the sum to be paid to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia to amount to 100,000,000 American dollars.

Compensation will be paid by Hungary for loss and damage caused by the war to other Allied states and their nationals, the amount of compensation to be fixed at a later date. (See Annex to Article XII.)

ARTICLE XIII. The Government of Hungary undertakes to restore all legal rights and interests of the United Nations and their nationals on Hungarian territory as they existed before the war and also to return their property in complete good order.

ARTICLE XIV. Hungary will cooperate in the apprehension and trial, as well as the surrender to the Governments concerned, of persons accused of war crimes.

ARTICLE XV. The Government of Hungary undertakes to dissolve immediately all pro-Hitler or other fascist political, military, para-military and other organizations on Hungarian territory conducting propaganda hostile to the United Nations and not to tolerate the existence of such organizations in the future.

ARTICLE XVI. The publication, introduction and distribution in Hungary of periodical or non-periodical literature, the presentation of theatrical performances or films, the operation of wireless stations, post, telegraph and telephone services will take place in agreement with the Allied (Soviet) High Command. (See Annex to Article XVI.)

ARTICLE XVII. Hungarian civil administration will be restored in the whole area of Hungary separated by not less than 50-100 kilometres (depending upon conditions of terrain) from the front line, Hungarian 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 or Allied Control Commission issued by them for the purpose of securing the execution of these armistice terms.

ARTICLE XVIII. For the whole of the period of the armistice there will be established in Hungary an Allied Control Commission which will regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice terms under the chairmanship of the representative of the Allied (Soviet) High Command and with the participation of representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States.

During the period between the coming into force of the armistice and the conclusion of hostilities against Germany, the Allied Control Commission will be under the general direction of the Allied (Soviet) High Command. (See Annex to Article XVIII.)

ARTICLE XIX. The Vienna Arbitration Award of November 2, 1938 and the Vienna Award of August 30, 1940, are hereby declared to be null and void.

ARTICLE XX. The present terms come into force at the moment of their signing.

Done in Moscow January 20, 1945, in one copy which will be entrusted to the safekeeping of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the Russian, English and Hungarian languages, the Russian and English texts being authentic.

Certified copies of the present agreement, with Annexes, will be transmitted by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to each of the other Governments on whose behalf the present agreement is being signed.

For the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America:

Marshal K. E. VOROSHILOV.

For the Provisional National Government of Hungary:

JÁNOS GYÖNGÖSI, Colonel General JÁNOS VÖROS, and ISTVAN BALOGH.

ANNEX TO AGREEMENT CONCERNING AN ARMISTICE BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE ONE HAND AND HUNGARY ON THE OTHER, SIGNED IN MOSCOW, JANUARY 20, 1945.

*A. Annex to Article I.*

The Hungarian Military Command shall hand over to the Allied (Soviet) High Command within a period fixed by the latter all the information at its disposal regarding the German armed forces and the plans of the German Military Command for the development of military operations against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the other United Nations and also the charts and maps and all operational documents relating to the military operations of the German armed forces.

The measures provided for in Article I of the agreement regarding the internment of nationals of Germany now in Hungarian territory do not apply to nationals of that country of Jewish origin.

*B. Annex to Article III.*

The assistance specified in Article III of the agreement shall be taken to mean that the Government and High Command of Hungary will place

at the disposal of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, for use at its discretion during the armistice, in complete good order and with the personnel required for their maintenance, all Hungarian military, air and river fleet installations and buildings, ports, barracks, warehouses, airfields, means of communication and meteorological stations which might be required for military needs.

*C. Annex to Article XI.*

The Government of Hungary will withdraw and redeem within such time limits and on such terms as the Allied (Soviet) High Command may specify, all holdings in Hungarian 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.

The Government of Hungary will not permit the disposal of external Hungarian assets or disposal of internal Hungarian assets to foreign Governments or foreign nationals without the permission of the Allied (Soviet) High Command or the Allied Control Commission.

*D. Annex to Article XII.*

The precise nomenclature and varieties of commodities to be delivered by Hungary to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in accordance with Article XII of the agreement and also the more precise periods for making these deliveries each year shall be defined in special agreements between the respective Governments. These deliveries will be calculated at 1938 prices with an increase of 15% for industrial equipment and 10% for other goods.

As the basis of calculation for payment of the indemnity foreseen in Article XII of the agreement, the American dollar is to be used at its gold parity on the day of signing of the agreement, i. e. 35 dollars to one ounce of gold.

In connection with Article XII it is understood that the Hungarian Government will immediately make available certain food and other supplies required for relief and rehabilitation of the population of those Czechoslovakian and Yugoslavian territories which have suffered as a result of Hungarian aggression. The quantities of products to be delivered will be determined by agreement between the three governments and will be considered as part of the reparation by Hungary for the loss and damage sustained by Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

*E. Annex to Article XVI.*

The Government of Hungary will ensure that wireless communication, telegraphic and postal correspondence, and correspondence in cipher and by courier, as well as telephonic communication with foreign countries, of Embassies, Legations and Consulates situated in Hungary will be conducted in the manner laid down by the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

*F. Annex to Article XVIII.*

Control over the exact execution of the armistice terms will be entrusted to the Allied Control Commission to be established in conformity with Article XVIII of the armistice agreement.

The Government of Hungary and its organs shall fulfill all the 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 Hungary.

The Allied Control Commission will have its seat in the city of Budapest.

Moscow, *January 20, 1945.*

PROTOCOL TO THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT WITH  
HUNGARY

In signing the armistice agreement with the Government of Hungary, the Allied Governments signatory thereto have agreed as follows:

*One.* The term "war material" used in Article VII shall be deemed to include all material or equipment belonging to, used by, or intended for use by the military or para-military formations of the enemy or members thereof.

*Two.* The use by the Allied (Soviet) High Command of Allied vessels handed over by the Government of Hungary in accordance with Article IX of the armistice and the date of their return to their owners will be the subject of discussion and settlement between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Allied Governments concerned.

Done in Moscow in three copies, each in the Russian and English languages, the Russian and English texts being authentic.

*January 20, 1945.*

(NOTE: The foregoing Protocol was signed on behalf of the United States Government by Mr. W. Averell Harriman, the American Ambassador.)

# America's Place in World Affairs

Address by THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 17]

I sense throughout the entire nation a solemn air of dedication to the tasks that lie ahead. The fact that these are critical days is not half so important, I submit, as the fact that we are *aware* that these are the critical days. No longer are we content merely to say, without projective thinking, "Total victory must be achieved". The meaning of that victory is now clear to us in terms of blood and treasure, and knowledge of the cost has doubled our determination. Our purpose—clarified and comprehended—has become more unshakable than ever.

Similarly, we are no longer content merely to say without looking ahead, "Lasting peace must be achieved". We have begun to grasp the full meaning of those words. We have surveyed the road ahead. The terrain, we note, is rough. Here it twists and turns, there a boulder must be hurdled or removed. Now we are in familiar country and can move swiftly, knowing our way; now we pass through a stretch of unfamiliar ground, and must advance more slowly, adapting ourselves to our surroundings. Gaining this knowledge has not always been a pleasant experience, but at all times it has been a necessary one. There is still much to be learned, and the journey remains long and arduous. But when we speak now of our determination to achieve a lasting peace we speak with the wisdom of maturity, and the chances of our succeeding are, therefore, I like to think, far better than at any previous period in our history.

Not all men would agree, I know. Lately, a great many sincere and thoughtful persons have felt that the prospects for a democratic peace have lessened, rather than increased. I am inclined to believe that what they are saying, in effect, is that, because a shadow has crossed the sun, the sun no longer shines. I think we can measure the extent of this Nation's yearning for a sound democratic peace in terms of the concern our people have shown lately at the possibility that such a peace might not be achieved. Two years ago, a year ago, were we aware of these deep and abiding hopes? We could only *guess* their existence in the

minds and hearts of men. Today we *know* that they exist, indeed that they are among the deepest aspirations of our people. Here is not only progress toward a people's peace but a key to policy, for, in the great words of former Secretary Hull, foreign policy "is for us the task of focusing and giving effect in the world outside our borders to the will of 135 million people through the constitutional processes which govern our democracy".

In his recent message on the state of the Union, the President said plainly:

"I should not be frank if I did not admit concern about many situations—the Greek and Polish for example. But those situations are not as easy or as simple to deal with as some spokesmen, whose sincerity I do not question, would have us believe. We have obligations, not necessarily legal, to the exiled governments, to the underground leaders and to our major Allies who came much nearer the shadows than we did.

"We and our Allies have declared that it is our purpose to respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. But with internal dissension, with many citizens of liberated countries still prisoners of war or forced to labor in Germany, it is difficult to guess the kind of self-government the people really want."

These problems are no longer theoretical. We are face to face with them in the liberated countries and elsewhere. In all probability, they will increase rather than decrease. We are out in the real world and the going will be tough. But defeatism is not an American tradition. It is all well and good to work out in advance the course you think you may have to run during a race. But what does this avail a man if he withdraws from the race at the sound of the starting gun, takes a seat in the stands, and criticizes each and every runner?

And so I say again, if these are the critical days, what counts most is our *awareness* of that

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at the New York Times Hall, New York, N. Y., on Jan. 17, 1945.

fact. We must be stripped for the race. We must be prepared for the sudden turn of events, the unexpected development. We must realize that in countries ravaged by war and years of Fascism—by the terrible brutalization of Fascism—we will come upon gaping wounds in the social system far more serious than any we could possibly imagine. And we must be prepared, too, for a resilience, a strength, and a vigor which we had not thought possible in people who had so suffered. We will find that, even as the human body has mysterious ways of fighting disease, these people will have drawn upon inner resources to keep warm their hope during the long night. The full beauty of this vigor must not astound us, nor cause us concern, nor suddenly become inconvenient or incompatible with our plans. No, we must be prepared to utilize fully the inner strength of the liberated people in their own behalf. Not one iota of creative energy must go unharnessed in the great task of reconstruction.

Now, where are we going? What do we have in mind? I shall not undertake to enunciate the foreign policy of the United States, for obviously only the President or the Secretary of State can do that. But I have a passion for simplification of problems, and although this sort of thing can sometimes go too far, I find it most helpful to break down our problems under three main headings: (1) Principles; (2) Objectives; (3) Guides for action in attaining these objectives on the basis of those principles. The other day on assuming my new post I drew a chart of the picture that confronts us in the world, and this is what it looked like:

Under "Principles" I wrote: The Atlantic Charter. I think the Charter covers a great deal in the way of justice, democracy, and good-will toward men. As the President said recently:

"It is true that the statement of principles in the Atlantic Charter does not provide rules of easy application to each and every one of this war-torn world's tangled situations. But it is a good and a useful thing—it is an essential thing—to have principles toward which we can aim. And we shall not hesitate to use our influence—and to use it now—to secure so far as is humanly possible the fulfillment of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. We have not shrunk from the military

responsibilities brought on by this war. We cannot and will not shrink from the political responsibilities which follow in the wake of battle."

Under "Objectives", I wrote: (1) Win the war as soon as possible; and (2) help to create permanent peace and security in the world. In a box beneath point 2 on this chart I wrote: Dumbarton Oaks.

Under "Guides for action", I wrote: (1) Constantly keep in mind the long-range interests of the United States and the American people; (2) keep in step with the other United Nations and maintain the alliance firm and secure; (3) help the liberated areas return to a healthy political and economic life—the hungry must be fed; (4) reduce each problem to its basic factors and then apply common sense.

At least three big problems emerge from that chart.

First, with reference to aiding the liberated peoples, I have already spoken of what I consider to be a necessary attitude of mind. As to feeding the hungry, we know that hunger is among the worst enemies of man, for hunger breeds both physical and political disease. There can be no really stable world as long as hunger exists. Even we, in our heaven-blessed homeland, can never live in permanent security and well-being until that problem has been solved. Thus it fits directly into the long-range interests of the United States and the American people. This is an emergency problem but it is a long-range problem too. It is one of our many problems requiring united effort. That is why the food conference was held at Hot Springs, Virginia, and that is why we and the other United Nations have established the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to handle relief in the countries devastated by war. I cannot tonight deal with its many ramifications, except to say that the shipping problem is closely allied with it today and that questions of tariffs and other trade barriers will be closely allied with it tomorrow. What proportion of our shipping can properly be deflected from the war effort to feed the hungry abroad? How and where and in what proportions shall rehabilitation supplies be distributed? To what extent can we produce and send abroad supplies without jeopardizing our own economic life at home? These are just a few



of the difficult economic problems with which we must deal now. But underlying all our thinking there must remain the simple truth: "*The hungry must be fed.*"

The second big problem: Can we keep in step with our Allies, serve the long-range interests of the United States, and stand squarely upon our principles in the attainment of our objectives?

Here is a very large problem indeed, and in approaching it I think we should keep one thought foremost in mind, namely, that *our Allies want peace and future security just as much as we do.* People ask what policy the State Department is pursuing in its relations with our Allies in the war. We understand, all of us, I think, why the question is asked. In a world confused by distance and by war, the lines of direction, the lines of policy, are not always easy to follow. But the answer, nevertheless, need not be difficult. The policy of the United States, like the policy of the other Allied Governments, is to fight as Allies in unison. When we differ from our Allies, as we are bound to differ from them on certain questions, it is the policy of this Government, as it is the policy of our people, not to let our differences interfere with the unity of action essential to the winning of the war, or to disrupt that unity after the war is won. That does not mean that this Government has neglected or will neglect to make its own position on these questions clear. Nothing has gone or will go by default. You may be assured that the Department of State, as the department of government charged with responsibility for the foreign policy of this country, has vigorously stated, and will continue to state, the American position on issues in dispute, actively keeping before all other nations our own country's interests and the point of view of our people. You may also be assured, however, that this Government will use its influence to prevent any interruption of the common effort in the prosecution of the war as the result of differences on particular issues or particular questions.

Human nature and national nature being what they are, nationalism would appear to be here to stay—or at least to stay for some time. But let us not brand as national selfishness acts which spring primarily from the instinct of self-preservation and the legitimate desire of nations for future peace and security—both strategic and economic security. Let us neither forget the recent history

of gangster nations nor their depredations. If they had attacked my house I would most certainly put up some kind of fence for my future safety and the safety of my property. Meanwhile, I would do everything in my power to see that the town's police force was efficiently and effectively organized to prevent those depredations in future and to insure security. Once that organization had been perfected and found worthy of my confidence, then I would have little need to tend the fence.

We need not be disturbed by the anxiety expressed in some quarters that the various international pacts recently concluded among several European nations signify that our Allies are falling out of step with us. Although I have not the time this evening to discuss these pacts in detail, let me state here that after careful study of those agreements, we are satisfied that they were concluded in the spirit of what we all are trying to achieve through the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

In reference to international politics in general, I think that all of us should remember that foreign relations are like a cyclorama; they are a perpetually unrolling canvas, with new aspects of the scene constantly emerging. We photograph the scene one day, draw a blueprint of the main factors in the picture, try to determine what action we should take, if any. This decision might be called our "policy". Yet the next day, the picture may be importantly altered; new factors are injected; another blueprint must be drawn and perhaps a different decision taken. Indeed, by the very nature of things as they are, policy, as it is generally understood, cannot be a static equation. Our principles should be sound—our objectives should be sound. Hold firmly to these, and we cannot go far wrong.

And now, a word about that security organization. At Dumbarton Oaks we tried to lay a foundation upon which an effective and durable world structure for the maintenance of peace and security could be built, and we profoundly hope and trust it will be built as a result of the eventual United Nations conference. I shall not tonight try to describe the outline of the plan. That plan has been published far and wide, yet only a few days ago a friend said to me: "Why don't you publish the Dumbarton Oaks proposals?" and one of our respected writers and thinkers said to a member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation: "There is one big

flaw in your plan; it doesn't provide for so and so." Quite simply, he had not read the plan! My colleague merely pointed to the text. "There it is," he said. How many of our people read only the headlines in the press and without careful study presume to denounce the whole effort that has been made!

There are three points that I wish to stress concerning the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. First, we must profit from the errors of the past. The flaws and weaknesses of our past ineffective peace machinery must be overcome, as they will be overcome. All former efforts failed because they were superficial; they were like poultices prescribed for cancer—and you can't temporize with cancer.

Second, we must be prepared to make what in the past has been considered sacrifice. We and the other nations devoted to peace must be prepared to join our efforts and a part of our armed forces not only for the common good *but for the future security of our own Nation*. Is that too great a sacrifice to avoid the horrors of another world war. Can any sacrifice be too great?

Third, we must realize that whatever peace structure is erected will not satisfy everybody. Shall we scrap it because, in our view, it is not perfect? Today in the international field we face a situation not unlike that which confronted us in our national life in 1789, when the public criticism of, and dissatisfaction with, our own Constitution were wide-spread and bitter. Yet our Constitution was adopted, and it has grown and matured. It is still with us after 156 years. For the sake of everything we hold dear and for our as yet unborn generations, some effective international organization *must* be formed. Although it may not be possible at one stroke to devise or to gain universal acceptance by the peace-loving states of a perfect organization for keeping the peace and solving the problems of the world, whatever plan emerges from the United Nations conference *must* be made to work and to succeed. For the alternative is utter tragedy.

The ingenuity and will of men made possible the growth of this country under the Constitution. Only the ingenuity and will of men will today translate that better world of our dreams into the real world about us.

The problem will not be solved by blueprints or charts or little colored boxes with connecting lines. It will be solved, finally, in the hearts and minds

of us all. And that is precisely why I am encouraged. For I am convinced that the people have made clear their feelings. A lasting peace—a peace that will grant freedom and security and equal opportunity—a peace under which the peoples of the earth can stretch forth their arms, lift up their heads, and march forward as brothers—such a peace would answer the most fervent prayers of mankind.

Thus strengthened, those charged with the formulation of the peace go forward to the uttermost limit of their abilities.

## Endorsement of the French Import Program

[Released to the press January 16]

Following a series of discussions between M. Jean Monnet and Secretary of State Stettinius and other members of the Administration, M. Monnet has been informed that it is the belief of the Department of State that the import program of France should be considered in terms of its contribution toward bringing the full economic power of France to bear on the defeat of Germany.

The Government of the United States has endorsed the French import program for planning purposes and M. Monnet has been assured that the United States agencies concerned will cooperate with the French Supply Council in the urgent procurement of supplies so that they will be available for shipment. The shipping situation to date has been such that it has been impossible to provide for more than a small part of France's requirements, but an additional allocation of shipping for French civilian use has been made for the first three months of this year. The matter will be under constant study and it is hoped that allocations can be increased in March.

The War Shipping Administration has given assurance that in case of any ships assigned to carry cargo to France, French ships will be used to the maximum extent practicable. M. Monnet has been assured that the Department of State is anxious to give every practical assistance and is devoting its daily efforts to the best practical solution of the problems which M. Monnet has placed before it.

## Recommendation on Argentina's Request Concerning Her Relations With the American Republics

[Released to the press January 17]

The text of a letter sent by the Secretary of State to Pedro de Alba, Secretary of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union follows:

JANUARY 6, 1945.

MY DEAR DR. DE ALBA:

I desire to refer to your letter of October 30 transmitting a copy of a communication and accompanying memorandum addressed to the Chairman of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union by the Argentine representative, Señor don Rodolfo Garcia Arias. This communication requested, on behalf of the government of General Farrell, that a Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics be called "to consider the existing situation between the Argentine Republic and other American Republics."<sup>1</sup>

In the period that has elapsed since the communication was received by the Governing Board and transmitted to the American Republics, the Government of the United States has participated in a full exchange of views on the matter through ordinary diplomatic channels with the other Re-

publics. In this exchange it has been the desire of this Government, as it has been of all of the other participating Governments, to arrive at a decision acceptable to all.

Since the American Republics which are collaborating in the war effort are making arrangements by consultation through ordinary diplomatic channels to meet in the near future to discuss urgent war and post-war problems, an opportunity will be afforded to the representatives of those Republics to give joint personal consideration to the Argentine request. It is believed that such consideration offers the best assurance of a decision on the request of the government of General Farrell which will be consonant with the best interest of the Continent.

It is, therefore, the opinion of the Government of the United States that no action should be taken at this time by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union with respect to the request of the government of General Farrell.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.

## On Restoration of Liberties to Greece

### EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE AND THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press January 16]

The text of the message of the Prime Minister of Greece to the President of the United States follows:

In assuming the heavy task which my Government has undertaken I wish to express to you, Mr. President, and to the Government and people of the United States of America the profound gratitude of the Greek Government and people for the friendship and solicitude always displayed by your great country towards our sorely tried nation. In the defense of the liberties so recently restored to this ancient cradle of democracy and so dear to them the Greek people place their faith in the noble principles of the great American democracy and hope that in her effort to recon-

struct the ruins accumulated by the long enemy occupation of the country Greece will be able to rely on the full and so precious support of Your Excellency and the United States.

NICOLAS PLASTIRAS  
*Prime Minister*

The President sent the following telegram in reply to Prime Minister Plastiras:

JANUARY 15, 1945.

Thank you for your friendly message. I speak for the American people as well as for myself when I say that the recent tragic bloodshed in Greece has been a cause of profound sorrow. In assuming the leadership of the Greek Government

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 29, 1944, p. 498.

at this critical time you are faced with problems the solution of which is of great importance to the future of your country and the successful conclusion of the Allied struggle against a common enemy. I have been reassured by your recent statements that the cessation of hostilities will not be followed by reprisals but will be the prelude to

early decisions, by means of free democratic processes, on the vexed questions which led to civil strife. This Government, in collaboration with our Allies, stands ready to assist wherever practicable in the rehabilitation of your long suffering nation. I wish you all success in the patriotic duties you have undertaken.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

## Meeting of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee

### REMARKS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROCKEFELLER UPON ACCEPTING THE CHAIRMANSHIP<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 16]

**GENTLEMEN:** In accepting the Chairmanship of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, I do so with a full recognition of the responsibilities this Committee bears and with a deep appreciation of the large amount of excellent work which has already been done by the Committee.

I feel, too, added responsibility in succeeding my good friend, the Honorable Adolf A. Berle, Jr., who has contributed so much sound thought and hard work to an attempt to find solutions for the problems war has brought to the American republics. Mr. Berle has had a deep and abiding affection for and faith in the nations of this hemisphere, and now goes to his new post as Ambassador to Brazil.

The financial and economic problems of this hemisphere, due to war in Europe, were clearly foreseen by the Foreign Ministers of the 21 American republics as early as September 1939 when this Committee was created. They recognized the necessity of constant study of these problems and the formulation of ideas and plans which might strengthen the economic defense of the hemisphere and might prepare all the free nations of the Americas for economic warfare. They placed upon this Committee the duty of formulating policy proposals for the purpose of creating sound economic relationships between all of our republics during the war.

The nations of the world and particularly those of this hemisphere are so closely interrelated that

war in any part of the world creates financial and economic problems for all other nations, and as the war progresses these problems become more critical.

This global war is far from finished. No one can prophesy the time necessary to conquer Germany and Japan, but, omitting the time element completely, we can foresee with some clarity the intensification of our war efforts, both in Europe and in Asia, which will be necessary to destroy the military might of the Axis powers.

Thus it becomes necessary for the United Nations to concentrate increasingly on the manufacture of war materials and on the increased shipping necessary to carry men, planes, tanks, guns, food, and ammunition to the fighting fronts as well as food and materials to liberated nations which were left destitute by the enemy.

This means that food and consumer products of all kinds become constantly shorter in supply, and unless we on the home front control our supplies stringently and see that they are distributed fairly and at prices that are within reason, inflation becomes increasingly serious and we'll have the problems of critical deflation to deal with in the post-war period.

Both of these evils we must fight, and that is one of the problems of this Committee.

In the United States, through drastic and forceful action on the part of the Government, it has been possible to distribute the necessary commodities to the consumers on the home front at prices which have been controlled. It is only necessary to compare the prices of food during this war and the last war to realize what can be done to prevent

<sup>1</sup>Made at the Pan American Union at Washington on Jan. 16, 1945.

inflationary trends even under the pressure of global war.

Some of the countries in Central and South America have been able to control prices and prevent serious inflation, but in other countries prices on food and necessary commodities have risen from 50 to 400 percent during the war period.

The causes of inflation are numerous, being mainly the excess of exports over imports, the large sums of money in payment for critical war materials, the shortage of food and consumer goods for import, the shortage of shipping and lack of adequate controls for the distribution of available products, lack of adequate price ceilings on these products, and the failure to stamp out the black market.

A good many of the nations in this hemisphere have seen prices spiral upward menacingly. Other nations have shown that proper controls can effect remedies for this situation, proving that it is not too late to take the necessary action.

One of the first actions is to siphon off through government loans and war taxation much of the increased earnings and circulation of money within the country. Another action is the enforcement of definite price ceilings on essential articles. Essential articles must be distributed fairly to all the people. This requires an improvement of transportation facilities so that citizens in concentrated population areas receive food supplies as adequate to their needs as the citizens in producing sections. And, finally, in every country where it is possible, there must be put into effect a definite drive for an increase in food production and in the production of other essential consumer items.

Only by drastic methods can the deadly power of inflation be defeated so that in the post-war period the nations of the American Hemisphere can revert to peacetime economies in the most efficient and speedy fashion.

I would like to emphasize that in 1942 definite ceiling-price controls were put in effect on all United States exports in accordance with resolutions at the Rio de Janeiro conference, so that our friends might benefit by everything we were able to export to them without paying exorbitant prices. These ceiling prices were based on the ceiling prices of the articles in the United States, with a small premium allowed to induce their export, to which

was added a fair profit for the exporter and the cost of transportation.

In some countries of this hemisphere to which these commodities are sent, they are subject to speculation, or importers put an unfair profit on them, or the commodities are sold through a series of middlemen who add no service or value to them with the result that they are sold for from five to ten times their normal prices.

In nations where the government took control of these imports and refused to release them until a fair price was set and a fair distribution was assured, the commodities were made available to the people at prices which conformed to the ceiling export prices of the United States.

There were many examples of saving which resulted from efforts of the Office of Price Administration to maintain ceiling prices on United States exports. On a shipment of skins and fur coats to Brazil the price to the importer was reduced by OPA investigators 25 percent; \$5,000 was cut off as an excessive premium on a shipment of steel rails; \$3,000 was saved on a shipment of cold-rolled steel sheets to Chile through a reduction of packing charges; a shipment of lard amounting to 120,000 pounds was reduced by \$1,170 as OPA called attention to a duplicated item in a premium charge; the premium on a shipment of steel bands to Mexico was reduced from 50 percent to 12½ percent because the higher premium was excessive.

There are other serious problems which must be foreseen and prepared for in advance, because they cannot be avoided.

There is nothing constant about global war except change. The demands of the armed forces in 1942 are no longer the requirements of our fighting forces today. In the first half of 1942 we were fighting defensive warfare. Today we are on the offensive.

Revised plans, revised designs of planes, ships, tanks, landing boats, artillery, and ammunition have resulted.

Therefore, some of the critical materials of 1942 are in less demand today, and as these changes arise there are necessary changes in our contracts for materials. Some of the contracts are canceled and others increased.

These changes create unemployment or a need to transfer workers from one area to another. That may require Government assistance to work-

ers for a time or transfer of these workers into new projects where they can be employed.

As the war comes to an end, some of these contracts may be canceled, but many of the products will be as essential for peacetime commodities as they have been for weapons of war. Nevertheless, plans for reemployment, plans for transfer of workers, plans for carrying workers over the reconversion period, plans for the speedy development of new economic projects must be made to prevent unemployment wherever possible.

Careful and thoughtful consideration must be given to transportation. In many of the 21 American republics there is today a progressive deterioration of railroads. This is due to the tremendous burdens which the railroads have had to assume. Shipping is in critical shortage due to war demands. Trucks are wearing out. There is a lack of spare parts, a shortage of gasoline and tires. This adds an extra load on the railroads. Replacement parts for engines and cars and rights-of-way are difficult to obtain, and in addition there are severe manpower shortages which prevent the proper care of equipment.

The 90,000 miles of railroads in the 20 Central and South American nations have been required to carry the tremendous volume of critical materials needed by the United Nations for the war effort, a burden they were never expected to carry.

In certain cases of vital necessity, such as on a part of the Mexican National Railways, the 348-mile railroad operating in Brazil from the Itabira Iron Mines through the Rio Doce Valley to the Port of Victoria, and a mining railroad in Bolivia, reconstruction work has been done. Railway missions from this country have also gone to Ecuador and Colombia to aid in improving serious conditions.

The problem is critical and the equipment must be cared for in every possible way to preserve it and keep it in effective operation.

As we extend our fronts farther and farther from our war factories, our shipping problems become constantly more intense. Men are being sent to these far-flung battlefields by the hundreds of thousands, farther and farther from our shores, increasing the time element for the round voyage and increasing the volume of war material that must be transported. In addition to our tremendous armies in these war areas, the United States alone now has the greatest Navy in the world and

this too must be supplied by our Merchant Marine.

The intensification of air and mechanized warfare and naval warfare puts a constantly increased strain on our petroleum resources. Thus there can be no alleviation of the serious problem of our railroads until the war is won.

It is our objective in this Committee to assist the free nations of the Americas to full effort and cooperation in solving these most pressing matters of wartime transportation.

In war we talk of controls, governmental controls, because they are necessary to the accomplishment of war purposes. We must control prices, commodities, distribution, production. One of the vital problems facing our Committee, however, is to make plans which will permit the discontinuance of these controls as soon as war activities permit. Such controls in peacetime hamper the free normal trade and commerce, the access to raw materials, the manufacture of consumer goods, the production of food, and all the normal processes which lead to higher living standards and the prosperity of the nations individually and collectively.

We must plan moreover for new industries, for the manufacture of new products, for the manufacture of articles in countries best suited to making them.

One of the vital needs of this hemisphere after the war, as it will be a vital need of the world, is the freedom of all nations to obtain the necessary raw materials, to manufacture and produce the articles for which they have particular talents, and to sell their products throughout the world. One mistake of the past which we must scrupulously avoid in our plans is the development of industries which are not of themselves profitable and which must be protected behind high tariff barriers. The post-war world will require production such as has never before been dreamed of and there is opportunity for every nation to develop industries suited to its particular talents without attempting to indulge in fields of production for which adequate facilities are not available.

In many nations of Central and South America there are great undeveloped resources in land and in industry. Many of these nations require increased manpower for their proper development and that a sound, far-sighted immigration policy be developed before this war is over.

As all of us have discovered, there are varying types of immigrants. Some maintain loyalty through generations to the nation of their origin. Others quickly become a part of the nation of their choice, bring to it a love of freedom, a talent for mechanical production or agricultural skills which immediately make them a productive part of their new country. This latter class can perform a great service for several of the American nations and such nations can well plan now to invite through proper inducements the immigrants they would like to have.

There is financial responsibility involved in such a program. Some authorities consider that a thousand dollars a family is the minimum which should be allowed for immigrants, but increased production both in industry and in agriculture, the development of areas that are now undeveloped, the development of mines and natural resources will soon make such investments pay large dividends.

In the development of industry, mining, agriculture, hydroelectric power, new transportation facilities, shipping, and all the factors which the Americas will look to in the post-war period to increase the earning power and the living standards of their people, there will be investment funds available, both foreign and domestic. To attract these funds, however, safeguards and new rules of operation must be set up in all nations.

Finally, we must plan carefully and effectively to improve the basic economy of the people by intensifying and enlarging the health and sanitation programs which have been initiated in the American republics.

We must aid and encourage the food-production programs, extending this work of farm planning, crop production, rotation of crops, soil conservation and fertilization, and improvement of the breed of farm animals as well as their care, so that the people of all the nations of this hemisphere may have better food and become stronger and more vigorous. One vital element in this program is the education of all the people in this hemisphere on matters of nutrition and health and welfare.

We must encourage the extension of free education and encourage the people to take advantage of educational opportunities.

As serious as our problems are, let us always remember that we do not have to rebuild and rehabilitate our cities and farms as will be the case

in Europe. We have much to start with, and by our unified effort we can accomplish great results.

This work involving problems of great complexity, requiring patient thought and constant attention can be done by no one group or no one nation. What affects any American nation benefits the American Hemisphere. What harms any American nation harms the American Hemisphere. In union there is power, and together by using the Commissions of Inter-American Development, by working through our own Committee, and by working with and through the existing private and government organizations in each of the American republics, we have the opportunity and the obligation to develop within the American Hemisphere a community of nations which will be prosperous, strong, and productive. We can have a community of nations whose people enjoy the advantages of high earnings, high living standards, education, and their continued and everlasting freedom.

## Maintenance of the Economies Of the Liberated Countries

### JOINT STATEMENT BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE BRITISH EMBASSY

[Released to the press January 15]

Richard Law, British Minister of State, left Washington January 14. He had had a series of discussions with the Secretary of State and other prominent members of the administration on the economic problems arising out of the liberation of large parts of Europe.

The main subject of discussion has been how to maintain the economies of the liberated countries so that they may become an effective advance base for the operations of our armies against Germany. Both the United States and the United Kingdom Governments were from the outset fully agreed on the importance of this objective, but in achieving it difficult shipping problems have to be faced.

As a result of the conversations, it has been possible for the two Governments to establish the dimensions of the problem and to agree upon interim measures which will increase the regular flow of supplies to liberated Europe and enable the governments of the European countries, as soon as conditions in each case permit, to have national import programs of their own.

# People-to-People Relations Among the American Republics

Address by PIERRE DE L. BOAL<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 18]

## Understanding Between Peoples

Let me begin by saying that I bring you the greetings of the Secretary of State and that one of your distinguished fellow New Yorkers, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, has asked me to convey his greetings to you also.

It is particularly encouraging to note that the interest of so many superintendents, principals, and teachers of the city of New York in our foreign relations has given me this opportunity to bring my grain of sand of experience to you today to help, if I can, in your work of constructing a solid bridge of understanding between the peoples of this hemisphere.

It is not surprising, however, for I am not unaware of the fine work that you have already done to further this understanding. I have had some experience with your enlightened initiative of offering college scholarships to Latin American students—a project fostered by your mayor for a number of years. I have heard, for instance, to mention only two of many, of the fine work of Dr. Hine at the James Monroe High School in the Bronx and of Mr. Levine at a school in East Harlem with a large Puerto Rican enrolment. I have read the thoughtful paper of your own Dr. James Marshall as well as the papers of other New York educators in a book which you have doubtless read called *Approaches to World Peace*.

Right here in your own area it is obvious that the relations between New York City, Hoboken, and Jersey City depend less on the attitudes of the mayors of those cities toward each other than on the attitude of the populations of those cities toward each other.

You have discovered, through your own experience, that a basic understanding between the

peoples and races of the world, as represented here within your city, is necessary if the causes of conflict which produce violence are to be identified and prevented. The same experience reveals the same condition even more convincingly in the relations between the peoples of the world, for in the world there is as yet no over-all, organized means of protecting international order. Such a means is being devised and created. What was begun at Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks is a practical attempt based on the present degree of understanding between the peoples of the world with which we are not at war. What has been achieved there must be ratified—nailed down as a foundation for further achievement as experience and the development of understanding make this possible. To develop through experience, it must have the support of a wider and more realistic and tolerant understanding between those peoples. The common object of those peoples must be to erect a framework of world order which, after this long war is over, even the enemy peoples can discover to be not only strong but just.

## The Inter-American System

You are doubtless familiar with the inter-American system which traces its origins to Bolívar, Henry Clay, and James G. Blaine and has received impulsion and growing reality and effectiveness from the statesmen of all of the American republics since 1889. Since 1933, President Roosevelt, for our country, has encouraged and furthered the development of the inter-American system with every means at his disposal.

It is a completely mutual system, springing from the community of ideal and purpose of the American republics. It is designed to improve the relations between all of the American peoples, not just between the Latin Americans on the one hand and the Americans of the United States on the other.

The system was evolved and put into the form of agreements and resolutions at a series of inter-

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the staff of the New York City Schools on Jan. 18, 1945. Mr. Boal is a Foreign Service officer, formerly American Ambassador to Bolivia, and is at present assigned to the Office of American Republic Affairs, Department of State.



American conferences which have taken place every few years since the end of the last century. One of the principal instruments of inter-American understanding is a permanent organization, the Pan American Union. The Pan American Union belongs to all of the American republics and acts for all of them.

Besides those of the Pan American Union there are a number of other inter-American committees and bodies of a continuing nature whose purpose it is to develop understanding and good practical relationships at all levels and in all fields of endeavor. The conferences themselves have dealt with practically all of the subjects on which there is contact between the American republics. Many of their agreements were made to secure the defense of the hemisphere against outside aggression and interference designed to destroy democracy. Others have set up methods for eliminating conflicts at their origin and for preventing conflicts that had already developed from turning into wars. The inter-American juridical committee, for instance, is trying to consolidate all the inter-American peace agreements into one treaty and to suggest improvements to that.

Beyond that, positive means have been sought to establish exchange of thought, information, and of knowledge of ways of life between the peoples of the American republics. This effort exists not only in the cultural but in the social fields. Of course, cultural and social problems overlap and intermingle not only between themselves but with economic and psychological problems, and the product of all four becomes what we call political problems.

There are outstanding political problems. I might devote all my time before you to discussing them, but this would be to discuss effects and not causes. I am sure you are deeply interested in the prevention of war, and, therefore, I think our interest meets on causes rather than on effects. Therefore, while I will mention some effects, I will devote most of my time to indications of what the causes may be and of how to get at these causes.

The present inter-American system is based on agreements freely reached between nations treating as equals. Each nation's decision issued from conviction and consent. This means that an action applicable to all the American republics cannot be reached, for instance, if the people of the United States, or of Costa Rica, or Uruguay do not under-

stand the reasons advanced by the other peoples of the hemisphere.

It means more than this. It means that the peoples of all the American nations must trust each other and believe in each other's sincerity. Without such confidence progress is impossible. It is because such confidence has been developed over a period of many years that there has been more teamwork between peoples of this hemisphere in recent years than between any of the other peoples of the world, excepting perhaps between some of the peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations and between them and the United States. I am thinking particularly of our relations with Canada.

In Latin America, through the operation of the inter-American system, many causes of war, such as boundary disputes, have been prevented from resulting in war. Some settlements have left resentments. These need to be tempered through the development of understanding between the peoples concerned. Treaty and other relations between peoples cannot remain static without danger to peace. There must be a dynamic willingness in all human relations to adjust to change and to remedy intolerable conditions. This must be done, internationally, through the mutual understanding and resulting willingness of both parties concerned.

One implication of the "unanimous" method of the inter-American system is that no country shall interfere in the internal affairs of another. The American republics are all committed to this principle by treaty. It automatically outlaws war as a method of settlement between them. Therefore, if a subsisting cause of conflict is to be adjusted, this must be done through the development of understanding between the peoples concerned so that their governments may make an adjustment.

All causes of conflict are not purely material. In fact very few are. For many years Latin America feared "domination" by the United States. To them this spelled "danger". We might recall that the word *danger* derives from the Latin "*dominarius*"—domination, as Dr. Adolf Meyer of Johns Hopkins Hospital has pointed out. We must try to be helpful to the peoples of the other American republics and seek their help for ourselves, but we must never adopt the self-righteous, interfering, intolerant attitudes popularly attributed to a mother-in-law.

### Culture, Way of Life, and Cooperation in the Americas

We speak of Latin America as distinct from the United States and Canada. This term *Latin America* is convenient, but I am not sure that it is accurate.

The cultural influence coming from overseas to the lands south of the Rio Grande has been predominantly Latin, because the conquerors and administrators of that vast area were largely Spanish, or Portuguese, or French. However, in those lands the people who undertook the original aggression against the Indian population of the land did not resort generally to the method of exterminating the Indians. This was partly due to the extensive influence of a Church which wanted converts and partly due to the different ways of life and characteristics of the Indians themselves which permitted them to work for their conquerors.

Within what we call Latin America there are great bodies of Indian peoples, many millions of them, whose basic characteristics, ways of life, and thought have permeated their nations and who are not Latin but Indian.

In Mexico, where the Indian has always been creative, curious, and inventive with his hands, he has become politically habilitated and takes now a dominant part in the life of his country.

In Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, and to some extent in Paraguay and much less in Brazil, the Indian population and its pattern of life have remained intact. In the first five countries named there has been some mixture, but a great part of the population remains practically pure Indian. That Indian, although in some places his participation in the government of his country is increasing, has by no means become fully habilitated and integrated for political purposes.

When you get to Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile, you find not only that the pure Indian has almost disappeared, but that the European stock is predominant and European culture and ways of life are little affected by Indian tradition.

Thus, within the framework of the Latin American nations, you find side by side with a strong European way of life a strong Indian way of life. This leads to the conclusion, since Dr. Wade has asked me to mention conclusions, that to establish a comprehensive understanding between our people and the peoples of Latin America we need to arrive

at mutual understanding not only with people of European origins but with the Indian civilizations. It will help us and them if you include in your studies the study of Indian ways of life as they exist in Latin America.

When we talk of ways of life we imply the structure of family life and the cultural life of the people. The way of life of the families in Latin America is apt to be either Indian, Spanish, or Portuguese, although in some smaller areas it is French, or Dutch, or Anglo-Saxon. The cultural way of life, however, corresponds largely to French influence, although it was originally Spanish or Portuguese. To a lesser degree German and Italian cultures have made their way. Among the Indians, Indian culture persists.

The Mecca for the Latin American intellectual and professional during the last century was Paris. And the French, with their broad interest in humanism, imparted a great deal of their literary and philosophical tradition of thought and initiative to the peoples of Latin America. For instance, Rubén Darío, the great Nicaraguan poet and author, derived much of his inspiration from France, although he was also a fervent admirer of Walt Whitman. Although there are not a great many French people in Latin America, until recently at least, knowledge of the French language was more extensive than knowledge of English.

Sometimes we tend to think of American culture or Anglo-Saxon culture as being very different from Latin culture. As a matter of fact, it seems to me that both cultures go back to the same distant main origins of Greece and Rome and then come down by somewhat different routes to the United States and to Latin America.

Actually the differences are not nearly as great as we think they are. Differences of language and form have served to make them seem greater than they are. They are more matters of development than they are basic. The laws in Latin America come largely from Rome and Spain and the Napoleonic Code, whereas ours come largely from England. But both aspire to protect the rights of the individual, as such. We share the same admiration for the same schools of painting and sculpture and music and literature. There is more similarity than difference in our point of view on arts and letters.

We have often tended to emphasize the visible differences between the peoples north and south

of the Rio Grande; differences of dress and custom, of climate and products are stressed in this country as they are in Latin America. This is doubtless necessary, because if you are going to attract somebody's attention you have to do it through making what you present picturesque and romantic. I hope we are reaching the point where we can go on from there to interest people in the likenesses as well as the differences. For the purposes of this talk I do have to talk about differences, some of them more apparent than real, as well as about likenesses.

One of the things that I observed while living in Latin America was that most of the statesmen, the members of congress, the cabinet officers, the diplomats and foreign ministers are deeply interested in literature and philosophy. A high proportion of them are authors. Very often they are poets. Our own people are great readers, but perhaps not so many of them write poetry.

If the qualifications of a foreign minister were being passed on in a Latin American country, it is quite possible that the question asked would not be "Why is he a poet?" but "Why isn't he a poet?"

This leads to a conclusion. When you see among your students someone who is interested in creative thought and its expression, can you not think of him as someone who would be especially qualified to deal with Latin Americans? Can you not encourage his interest toward the peoples of the other American republics?

I am not prepared to admit that the literary mind is necessarily less practical than any other. I have never met more astute bargainers anywhere than among the poetic statesmen of Latin America.

Sometimes we tend to consider the flow of tourists between our country and the other American republics as unimportant or even harmful. My observation does not support this idea. Where our tourists have been most numerous, as in Mexico for instance, in spite of petty frictions there has been a rapid increase of understanding. The same can be said with regard to Latin Americans coming to this country.

Businessmen, especially when they settle for a long time in the country, tend to acquire an intimacy of knowledge with the people of the country which can be extraordinarily helpful. Our Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs very wisely formed committees of American residents,

businessmen, and teachers in each of the American republics, and, by and large, the experience of those people in how to be compatible with the people of the country was of the greatest assistance. However, it is to be hoped that in the future the businessmen of the Americas can get to understand each other by studying together in their formative years. That would really make for compatibility. One of the most effective ways of creating compatibility between individuals of two countries is to bring them together for an objective purpose, such as the acquisition of knowledge or training. The governments of the American republics, as well as their institutions of learning and their municipalities, have of recent years made an effort to intensify the exchange of students and teachers. In my opinion, this should be multiplied many fold as quickly as possible.

Anything that can be done on a practical basis to develop exchange of persons, particularly of teachers and students, and the exchange of information and of books and periodicals between the peoples of this hemisphere is of basic importance. Dr. Marshall, with many other leaders, has been working toward an international organization in the field of education for this purpose on a world-wide basis, and I hope that this effort will be successful and will have the wide support of our own people. I hope, furthermore, that all of our people who are especially qualified for work in our future cooperation with Latin America can be found and placed on a roster of availability for use when possible.

One of the things I was able to observe in Latin America was the effect of craftsmanship on good citizenship. I lived for some days with a miner and his family at a Bolivian mine. The community was situated on a steep slope surrounded by forest. Uncut timber was readily available. The houses were built in rows on terraces dug into the hillside about six feet above each other. They were made of split logs planted vertically and roofed with galvanized-iron sheets. The chinks were filled with a mud compound, and sometimes the walls of the rooms were plastered. Some of the houses had cement floors, but most of them had dirt floors.

Some of the miners said that they were worried because their small children were apt to fall off the five- or six-foot retaining walls from one level to another. They wished the company carpenters

would put up a fence. I said, "You have wood here; why don't you cut it and put up your own fence?" They looked at me in amazement and said they did not know how, and furthermore they had no tools. One of them complained that a shelf in his house was falling down and it might be months before the company carpenter got around to putting it up again with a couple of screws. I asked him why he did not put it up himself. It developed that not only did he have no screws and no screwdriver, but he didn't know how to put up a shelf.

Now, it was interesting to note that these same Indians weave excellent cloth and blankets containing intricate designs. Weaving is a traditional occupation. One or two families in a village have learned, from father to son over thousands of years, how to make the instruments of weaving, and others have carried on the craft. These same Indians, taken to a vocational school, show initiative and ingenuity. But the pattern of their community is such that they rarely try anything new while they are in the community.

The Indians had few sports, as we understand the term. Sports are being widely introduced, particularly soccer football. They enjoy it, and it is developing many qualities in them which would otherwise remain latent.

At this mine which I mentioned, there was a school for the children. The school-teacher and his wife and baby lived in one makeshift room adjacent to the classroom. The school would only accommodate about a third of the number of the mine children, so two thirds were doomed to grow up illiterate. The teaching in the school, as in many parts of Latin America, was done largely from a blackboard, without textbooks, because textbooks are rare and expensive. The teacher, besides the imparting of rudimentary literacy to all the students, had taught a few to do advanced algebra or recite verses which they did not understand. These were the exhibits who were trotted out whenever there was a visitor. But there was no provision at all for teaching anyone the use of a saw, plane, hammer, chisel, or screwdriver, or how to heat and shape metal at a forge. So this community had gone on from generation to generation without learning how to do anything new with their hands excepting dig with a pick and shovel or, in some instances, run a pneumatic drill.

The teacher, however, had the initiative to start some night classes for adult education. One of the most interesting things was to see that these classes were attended by a great many more women than men. But no training in cooking, hygiene, or the care of children was provided.

There was no indication that one third of the rising generation in this community, with its smattering of literacy, would ever make much progress toward becoming citizens able to participate in the political life of the country or able to understand international life and issues. In the first place, the chances of their ever being able to buy and read books or periodicals was small. They are too costly and not readily available.

In the big cities there are some libraries, which usually do not lend out books. The Indian, even when literate, has practically no access to books.

It is feasible to run lending libraries in Latin American countries which need them. We can be helpful by sharing our experience in the training of librarians.

It was my good fortune to share in the founding of American libraries in Mexico and Nicaragua. They were staffed by librarians trained in the United States and proficient in Spanish. Given the facilities, these can train more librarians in their libraries so that more national libraries can be opened in those countries. While many of the books in these libraries are in Spanish, English is taught in them so that our books and periodicals may be as useful as possible. This is particularly helpful to medical and other professional students, who can thus use the technical books and periodicals brought in by the library. Moving pictures are shown at the libraries. There is room in them for art exhibits. In fact, they grew naturally into cultural centers, conducted for and with the people of the country who participate in their operation. Thus they are not propaganda offices but objective, broad centers of learning and exchange of thought.

While in Bolivia, knowing how successful our other libraries in Latin America had been, I sought to get one established in that country. Our Government's share of the cost was estimated at about \$20,000 with an annual contribution to running costs of \$4,000 or \$5,000 a year. But no funds were available. So one of the main ways of developing understanding with a people supplying us with vital rubber and other critical materials was blocked.

If the understanding of our Latin American neighbors is to undergird a mutual effort to prevent the causes of another war, it would be cheap, very cheap, for us to cooperate with them in libraries like this in every one of their countries and in the establishment of library-cultural centers from every one of their countries in the United States.

If our librarian from Nicaragua could come here and talk of his experiences he could tell you, far better than I can, how practically useful to the peace and unity of this hemisphere such libraries can be. When you, the teachers of our people, examine with them and with their representatives and their State Department what can be done to further understanding between the peoples of this hemisphere—please remember libraries.

I was able further to observe at the mine I mentioned that the few craftsmen of the community, the carpenters, the baker, the mechanics, had rapidly acquired literacy and an interest in reading. In some way the mental effort of developing the skill of their hands had opened the road to education.

Here was a place where a vocational school was urgently called for.

In general, in many Latin American countries, particularly those where the Indian predominates or where standards of living are relatively low, there is a great place for our cooperation in the development of vocational schools. Our help would be welcome.

While we can contribute with our own experience in vocational training, we have to realize that a teacher must learn before he can teach. He must have a good command of the language, must understand the customs, the needs, and the specific local objectives to be served. Most of the countries (and I may say that each one has its own particular problem; no two are really alike), most of the countries profit from vocational training in agricultural methods, provided the teachers themselves are fully aware of the limitations and special conditions of agriculture in those countries. Most of the countries would be better members of the community of nations of this hemisphere if they were more nearly self-supporting and if they had small industries.

One of the things we did in Bolivia was to translate locally an American textbook on carpentry and another on sheet-metal work into Spanish,

changing all measures in the text and illustrations from feet and inches to metric measures. This was for the vocational schools in La Paz, which were definitely hampered in trying to teach practical carpentry from a blackboard without textbooks, drawings, or sufficient mechanical equipment.

It may be significant that the children of the educated classes are reluctant to learn to make things with their hands. The families of Spanish tradition look upon it as demeaning. Their attitude is a little like the attitude of some of our people toward performing domestic service for pay. It recalls a Chinese friend of mine who was a butler. One day I discovered he was also a mandarin. I asked him whether he didn't mind being a servant. "Not at all," he replied, "the kind of work I do to earn my living does not change who I am. However, I should lose face if I did not do my butler's work competently."

The attitude toward craftsmanship is changing among the educated classes in Latin America. It would change more rapidly if even in the few American schools in Latin America the children were led into carpentry, for instance, by making objects of prestige such as airplane and ship models.

In La Paz there is an American school and a German school. They are side by side. Almost all their pupils are Bolivian. I am sorry to say that the German school is a more efficient educational institution, although the American school has gotten some help from the Coordinator and the State Department and is improving. Incidentally, the German school teaches English more thoroughly than the American school. It also inculcates admiration for Germany and Nazism. English is taught so that the graduates can defend and extend that ideology.

In Bolivia I observed there was no factory to make window glass or gasoline and oil drums or to dry and cut timber to standard lengths. Windows and doors were shaped by Indians with a chisel. There was no shaping machine. The result was very poor windows and doors, produced at high cost and with undue use of manpower that could have been employed to better advantage.

I frequently visited the Indian communities on the high plateau between the ranges of the Andes in Bolivia. They stem from an ancient civilization. Villamil de Rada, a Bolivian student of the origin of words, claimed that the forbears of the

Greeks were Bolivian Aymará Indians who reached the Eastern Hemisphere via the continent or islands of the lost Atlantis. He claimed Olympus was a corruption of Illiampu, the name of the great mountain, 23,000 feet high, which towers over his home town of Sorata near the high plateau of Bolivia. He claimed that the Garden of Eden was at Sorata and that Adam and Eve were the first Aymará Indians. I can't comment on this. On the plateau, at about 13,000 feet, these communities are mostly within a reasonable distance of Lake Titicaca, the biggest lake in Latin America, comparable in size to one of our Great Lakes. I found the Indians carrying their drinking and washing water daily for miles in old gasoline cans. The water table of the plateau averages something like 30 feet below the surface. There is a constant wind. Each of those communities could have its drinking, washing, and laundry water readily accessible by drilling a well and putting up a pump run by a windmill. One or two big farms or haciendas have done so, but the communities themselves go on carrying water from some lake or stream. If we could cooperate with the Government and the Indian communities to provide the equipment and drilling machinery and a few technicians, the Indian would not only have greater hygienic facilities but he could water more livestock. Maybe this is a sort of quixotic idea, a sort of tilting at windmills, but I think it would be worth trying.

Down in the Amazonian-jungle part of Bolivia which is utterly tropical, there is a nutritional problem. There isn't enough food of high vitamin content. Up on the high plateau they grow a fine grain called *quinua* which is high in vitamin content, but, because of transportation difficulties and lack of organization, very little of it ever gets to the tropics. It keeps well, and a little organization and financial assistance coupled with development of communications, which is necessary and urgent for other reasons as well, would make it possible to introduce *quinua* in the tropics, particularly, for a time at least, for the free provision of breakfasts in the schools.

Unhygienic conditions produce typhus in the highlands and malaria, hookworm, and tropical ulcers in the tropics. In Nicaragua, the agricultural and coffee workers are devitalized by hookworm and malaria. In this naturally rich country many are unnaturally poor. A sick man can't

work much, and most of the workers are sick all their short lives.

The health brigades sent out by the Coordinator to work with and for the ministries of health have done fine work. But they need more personnel, more funds, more teachers of public health, hygiene, and nursing. They need closer integration with other cooperative efforts, not only educational but industrial. To combat hookworm you need to provide very cheap shoes. A child who consistently wears shoes usually doesn't get hookworm.

At the Misiones Indian School on the Chaparé River in tropical Bolivia I found malaria prevalent. We slept in hammocks under nets, but the mosquitoes came up from under the split-reed floor. They bred in the dark, damp space about three feet high below the floor, which is left to take care of flood water. I suggested that, as a temporary measure, when the river launches emptied their crankcases the teachers might ask for the oil and spread it under their houses to discourage mosquito breeding. They thought this would be a good idea, but I doubt if it was carried out. A Bolivian simply trained in public health by our doctors could do wonders if he stayed at Misiones for six months.

Incidentally, the Yuracara Indians at this remote riverside school can rarely count beyond 10, and give their children the full names of such distinguished contemporary Bolivians as they hear mentioned, without adding a family name of their own. They are a civilized tribe which lives in mortal fear of the wild Siriano Indians roaming the nearby jungle. They are an amiable people, and the parents serve on a school board with the teachers and take a deep interest in the education of their children. They are less different from us than you might think.

Making communications is being undertaken in a joint Bolivian-American Development Corporation; two main highways designed to bring meat and oil from the lowlands to the populous highlands are under construction. The work is slow. There are not enough technicians and not enough mechanical equipment. Even if we had to defer building some roads of non-military importance in the United States for a time it would probably pay us in the long run to give more determined assistance to the construction of these communica-

tions, which are vital to the integration of the Bolivian people.

Right now they are extremely dependent on their neighbors for certain kinds of food and other supplies which they have in their own country but can't reach. It never helps relations between peoples to have one people placed at the mercy of a neighbor, especially when there is a potential danger that that dependence may be used for political or economic leverage.

There are several normal schools in Bolivia. One of them, for training Indians who are to be teachers in the Indian schools on the high plateau, is housed in a group of good small concrete buildings. The work is conscientious and good. The place looks modern. The director of the school took me proudly to the spring from which the school got its water. One of our health officers accompanied me. The principal handed us each a glass of water. I drank mine but my companion didn't drink his. I looked up and saw that the water came out of the hill just below some native buildings and could readily be supposed to be contaminated. I learned that the normal school had no instruction in hygiene. I also observed that although they had their own vegetable gardens they had no work on nutrition or, for the women teachers, on the care of infants and children. How helpful it would have been if our health cooperation could have been extended to bring trained men or women into the school to teach hygiene, nutrition, cooking, and the care of infants and children. Each of the students would soon have in his or her hands the welfare and education of several hundred Indian children. Therefore, elementary knowledge and training now lacking could have been spread as far as possible through more complete instruction in the normal school.

The school is next to a town which has no dispensary of any description. A cooperative effort between a doctor and a small dispensary in the town and the students at the school would provide elementary first-aid, public-health, and hygiene training for all their future teachers.

Near Lake Titicaca there is a Baptist mission which has run a school and developed an agricultural community for over 20 years. The Indians are all literate. They no longer chew coca. Their houses are well built, warm, and dry. They make and use furniture. Each family owns its own land.

More and better crops are grown than in the neighboring villages. They have an interest in their government. It is a complete object-lesson of what one or two teachers can accomplish if they settle down permanently to try.

Our effort at full cooperation with the peoples of Latin America is very recent. Because of war conditions and for other reasons people sent to carry out that cooperation in the fields of health and education have been inclined to consider their assignments as short-term, a year or two in which to do what they could do. Most of that time has been devoted to learning the language, working out administrative problems, and waiting for supplies. It would seem to me that our programs for cooperation should be based on the idea that our personnel should expect to stay and live in the communities to which they are sent for at least 5 or 10 years. Exchange professorships of course have to be for shorter terms.

I note, for instance, that where the Maryknoll Order of American priests has sent missionary priests to Amazonian regions of South America, at the invitation of the local clergy, to assume parishes not otherwise provided for, they go with the expectation of spending the rest of their lives there. This produces a mental attitude toward the work which is different from that produced in the transient. It also produces a much better state of mind toward them among the people who are to accept them. These priests are not only a positive means of assistance, they are also successful, although that may not be their main purpose, in bringing understanding of our country to other countries and providing to us a means of learning about other peoples.

Every country has its own ideas about education and its own ways of developing them. In some countries, for instance, schools for conscripts are maintained in the army. This education under military auspices is looked upon as one of the most effective means of reducing illiteracy. Whatever the system, the authorities and the people usually have some pride in it. In our cooperation on educational matters, therefore, we need to approach with an open mind and without any thought of imposing any particular pattern or content of education. All we can do is offer the fruits of our experience in surroundings which we admit to be different. We can make available some specialized training and some material facilities, but these

must be fitted into what the people and the administrators of the country want without our attempting to impose what we think is good for them whether they like it or not.

If, for instance, we find that they want to increase their schedules of vocational education, we may be able to provide technicians not only to teach students to become craftsmen but to teach local teachers to become vocational teachers. It must be up to the people of the country, however, to determine what vocations they want taught.

It often seems easier to bring normal-school graduates to this country for training. This doesn't always work out as well as we might expect. In the first place the number that can be taught in this way is proportionately more costly, and transportation is limited. One American teacher who has familiarized himself with the surroundings and needs and objectives of another country can annually habilitate 20 or 30 student-teachers to become teachers. It may be that some of these, if not all of them, would benefit from a further course in the United States, but it is so important that the source of their instruction should be familiar with their local conditions that I think it is more useful for an American technical teacher in craftsmanship, for instance, to work in a foreign country than it is to bring the students for that instruction to this country.

### Contact and Compatibility

Sometimes we hear it said that our relations with Latin America are deteriorating. Usually this is attributed toward what is rather vaguely called "policy" or "lack" of it.

Let me express what seems to me to have been happening. Up to the time of the beginning of this war the development of our compatibility with the other American republics, achieved largely through the development of the inter-American system, roughly corresponded to the gradual increase of contact between our people and the people of those countries. When the war came it intensified some of our contacts with Latin America and discouraged others. We became almost the only buyers of the produce of some of the countries. We became almost the only source of machinery and equipment. The flow of tourists to and from Latin America dropped off sharply.

As the only buyers of many products, the prices

for these were set without the influence of competition. This sometimes put us in an arbitrary light even though we tried to be fair and also tried to help develop the industries from which we were buying, not only for the critical needs of a long war but so that they might be viable after that war.

War needs made it necessary for us to ration our exports to Latin America. While our reasons for priority restriction are understood, while it is generally realized that what we can't send to Latin America goes to defend the whole hemisphere, a man who could afford to buy a truck but can't get one to take his crop to the market nevertheless feels thwarted. A newspaper editor weighing his 4-page daily in one hand and one of our 20-page newspapers in the other may feel some sense of frustration even though shipping and newsprint shortages are explained.

Latin American businessmen, administrators, and agriculturalists have had to come to our American representatives as suppliants. One asks, "Can't I get a motor for my flour mill to feed our people?" Another says, "My costs of production have gone up because the scarcity of import has raised the cost of living and of production. Can't you pay more for my product?"

Sometimes our people have had to say "no"; sometimes there have been long delays. Our representatives haven't liked refusing any more than the Latin American has enjoyed asking. The very fact that he has had to do more of the asking, however, has been adverse to the development of compatibility, and so most of our recent contacts have been on a rather one-sided business basis without sufficient accompanying non-business contacts, such as those of tourists, students, and teachers. Books and magazines and technical periodicals are not widely enough exchanged to have a sufficient counteracting influence either in Latin America or here.

### Material Cooperation

To put it briefly, contact has outstripped compatibility.

Just as we cannot achieve reciprocal understanding in the way peoples think of each other by material means alone, neither can we achieve a community of feeling only through non-material means by cooperating only on cultural matters with the other American republics. We must recognize



that in our time of need they have cooperated materially with us; great quantities of critical materials of war and of food, including products such as coffee and sugar, have come to us from them. At our behest they have tried to stimulate production of what we need most.

There is still a long war ahead of us, and we will still need their help as they need ours, but many of them are concerned about what will happen when the war does end. Will we go back to buying tin and rubber and copper and many other products where they are cheapest regardless of other considerations? Will the end of the war bring a decline of purchases by the United States of Latin American products on which production was intensified and for which no exportable alternatives have been developed? After the close drawing together in the interest of wartime economics will there be a post-war period of indifference on the part of our people toward theirs?

These questions leave a responsibility on the American people. A sudden withdrawal from material cooperation and foreign purchases would probably result in many economic collapses in Latin America, in a bitter feeling that the greatest democracy has shown them that democracy will not help them, in a flight in some places toward other ideologies. It is conceivable that, after a great war to destroy the Nazi-Fascist menace, inattention and indifference on our part might cause it to be reborn amid the 125 million people to the south of us.

Indifference on the part of our people, the source of our Government's authority for the extent and character of its foreign relations, has fostered causes of war in the past. It can do so in the future.

To ward off a future war we must keep our friends. More than that, to keep our prosperity we must keep our friends. You cannot sell anything to a man who cannot pay you. A man cannot buy from you unless you are willing to buy from him or to buy from somebody who bought from him. If you expect to sell a windmill pump to a Bolivian Indian with the thought that some day it will cause him to buy a bathtub as well, you must let him sell you some of the metals with which you make the pump and the bathtub. Otherwise, he has nothing to pay you with. You stop his progress and you stop your own.

It is just as dangerous for us to be indifferent to the standard of living of a Bolivian tin miner

or a Nicaraguan coffee worker as to our own. The subject is complex. Increases in wages alone, essential though they may be, are not enough to raise the standard much. The Bolivian Indian tin miner is basically an agriculturalist. He doesn't enjoy digging underground any more than you and I would. Why does he do it? He usually owns a little plot of land many miles away from the mine.

Under his primitive conditions he can't fill his basic needs only by working on his plot of land. These needs exclude books because he can't read. They exclude movies because there are none. They exclude furniture which he has never used. They come down to simple clothing, food, coca leaf to chew, *chicha*, the mild native corn wine, and keeping up with the Joneses. His main delight is to give a big party to maintain his social standing in the village. He also enjoys having some leisure. To get a tolerable proportion of these simple needs he will work six or eight months yearly in a mine.

His needs should be increased along with his wages if he is to progress.

One mine owner founded a rest home to which he brought 200 of his mine children every month. Nuns taught them for 30 days to wash, to sleep in beds, to eat good and varied food. I asked him what he was trying to do.

"I am trying to make these children discontented," he said. "I want them to complain when they go back to their shacks at the mine, to want furniture and better food and housing and bathrooms. At the mine, as they begin to work I can then give them better wages and they will buy these things with them and will become better, healthier workers and better citizens instead of hiking off to the hills every six months to give fiestas."

There are other ways. More educational opportunities are among them.

#### Our National Security Depends on Our Foreign Relations

The inter-American system and our own effort to implement the good-neighbor policy have been remarkably productive considering the relatively small outlay of personnel and money we have made—small, that is, in comparison to the need and the opportunity.

Dr. Sorokin of Harvard expresses the idea that when the ideas and the things taken for granted

by various peoples diverge rapidly—develop along different lines—and at the same time they have more to do with each other than they used to, the stage is set for trouble.

The remedy seems to be: Bring such peoples to understand, to moderate, and, therefore, to tolerate each other's points of view. This is compatibility.

Without it international relations are an armaments race.

War is part of foreign relations as bankruptcy is part of finance. Could a firm prevent bankruptcy by disregarding finance?

Our national defense depends on our foreign relations. Our foreign relations depend on the state of mind of other peoples toward ours and of ours toward them. Our foreign relations are our first line of defense. Its bulwarks are far beyond our shores, in the minds and hearts of other peoples; its arsenals are in our own.

A generation more numerous than the present generation of military age in the United States has been educated to believe that their welfare depends on recourse to force.

If another war develops after this one we may have no time for preparation. We may be attacked overnight right here in our cities and on our roads, railways, and airports by missiles we can't even hear before they strike.

We must maintain military readiness for such a possibility until international means of preventing war are big and strong and efficient enough to be sure-fire. But our armed forces alone will be of no avail if we do not work, all of us, on the prevention of the causes of war as a matter of national defense.

You, the teachers, hold the key to the minds of our people. War can be prevented by the development of understanding and opinion throughout the world, just as slavery was reduced. It is not, however, pacifist, negative, anti-war indoctrination that we need. It is a dynamic effort for practical understanding between peoples which will lead to eliminating the mental and material causes of war.

Can you, the teachers, make it clear that all our means of war prevention through the conduct of our foreign relations should be treated as part of our national defense? that some slight sacrifice by everyone to achieve the prevention of war is well worthwhile?

Can you point out that this war costs our people 250 million dollars a day and that all our peace-

time foreign-relations work has never cost them as much as 100 millions a year—less than the cost of half a day of war?

The old concept of "How cheaply can we carry on a minimum of foreign-relations work?" needs to be changed to "How much do we need to carry on our foreign-relations work as fully and as effectively as possible?"

The development of people-to-people relationships is vitally important to our own welfare as well as to that of our neighbors. Since our population is larger than that of all the other American republics put together, our country might envisage carrying at least half of the effort for a greatly broadened mutual effort to develop people-to-people relationships. Since we are very much wealthier than they are per capita, our country might meet much more than half the expenses.

Let the peoples of the American republics exchange many thousands of students and teachers. Let them get their books translated and exchanged. Let them reciprocally invite establishment of libraries and cultural centers. Let them share cultural experience. Let them break down the language barrier. Let them make the fullest use of the radio, the movies, health and economic cooperation, not for propaganda but to understand and to be understood, to help and to be helped.

Let us hope that full national support will be given to those who have worked on these matters right here among us: such organizations as the Foreign Policy Association, the Council for Foreign Relations, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Institute for International Education and the many learned and professional societies.

The actions of our Government spring from the will of the people. The State Department, like other parts of our Government dealing with foreign relations, should be and is making every effort to be in the closest kind of contact with all of you and with those you teach. It is your State Department, a part of your national defense; it cannot progress without your interest, knowledge, and help.

We have to win this war with blood and sacrifice. We can win the next war with work and a small measure of sacrifice by doing everything humanly possible to prevent it. Let's make a national job—a practical job shared by the whole people—of preventing another war.

## Everett A. Tunncliff Returns From China

[Released to the press January 11]

Dr. Everett A. Tunncliff has just returned from China, where for the past year he has been serving the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, at its request, as a specialist in the field of veterinary science, under the program of cultural co-operation of the Department of State.

On his way to China Dr. Tunncliff visited the Veterinary College and the Animal Disease Control Station at Madras. At the Bengal Animal Disease Control Laboratory at Calcutta, Dr. Ali, Director of the Laboratory, gave him a culture of virus, which Dr. Tunncliff used in China to produce a new and much cheaper type of vaccine for the control of rinderpest in cattle. The Government of India requested him to stop in India on his return from China to consult with the scientists of various Indian institutions concerning their own problems in animal-disease control.

During his year's stay in China Dr. Tunncliff had an unusual opportunity to travel widely in China studying the diseases of animals in various parts of the country and helping to reorganize the animal-disease-control program. He visited the various veterinary colleges and made suggestions for a revised curriculum in veterinary science. He taught a postgraduate course at Lanchow.

On his return journey Dr. Tunncliff visited the Onderstepoort Laboratories near Pretoria, Union of South Africa.

Dr. Tunncliff will return to his duties as pathologist at the Montana Veterinary Research Laboratory, Bozeman, Montana.

## Trade Marks

By a letter dated December 6, 1944, the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State that the Government of Haiti, in accordance with the terms of paragraph 3 of article 19 of the Protocol on the Inter-American Registration of Trade Marks signed at Washington on February 20, 1929,<sup>1</sup> has sent to the Pan American Union, under date of November 27, 1944, notice of its denunciation of the Protocol. The

<sup>1</sup>Treaty Series 833, p. 46.

Government of Haiti states, however, that its denunciation of the Protocol does not imply denunciation of the General Inter-American Convention for Trade Mark and Commercial Protection signed on the same date. The Republic of Haiti remains a party to the convention.

## Death of Thomas Riggs

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press January 16]

It was with deep regret that I learned of the death this morning of the Honorable Thomas Riggs, former Governor of Alaska, who for many years has been the United States Commissioner, International Boundary Commission, United States, Alaska, and Canada. Governor Riggs' death brings to an end a lifetime of distinguished public service devoted to Alaska and to boundary problems affecting Canada and the United States. Throughout his career, the Department has enjoyed the benefit of his cooperation and his effective collaboration in numerous important matters concerning our relations with Canada.

## Visit of British Secretary of State for the Colonies

[Released to the press January 16]

Colonel the Right Honorable Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Great Britain, arrived in Washington January 15. Colonel Stanley, who has just finished a tour of some of the British West Indies, is accompanied by Mr. T. I. K. Lloyd, Assistant Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Mr. C. H. Thornley, his private secretary.

During his four-day visit to Washington Colonel Stanley discussed the work and organization of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission with Mr. Charles W. Taussig, the United States Co-chairman of the Commission and Adviser on Caribbean Affairs to the Department of State, and with other Government officials dealing with the Caribbean area.

Colonel Stanley and Mr. Taussig lunched with the President on January 16. They were the guests of Secretary of State Stettinius at a luncheon on January 18.

## Acceptance of Aviation Agreements

### *Netherlands*

The Netherlands Ambassador informed the Secretary of State in a letter dated January 11, 1945 that the signatures of the Netherlands Delegates affixed to the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation, the International Air Services Transit Agreement, and the International Air Transport Agreement (with a reservation on the Fifth Freedom as provided for in article IV, section 1), concluded at Chicago December 7, 1944, constitute an acceptance of those agreements by the Netherlands Government and an obligation binding upon it. Each of the three agreements contains a provision that the respective governments on whose behalf the agreement has been signed shall inform the Government of the United States as to whether such signature constitutes an acceptance of the agreement.

## Meeting of the Rubber Study Group

[Released to the press January 17]

A meeting of the Rubber Study Group of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States has been arranged for January 22 to 27, inclusive, in Washington. The Department of State announced that as an outgrowth of the exploratory rubber discussions held in London last August the United States was prepared to participate in this informal arrangement designed to provide for study and discussion of rubber problems of mutual interest to the participating governments.<sup>1</sup> Since that time a program of studies has been undertaken in the United States and a similar program in London. The purpose of the January meeting will be to consider and discuss the materials contained in these studies.

The Department of State emphasizes that no formal agreement relating to post-war rubber has been entered into or is now contemplated. The sole purpose of the Rubber Study Group is to provide a medium through which factual studies may be made and informally discussed.

The United States will be represented by Bernard F. Haley, Director, Office of Economic Af-

fairs, Department of State. Mr. Haley will have as his advisers the members of the Rubber Advisory Panel, namely:

John W. Bicknell, Rubber Development Corporation  
 James F. Clark, Rubber Bureau, War Production Board  
 John L. Collyer, B. F. Goodrich Company  
 Harvey S. Frestone, Jr., Firestone Tire & Rubber Company  
 Robert A. Gordon, Combined Raw Materials Board  
 H. Stuart Hotchkiss, Cambridge Rubber Company  
 Howard J. Klossner, Rubber Reserve Company  
 Paul W. Litchfield, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company  
 Harry E. Smith, Manhattan Rubber Manufacturing Division of Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc.  
 Herbert E. Smith, United States Rubber Company  
 Gilbert K. Trimble, Midwest Rubber Reclaiming Company  
 A. L. Viles, The Rubber Manufacturing Association, Inc.  
 R. D. Young, Rubber Trade Association of New York, Inc.

## Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

### *Dominican Republic*

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State, by a letter dated January 13, 1945, of the deposit with the Pan American Union on January 10, 1945, of the instrument of ratification by the Government of the Dominican Republic 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 December 21, 1944.

## Inter-American Automotive Traffic

### *Brazil*

By a letter dated January 8, 1945 the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State of the deposit with the Pan American Union on January 8, 1945 of the instrument of ratification by the Government of Brazil 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 November 7, 1944.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 24, 1944, p. 328, and June 10, 1944, p. 544.

# UNRRA Sanitary Conventions of 1944

[Released to the press January 16]

On January 15, 1945 the International Sanitary Convention of 1944 and the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation of 1944 came into force between the Governments of China, Ecuador, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Poland, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The conventions, which relate to the performance by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of duties and functions of the International Office of Public Health at Paris, became effective in accordance with article XXI of the maritime sanitary convention and article XVIII of the sanitary convention for aerial navigation, each of which reads: "The present Convention shall come into force as soon as it has been signed or acceded to on behalf of ten or more governments."

The two conventions were signed also on behalf of the United States, Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, and Peru, with the reservation that the signatures were subject to ratification. In addition, the convention for aerial navigation was signed on behalf of Bolivia and the maritime convention on behalf of Czechoslovakia. The Bolivian and Czechoslovakian signatures were also subject to ratification. The conventions remained open for signature until January 15, 1945, after which date they may be adhered to by nonsignatory governments.

A Declaration by France relating to both conventions was signed on January 5, 1945 by the plenipotentiary of France, and a Declaration by the Egyptian Government relating to both conventions was signed on January 15, 1945 by the plenipotentiary of Egypt, at the time those plenipotentiaries signed the two conventions.

The names of the plenipotentiaries and the dates on which they signed the conventions, listed in the order of signing, are as follows:

JANUARY 5, 1945

*France:* Professor André Mayer, Medical Counselor of the Provisional Government of the French Republic in the United States;

*Poland:* Mr. Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Poland in Washington;  
*United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:* The Right Honorable the Earl of Halifax, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom in Washington;  
*United States of America:* The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State of the United States of America;

JANUARY 11, 1945

*China:* Dr. J. Heng Liu, High Adviser to the National Health Administration of China in the United States;

JANUARY 13, 1945

*Union of South Africa:* Dr. S. F. N. Gie, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Union of South Africa in Washington;

JANUARY 15, 1945

*Egypt:* Mr. Mahmoud Hassan, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Egypt in Washington;  
*Czechoslovakia:* Mr. Vladimír Hruban, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Czechoslovakia in Washington (signed only the International Sanitary Convention of 1944);  
*Canada:* Mr. L. B. Pearson, Appointed Ambassador of Canada in Washington;  
*Cuba:* Señor Don Guillermo Belt, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Cuba in Washington;  
*Dominican Republic:* Señor Don Emilio García Godoy, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Dominican Republic in Washington;  
*Bolivia:* Señor Don Victor Andrade, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Bolivia in Washington (signed only the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation of 1944);  
*Nicaragua:* Señor Dr. Don Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Nicaragua in Washington;  
*Peru:* Señor Don Pedro Beltrán, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Peru in Washington;  
*Luxembourg:* Mr. Hugues Le Gallais, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Luxembourg in Washington;  
*Ecuador:* Señor Sixto E. Durán-Ballén, Minister Counselor of the Ecuadoran Embassy in Washington;  
*Greece:* Mr. Cimon P. Diamantopoulos, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Greece in Washington;  
*Honduras:* Señor Dr. Don Julian R. Caceres, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Honduras in Washington;  
*Haiti:* Dr. Jules Thébaud, Director General of the National Public Health Service of Haiti.

## International Status of Refugees

### France

In a letter dated November 25, 1944 the Acting Secretary General of the League of Nations informed the Secretary of State that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, by a letter dated November 8, 1944, notified the League of Nations that the Provisional Government of the French Republic considers as null and void the denunciation by France December 2, 1942 of the Convention Relating to the International Status of Refugees signed at Geneva October 28, 1933, and that it will henceforth insure in its territory the application of all the articles of the convention. The cancellation of the denunciation was registered by the Secretariat of the League of Nations on November 17, 1944.

## Discussions on Civil Aviation Between United States and Canadian Representatives

[Released to the press January 19]

The Department of State stated on January 19 that discussions on civil aviation will take place in New York between representatives of the United States and Canada beginning on January 25. Subjects to be discussed will cover matters arising out of the recent International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago. The 1940 arrangements for allocation of civil air routes between the two countries will be reviewed.

The American Delegation will be comprised of Stokeley W. Morgan, Chief of the Aviation Division, Department of State; J. Graham Parsons, Division of British Commonwealth Affairs, Department of State; Edward P. Warner, Vice Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board; Oswald Ryan, Member, Civil Aeronautics Board; and Lewis Clark, First Secretary of the American Embassy, Ottawa.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Confirmations

On January 18 the Senate confirmed the nomination of Adolf A. Berle, Jr., as American Ambassador to Brazil.

### Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Bordeaux, France, was opened to the public on January 15, 1945.

## THE CONGRESS

Petroleum Investigation—Petroleum Supplies for Military and Civilian Needs. Final Report of the Special Subcommittee on Petroleum Investigation of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, Pursuant to H.Res. 290 of the 76th Congress, H.Res. 383 of the 77th Congress, and H.Res. 58 of the 78th Congress. Seventy-eighth Cong., H.Rept. 2066. ii, 19 pp.

Study of Rubber in United States, Mexico, and Haiti. H.Rept. 2068, 78th Cong., pursuant to H.Res. 346. 22 pp.

The State of the Union. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a message on the state of the Union. H.Doc. 1, 79th Cong. 16 pp.

Continuing the Authority for a Study Into the Legal and Constitutional Authority for the Issuance of Executive Orders of the President and of Departmental Regulations, and Increasing the Limit of Expenditures. S.Rept. 7, 79th Cong., to accompany S.Res. 16. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Authorizing the Continuation of the Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning. H.Rept. 19, 79th Cong., to accompany H.Res. 60. 1 p.

Retirement and Disability Fund, Foreign Service. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a report by the Secretary of State, showing all receipts and disbursements on account of refunds, allowances, and annuities for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1944, in connection with the Foreign Service retirement and disability system. H.Doc. 23, 79th Cong. 6 pp.

Address of the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, on May 8, 1942, before the Free World Association, New York City, together with certain addresses subsequently delivered. S.Doc. 59, 79th Cong. iii, 49 pp.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Appointment of Officers

Monnett B. Davis as Director and Selden Chapin as Deputy Director, Office of the Foreign Service, effective January 10, 1945.

John C. McClintock as Special Assistant to Mr. Rockefeller, effective December 30, 1944.

Pierson Underwood, War Areas Economic Division, has been designated to represent the Department on the Editorial Committee on Civil Affairs Studies, Civil Affairs Division of the War Department, effective November 16, 1944.

The following officers have been designated Advisers in the Division of Cultural Cooperation, effective December 20, 1944: Charles Child on Art and Music; Harry R. Warfel on Libraries and Publications; William L. Schurz on Cultural Attachés.

## PUBLICATIONS

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

America's Need for Understanding China. By Haldore Hanson, Division of Cultural Cooperation. Far Eastern Series 7. Publication 2230. 16 pp. 5¢.

Jurisdiction Over Prizes: Agreement Between the United States of America and Australia; and Proclamation—Agreement effected by exchange of notes signed at Canberra November 10, 1942 and May 10, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 417. Publication 2227. 8 pp. 5¢.

Exchange of Official Publications: Agreement Between the United States of America and Afghanistan—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Kabul February 20, 1944; effective February 29, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 418. Publication 2219. 17 pp. 10¢.

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 5, January 12, 1945, to Revision VIII of September 13, 1944. Publication 2242. 73 pp. Free.

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences: Convention Between the United States of America and Other American Republics—Opened for signature at the Pan American Union at Washington January 15, 1944; signed for the United States of America January 15, 1944; proclaimed by the President of the United States of America September 8, 1944; effective November 30, 1944. Treaty Series 987. 32 pp. 10¢.

The Export-Import Bank of Washington. By Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs. Commercial Policy Series 75. Publication 2234. 30 pp. 10¢.

Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Address by Joseph C. Grew, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State. Conference Series 62. Publication 2239. 18 pp. 5¢.

Diplomatic List, January 1945. Publication 2241. ii, 126 pp. Subscription, \$2 a year; single copy, 20¢.

### FOREIGN COMMERCE WEEKLY

The articles listed below will be found in the January 13 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:

"Electronics in Cuba", based on a report from the American Embassy, Habana.

"Graphic Arts in Switzerland", report from the American Consulate General, Zürich.

"The Bicycle in Sweden", report by the American Legation, Stockholm.





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# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 292

JANUARY 28, 1945

## *In this issue*

### WHAT THE DUMBARTON OAKS PEACE PLAN MEANS

*By the Secretary of State*

### SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES UNDER THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

*Address by Green H. Hackworth*



# Contents

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## BULLETIN

VOL. XII • No. 292



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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 Affairs, 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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	Page
<b>CANADA</b>	
Letters of Credence . . . . .	148
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Designation of H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld as United States Representative in Hungary . . . . .	127
Deaths of the Soviet Ambassador to Mexico and Mrs. Oumansky. Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	141
<b>FAR EAST</b>	
Proposed Exchange of Nationals Between United States and Japan . . . . .	132
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
Decision To Maintain Combined Boards:	
Statement by the President . . . . .	119
Announcement by President Roosevelt and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Canada . . . . .	120
The Rubber Study Group: United Kingdom and Netherlands Members To Visit Synthetic Plants . . . . .	128
Designation of Lauchlin Currie To Conduct Negotiations With Switzerland. . . . .	128
The Concern of the United States With Mineral Resources.	
Address by Charles P. Taft . . . . .	129
Legal Policy for Trade. Address by Charles Bunn . . . . .	142
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
Dumbarton Oaks Proposals:	
What the Dumbarton Oaks Peace Plan Means. By the Secretary of State . . . . .	115
Settlement of Disputes Under the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Address by Green H. Hackworth . . . . .	124
The Positive Approach to an Enduring Peace. Address by Henry S. Villard . . . . .	136
Regional Aspects of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Address by Durward V. Sandifer . . . . .	145
Letter on Foreign Policy From the New Members of the Senate to the President . . . . .	121
Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	121
United Nations War Crimes Commission. Discontinuance of Services of Herbert C. Pell: Statement by Acting Secretary Grew. . . . .	123
The International Control of Radiocommunications. Address by Francis Colt de Wolf . . . . .	133
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
United States-Mexican Water Treaty. Statement by the Secretary of State. . . . .	122
Applicability of Anti-Trust Laws to Agreements Between United States and Foreign Air Carriers . . . . .	141
Financial Agreement With Haiti . . . . .	144
Telecommunications . . . . .	147
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Functions of the Special War Problems Division of the Office of Controls . . . . .	148
Secretariat of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy . . . . .	148
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	148
<b>THE FOREIGN SERVICE</b>	
Confirmation . . . . .	148
Embassy at Rome . . . . .	148
Mission at Helsinki . . . . .	148

# What the Dumbarton Oaks Peace Plan Means

By the SECRETARY OF STATE<sup>1</sup>

THE stake of the American people in the maintenance of peace after this war could not be greater. We hate war. Yet twice in a generation we have been forced to fight to defend our freedom and our vital interests against powerful aggressors.

Our young men are giving their lives daily because we and other peace-loving nations did not succeed after the last war in organizing and maintaining peace. It is up to us to see that their sons—and ours—are not forced to give their lives in another great war 25 years from now.

In this war we were attacked last by the aggressors and we have been able to fight them far from our own soil. The range of the airplane and the new weapons already developed make certain that next time—if we permit a next time—the devastation of war will be brought to our own homes and our own soil. Next time—if we permit a next time—it is likely that the United States will be attacked first, not last, by an aggressor nation.

After we have won this war we shall have only one alternative to preparing for the next war. That is to prevent the next war. It is imperative that we start now. We can do it only by planning and developing, in cooperation with the other peace-loving peoples of the world, an organized peace that will really work.

## I

A sound peace plan must be based on the facts as they are and aimed at the realization of our ideals for a peaceful world. Both of these requirements, I think, are met by the Proposals which were drafted last summer and fall at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. I wish here to state what I believe to be the plan's animating spirit and its practical operating value.

These Proposals did not spring from thin air. They were preceded by long and careful studies

among many sorts of people in each of the four countries. In the United States advice was sought not only of technical experts in the Department of State but of political leaders of both parties in Congress, of qualified high officers of our Army and Navy, and of notable private citizens of varying views. The Proposals are the outcome of patient research and of broad consultation. Every effort is now being made to submit them to the thoughts and suggestions of all the people of America.

There are four corners to the plan proposed at Dumbarton Oaks.

The first is this: peace can be maintained only if the peace-loving nations of the world band together for that purpose. In doing so, they must recognize the sovereign principle of the equality of all of them and, at the same time, the fact of the inequality of their power to prevent war.

The phrase "sovereign equality" is enshrined in principle number one of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. It means that every peace-loving state, however small, has the same supreme authority over its own territory as any other state, however large. Each such state, irrespective of size, is an international individuality. Each, therefore, has both a right to a voice in the affairs of the family of nations and a responsibility to share in the task of creating a peaceful world order.

Conforming to this principle, the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals provide that membership in the new International Organization shall be open to all "peace-loving" states, large and small. The Proposals provide for a General Assembly in which all member states will be represented on an equal footing. They also provide for a smaller body of 11 members—the Security Council—in

<sup>1</sup> This article appeared in the *Reader's Digest* of Feb. 1945. It was released to the press by the Department of State on Jan. 23.

which the five most powerful nations will be permanent members.

All members of the Organization undertake to settle their disputes peacefully and to fulfil the other obligations to maintain and strengthen peace which would be assumed by them under the proposed Charter of the Organization. Within the limits of these undertakings the representatives of the member nations will cast their votes on any international issue in the manner that their own countries may direct; and each of them will be chosen by his own country in any way that his own country may prefer. National sovereignty remains unimpaired.

The aim of the Organization is twofold. It is to prevent and suppress wars. It is also to make peace constantly stronger by developing closer, more friendly and mutually profitable relations among the member states.

The primary responsibility for the prevention and suppression of war rests with the Security Council. This is because it is a task that can be performed effectively only by a small body which must include the five great powers as permanent members. In this function the Assembly also has an important secondary role to play.

The primary responsibility for creation of the international political, economic, and social conditions favorable to peace rests with the Assembly. This is a responsibility that can be carried out successfully only by continuing and developing agreement among all member nations, large and small.

## II

This war has shown that small states in an era of mechanized warfare are unable to defend themselves against great aggressors. Only the great powers possess the industrial capacity and other military resources required by the United Nations to defeat the Axis aggressors. Similarly, wars can be prevented and suppressed in the future only if the great powers employ their dominant physical power justly and in unity of purpose to that end. Hence the place that the Dumbarton Oaks plan gives to a Security Council. Hence, too, the position assigned to the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, France as permanent members of the Council. In addition, the Security Council is to have six non-permanent members, elected for two-year terms by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. The supreme duty of the Security Council is to "take any measures nec-

essary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles" set down in the Charter of the new International Organization.

These measures constitute the second corner of the peace plan. They fall into two groups—those necessary to prevent wars and those necessary to suppress them.

All member states undertake the obligation to settle their disputes peacefully, by means of their own choice. They may do so by negotiation, mediation, arbitration, conciliation, or judicial processes. Many local or regional differences can be settled by regional arrangements without reference to the Security Council.

If, however, means like these fail, then the nations are obligated to come to the Security Council, which also has the power, on its own initiative, to investigate any dispute and to recommend methods of adjustment. In this connection the General Assembly is empowered to consider any question relating to the maintenance of peace and security and to make recommendations on it, provided that the Security Council is not already actively engaged in dealing with it.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals also provide for an international court of justice to which any dispute that can be settled by rules of law shall be referred. Its statute—or constitution—will be the same as that of the present Permanent Court of International Justice with minor necessary modifications, or based upon it. This court will be the judicial organ of the new United Nations International Organization. The Security Council may seek its advice on all legal questions involved in international disputes.

It is only after all means for the peaceful prevention of war have been exhausted that the Security Council will then turn to forceful means for the prevention or suppression of war.

As the first of these further steps the Security Council may call upon all members of the new International Organization to apply pressure to any offending state by such non-military means as "the severance of diplomatic and economic relations" and "complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication".

If these further means are not enough, the Security Council is empowered to take military action "by air, naval or land forces".

The members of the new International Organi-

zation would agree, in the Charter itself, that throughout these efforts the Security Council would be acting "on their behalf". They would also agree to assume the obligation to make "armed forces" and "facilities" and "assistance" available to the Security Council "on its call" and in accordance with special agreements previously concluded. To insure effective employment of these forces the Security Council is to be provided with a Military Staff Committee composed of the chiefs of staff of the permanent member nations of the Council or their representatives.

The Security Council is thus given powers which the Council of the League of Nations did not possess. The League's powers proved too weak. It is surely evident that stronger powers are necessary.

On the other hand, these stronger powers do not produce what some commentators have described as an "irresponsible and uncontrollable great-power super-state". The plan contains many checks to the contrary. For example:

(1) The Security Council cannot call upon any state for armed forces except to an extent agreed upon beforehand by that state itself. Each state will determine its own international contribution of armed forces through a special agreement or agreements signed by itself and ratified by its own constitutional processes. That is, the Dumbarton Oaks plan leaves each state free to set its own limit upon the quantity and quality of the armed forces and other military facilities and assistance that it will furnish to the Security Council. The Security Council cannot require it to go beyond that limit. The Security Council does not in any way become the arbitrary master of the world's military resources. (2) The great powers who are to be the five permanent members of the Security Council do not constitute a majority of the Council. Any decision of the Council would therefore require the affirmative votes of at least some of the six non-permanent members. (3) In the General Assembly the smaller powers, with their overwhelming majority of the membership, may adopt a recommendation on a question of peace before that question rises for action in the Security Council. The General Assembly is to meet at least once a year. It may meet oftener. It is to receive annual and special reports from the Security Council and has the power to consider them and to express either its approval or dissent.

Agreement among the great powers is an essen-

tial condition of peace. At the same time, the opportunity of the smaller powers, under the Dumbarton Oaks plan, to stand sentinel over the behavior of the great powers is surely far greater than it ever could be in a world left unorganized and planlessly open to predatory aggression.

### III

The third corner of the peace plan is the essential complement of the second. To prevent and suppress wars is not enough, just as winning this war will not of itself bring us lasting peace. If we are to have lasting peace, we have to *build* peace. We have to build it stone by stone continuously over the years within the framework of such an organization as that proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. We have to *make peace* with the same strong purpose and the same united effort which we have given to *making war*.

In this field the General Assembly of all the member states of the proposed United Nations International Organization will be the highest representative body in the world. It will represent the ideal of a common world humanity and a common world purpose to promote international cooperation, extend the rule of law in international relations, and advance the material and cultural welfare of all men.

The function of the Assembly as a free forum of all peace-loving nations and its wide powers of investigation and recommendation are in themselves powerful weapons for peace in an age when public opinion can be instantaneously mobilized by press and radio.

But the Assembly will also have at its command an effective instrument of continuous action in building peace. This is the Economic and Social Council to be created under the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

This arm of the General Assembly is provided for in recognition of a great fact which increasingly characterizes the international life of our times. It is the fact that the whole world is more and more one single area of interdependent technological inventions, industrial methods, marketing problems, and their related social effects. This interdependence destroys any equilibrium that may ever have existed between so-called "advanced" countries and "backward" countries. It means either universal economic friction which will disrupt the world toward war or universal economic cooperation which will harmonize the world to-

ward peace. Failure to recognize this fact after the last war was one of the reasons why this war got started.

The Economic and Social Council is to be elected, without help of the Security Council, by the General Assembly of all states. It is to consist of representatives of 18 states, holding their posts for 3-year terms. It has no power of compulsion. By voluntary means it is, under the direction of the Assembly, to "facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems" and to "promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms".

It will create commissions in all fields of economic and social activity that it may consider appropriate. The members of these commissions will not be political or diplomatic delegates. They will be technical experts. They will furnish professional advice to the Economic and Social Council and to the Assembly. There will be a secretariat and research staff for all projects.

The Assembly and its Economic and Social Council will also provide a center for coordinating the numerous separate specialized international organizations now or hereafter operating for economic and social progressive purposes.

There is the International Labor Organization with its long record of successful service to sound labor causes. There is the proposed United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization with its heavy duty of service both to the food-producers of agricultural countries and to the food-consumers of all countries. There is the proposed International Monetary Fund and the proposed International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with their highly difficult and delicate responsibilities toward the world's currencies and the world's investment funds. Under discussion also are new international "specialized" organizations in aviation, in cartel control, in health, in education, in wire and wireless communications, in foreign trade, and in many individual agricultural and industrial commodities.

All these organizations, clearly, are but so many spokes to the international wheel. They need a hub. The Dumbarton Oaks plan authorizes the Assembly to act as that hub with the Economic and Social Council as its principal operating mechanism. It provides that all specialized international organizations shall be brought into relationship with the new general International Organization through agreements with the Economic

and Social Council under the approval of the General Assembly. It provides further that the Economic and Social Council shall receive reports from the specialized international organizations and shall, under the General Assembly's authority, coordinate their policies and activities.

Here for the first time we see the possible emergence of an advisory economic general staff of the world.

It can be soundly hoped that the recommendations of the General Assembly and its Economic and Social Council, proceeding from what will be the concentrated headquarters of the world's economic and social thought, will promptly reach the form of widely ratified treaties and agreements making for fuller employment and higher standards of living in all countries. The attainment of these objectives is indispensable to building a peace that will last.

#### IV

I now come to the fourth corner of the square on which the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals would erect an edifice of peaceful international relations.

This is the progressive reduction of armaments, which in the modern world have become a crushing burden on the resources of all nations. If we in this country, for example, could have used for productive peacetime purposes only one half of what we have devoted to arms for this war, we would have advanced beyond measure the standard of living of the American people. And after this war is won, the rate of economic advancement for ourselves and for all peoples will be determined in important measure by the rate of armaments reduction that the nations of the world are able to achieve.

The General Assembly of the new International Organization is to "consider the general principles . . . governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments". The Security Council is to go further. In order to achieve "the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments", it is to formulate "plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments" and it is to submit those plans to all members of the new International Organization.

It is not proposed this time that the United States or any other members of the new International Organization shall disarm as an example. It is proposed that all members of the Organization shall travel the road together and at the fastest possible joint pace.

No nation, however, is likely to travel either fast or far on this road until it feels able to place full reliance for its security on the International Organization. The nations of the world will give up guns only in so far as they make the new Organization work, as they gradually build up a living body of international law, as they create and operate effective joint instrumentalities to keep the peace, and as they develop strong and sure means of economic and social cooperation to their mutual benefit. Thus the fourth corner of the peace plan is dependent upon the other three.

## V

Such is the plan. I think it takes into account both the world's stubborn realities and the world's unquenchable aspirations. Nor is it deficient, I am certain, in what the authors of the Declaration of Independence rightly called "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind". No other peace plan in

history has been so fully exposed to the impact of those opinions.

The Proposals emerged from their Dumbarton Oaks stage on October 9 of last year.<sup>1</sup> They were disseminated to the whole world. For months now they have been the subject of study by all governments, by the press and radio, and by individuals and groups in all countries. They will go in due course to a conference of the nations which are fighting this war to build a world of freedom and peace. They will then go to their home countries for approval by their legislatures or other appropriate governmental bodies.

We seek a calm and considered and complete popular judgment upon this plan and then, if it is approved and ratified, a solid effective support for it not merely by governments but by *peoples*. In the end it is *they*, and only *they*, who by their determined purpose, their understanding, and their continuing loyalty can bring to the world peace, security, and progress.

# Decision To Maintain Combined Boards

## STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House January 19]

We hear a good bit about differences between the United States and Britain, but perhaps we hear less of how really effectively they are working together in winning the war and, also, in meeting the economic problems of the areas they liberate.

Together with Prime Ministers Churchill and Mackenzie King, I have just outlined the work the Combined Boards are to do from now until the end of the war with Japan. The Combined Food Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board, and the Combined Production and Resources Board provide a strikingly successful example of United Nations collaboration on some of the urgent and difficult problems of the day.<sup>2</sup>

The Boards are dealing now with serious shortages in such commodities as tires and trucks, coal, textile, footwear, animal protein foods, and fats and oils. In each of these items the shortage is big enough to affect military requirements, civilian needs, and relief activities in all areas. In the case of the Combined Food Board, representatives of other countries also have participated in the development of appropriate international pro-

grams for certain commodities; e.g. Newfoundland fish and Australian wheat. There have also recently been added to certain commodity committees on the Combined Food Board representatives of countries whose supplies and requirements, through progress of military operations, have again become, or will become, important factors in the international distribution of vital supplies; e.g. France, Belgium, Netherlands, and Norway in the case of fats and oils. The requirements of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have been related to the activities of the Boards through the departments of the member governments concerned with the conclusion of the annual protocols by which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics supply programs are determined.

Through the Boards, former occupied countries are being helped to start up their manufacturing because we want to ease shortages of plants and manpower here, in Britain, and in Canada. We are acting with awareness, too, of the acute need

<sup>1</sup> *Dumbarton Oaks Documents on International Organization*. Department of State Publication 2192.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of June 13, 1942, p. 535.

to restore employment in the liberated areas, thus minimizing unrest.

Coal offers a good example of the working of the Combined Boards. It was clear at the beginning of 1943 that the United Nations as a whole faced a serious deficit. The Boards worked out solutions through the appropriate national agencies.

These solutions reached dramatic proportions. From Britain came expert opinion that production could be stepped up if surface outcroppings could be worked on a mass-production basis similar to our American strip mining. As a consequence, the used machinery market of the United States was scoured for such types of machinery—some machines, for instance, which had been in service along the Mississippi levees for 20 years were requisitioned—and a total quantity of machinery estimated to exceed in capacity that used in digging the Panama Canal was expedited to Britain during 1944.

Most of it has now arrived and in many parts of Britain the operations are under way with the result that 12 million additional tons are expected to be mined before the end of the present coal year. This coal helps supply SHAEF needs in northwest Europe as well as those relief requirements for the Mediterranean that can be filled by our present limited transportation.

The Combined Food Board has proved to be a most useful mechanism for assuring an efficient and

reasonably equitable distribution of vital food resources among the various United Nations. On the basis of detailed information interchanged constantly among its Commodity Committees, the Combined Food Board has developed many international plans for meeting the increased war demands and for offsetting, in so far as possible, the early loss to the enemy of important items. The shortage of rice after the fall of Burma and other areas of southeastern Asia is illustrative of the problems which have confronted the Combined Food Board. The Japanese occupation absorbed areas which normally export 95 percent of the rice entering world trade. The Board moved promptly to insure: (1) that exports from the remaining rice areas were maximized; (2) that such supplies were equitably shared; and (3) that wherever possible, rice substitutes were provided.

The Boards have set a model for economic cooperation between the United Nations in overcoming excessive nationalism and in gaining cooperation between former rivals both on the national and international plane.

On the American side, the direction of the Raw Materials Board has been, since its inception, the job of William L. Batt. We owe him a deep debt of gratitude for his part in keeping an effective flow of strategic materials coming during the war, despite the fact that many of the former rich sources for these materials have been continuously in Axis hands. It has been a magnificent job.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE PRIME MINISTERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND CANADA

[Released to the press by the White House January 19]

The President of the United States and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Canada announced on January 19 their decision to maintain the Combined Production and Resources Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board, and the Combined Food Board until the end of the Japanese war. This announcement followed a review by the member governments of the past work of these Boards and of their future operations. It was the official view that there will be a large field of usefulness for these Boards for the rest of the war even though many materials and products may be in easier supply as the war progresses. It will be their continuing function further to coordinate the war effort of their member countries and, as appropriate, of the other United Nations, in the

production, allocation, and supply of those products, raw materials, and foodstuffs which continue to require combined planning in order to meet military and essential civilian requirements. In many cases it will be desirable for the Boards to consult, as hitherto, with other of the United Nations and with UNRRA before making recommendations.

In making this announcement concerning the future of the Combined Boards, the following statement on behalf of the President and the two Prime Ministers was released:

"1. We have followed with close interest the excellent work which the Combined Boards have done in coordinating our production and supply. These Boards were created for the purpose of combining our economic and industrial power during



a period of increasingly intensive military preparation. Despite the fact that as the war progresses there will be a substantial diminution in demand for certain military items, studies indicate that there will be continuing global shortages of a limited number of products and materials which are necessary to military operations and to the maintenance of essential civilian economics. We expect the Boards, in the future as in the past, to continue to play their part in facilitating the prompt and adequate use of our economic resources for the common war effort.

"2. In addition new economic and industrial problems which may require common action are sure to develop before the end of hostilities. The power to act and make decisions in the economic sphere on behalf of our respective nations will remain in the duly constituted national agencies. However, the Boards can perform a very valuable additional service by providing a forum or focal point for consultation and the interchange of information and ideas on such common economic and industrial problems.

"3. In their activities we shall expect the members of these Boards and the agencies of our governments which work with them to collaborate increasingly with representatives of other United Nations in the common interest."

## Letter on Foreign Policy From The New Members of the Senate to the President

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

The following letter addressed to the President was received on January 24:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

"The undersigned new members of the Senate of the United States, conscious of the profound significance of the Conferences soon to be held with our principal allies, wish to convey to you for your consideration, some of our thoughts concerning the foreign policy of this government.

"We realize that it is important for you to be advised of the views of the new Senators who heretofore have not had the opportunity to make their position clear.

"I. We favor the formation at the earliest possible moment of a United Nations organization,

to establish and preserve the peace of the world, along the general lines tentatively drafted at Dumbarton Oaks;

"II. We believe this government should use all reasonable means to assure our allies and the other nations of the world that we intend to share in the direction of and the responsibility for the settlement of this war and the maintenance of peace;

"III. We suggest that treaties among the major allies be concluded as soon as possible, to demilitarize Germany and Japan and to keep them demilitarized;

"IV. We believe that this government should, as soon as possible, arrange to participate affirmatively in all decisions affecting the establishment of law and order in the liberated or enemy countries.

"Trusting that these suggestions may be of assistance to you and wishing you success in the forthcoming Conferences, we are

"Yours respectfully,

"FRANK P. BRIGGS, Missouri; HOMER E. CAPEHART, Indiana; FORREST C. DONNELL, Missouri; J. W. FULBRIGHT, Arkansas; BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Iowa; CLYDE R. HOEY, North Carolina; OLIN D. JOHNSTON, South Carolina; WARREN MAGNUSON, Washington; BRIEN McMAHON, Connecticut; HUGH B. MITCHELL, Washington; WAYNE MORSE, Oregon; JOHN MOSES, North Dakota; FRANCIS J. MYERS, Pennsylvania; LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Massachusetts; H. ALEXANDER SMITH, New Jersey; GLEN H. TAYLOR, Idaho."

**Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW**

[Released to the press January 26]

The recent letter sent to the President by 16 new members of the Senate of the United States is a courageous and forthright statement. The letter is especially significant in view of the fact that it was sent in a non-partisan spirit; that the 16 Senators come from every section of the country; and that their recent election reflects the growing determination of the people of this country that the United States must play its full part in building an effective international organization for the maintenance of future peace and security.

# United States—Mexican Water Treaty

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 22]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

1. One of the few matters of major importance still pending between the United States and Mexico is the equitable division of the waters of three international rivers—the Rio Grande, the Colorado, and the Tijuana. During the first two decades of this century this water problem received the attention of the two Governments on several occasions and was the subject of study by joint commissions. These early efforts having failed, the Congress in 1924 passed an act approving the establishment of an International Water Commission to make a study regarding the equitable use of the waters of the Rio Grande below Fort Quitman, Texas. The refusal of the Government of Mexico to consider the Rio Grande without also considering the Colorado led in 1927 to an amendment of the 1924 act to make it cover all three rivers. The joint commission, organized under the terms of these congressional statutes, made a study of these rivers but was unable to reach an agreement, whereupon in 1932 the commission was dissolved and the powers of the American Section were transferred to the United States Section of the International Boundary Commission.

2. The studies and investigations which formed the basis for the treaty now under consideration by the Senate were authorized by the Congress in the act of August 19, 1935. Since that date the Department of State, in cooperation with Mexican officials, has labored earnestly to bring about a satisfactory solution of this long-standing and troublesome problem. It must be realized that each country owes to the other some obligation with respect to the waters of these international streams, and until this obligation is recognized and defined, there must inevitably be unrest and uncertainty in the communities served by them—a condition which becomes more serious with the increasing burden of an expanding population dependent upon the waters of these streams. Thus it has been in the case of the Rio Grande and the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers. So long has settle-

ment of this problem been delayed that there has come into existence a well-nigh intolerable situation which the completion of Boulder Dam on the Colorado River early in 1935 has aggravated rather than relieved.

3. On the Colorado, development in the United States and in Mexico has been proceeding at a rapid rate. With an average of over seven million acre-feet of water now wasting annually through Mexican territory into the Gulf of California, it is of the utmost importance to both nations that there should be an allocation, once and for all, of the waters of this stream, so that, on the one hand, conflicting development and over-expansion with their attendant disastrous consequences may be checked and, on the other hand, development may proceed in an orderly and secure manner, free of the uncertainties as to future available water supply which hamper and retard sound growth. Hardship, misunderstanding, and bitterness are the only alternatives to an early and equitable solution of the problem.

4. The treaty now under consideration protects, in large measure, existing uses in Mexico on the Colorado River. In the United States, not only are existing uses protected but opportunity is given for great expansion. Less than half of the water which will be available to the United States under this treaty is now being beneficially used. On the other hand, I am informed by men skilled in these matters and familiar with all the facts that more than half of the million and a half acre-feet of water allocated to Mexico will be made up, under conditions of ultimate development in the United States, of waste and return flows from lands within the United States.

5. The Department is indebted in very great measure to the Committee of Fourteen and Sixteen of the Colorado River Basin States for its invaluable advice and assistance in working out a statesmanlike solution of the problems of this stream. It seemed to us to be in keeping with our democratic institutions and procedures that the representatives of the communities most vitally concerned should be consulted with respect to these

<sup>1</sup> Presented by the Under Secretary of State before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Jan. 22, 1945.

matters, despite the fact that these questions are also of large national and international significance.

6. On the Lower Rio Grande, where most of the water supply originates in Mexico, a division of the waters was agreed upon which, when coupled with the building of international dams, will protect existing uses and make possible considerable expansion in both countries. Floods of great magnitude periodically wreak havoc in the communities bordering this stream and flow unused into the Gulf of Mexico. An average of almost four million acre-feet of water a year is thus wasted, in a region where soil and climate combine to make it one of the most fertile in the world, and where, given more adequate irrigation, a great increase in productivity can be expected. The treaty provides for the building of large storage dams to hold the floods in check and almost double the usable water supply. Opportunities for the generation of hydroelectric power will also be jointly exploited, thus contributing to the development of mining and industry in the communities along the Rio Grande.

7. General jurisdiction over the administration of the treaty provisions is vested, subject to the supervision of the two Governments, in the International Boundary Commission, organized under the Convention of 1889. This agency has had experience in similar matters in connection with the administration of other treaties. There will be no encroachment, however, on the functions of other Federal agencies, which will continue to control not only matters now under their jurisdiction but also facilities and operations in the United States which are to be used only partly in the fulfillment of treaty provisions. To provide even greater assurance on this point, the two Governments signed on November 14, 1941 a protocol which states in explicit terms the lines of jurisdiction between the Boundary Commission and its respective Sections and other federal agencies in each country.<sup>1</sup>

8. The treaty is the product of long and patient negotiations on the part of both Governments. Every detail received careful consideration by men qualified by training and experience in this particular field, and we may be justly proud of the result. It must be clearly recognized that the mutual obligations of which I have spoken are in-

ternational in scope, not merely unilateral. I am happy to say that the treaty which the Senate now has under consideration recognizes, defines, and makes provision for meeting these mutual obligations, on all three streams, in a manner fair and equitable to both countries. To my mind, it is an outstanding example of the settlement of international problems by mutual understanding and friendly negotiation. I cannot overemphasize its importance from the standpoint of international good-will, brought about not by the gift of any natural resource but simply by the application of those principles of comity and equity which should govern the determination of the equitable interests of two neighboring countries in the waters of international streams. I commend it unreservedly to the favorable consideration of the Senate.

## United Nations War Crimes Commission

### DISCONTINUANCE OF SERVICES OF HERBERT C. PELL: STATEMENT BY ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press January 26]

I am sorry this morning to have to announce that on account of the failure of the appropriation recommended by the Department of funds to cover the salary and expenses of the Honorable Herbert C. Pell as American member of the United Nations War Crimes Commission, it will not be possible to return him to London. I have expressed my personal appreciation and the appreciation of the Department to Mr. Pell for his work on the Commission and our regret that on account of the failure of the appropriation, his services cannot be continued.

This Government will continue to be represented by Lt. Col. Joseph V. Hodgson, former Attorney General in Hawaii and a very capable man, who has been serving with Mr. Pell as Deputy Commissioner.

There will be no diminution in the interest or activity of this Government in the general subject of the punishment of war criminals.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 21, 1945, p. 71.

# Settlement of Disputes Under the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals

[Released to the press January 27]

Address by

GREEN H. HACKWORTH<sup>1</sup>

There are certain features in the situation relating to Proposals for a United Nations Organization for the maintenance of peace and security in the world that are of marked significance. One is the apparently general agreement among the nations and peoples that an organization is essential; another is that the Government and people of the United States are of this view; and still another—a most heartening one—is that the subject is being approached from a non-partisan point of view. This is as it should be. The objective spirit demonstrated by all political shades of thought reflects the innate desire of our people for peace.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are being discussed in the columns of the press, in the assembly halls, in the forums of the air, and in the pulpits of our churches. It is well that they should be so discussed and that we as a people should decide, in our own deliberative way, whether these Proposals, if perfected and adopted by the peace-loving nations as the guiding Charter for future international relations and behavior will give us a reasonable degree of safeguards against the outbreak of another unspeakable war. All must agree that unless the nations that desire peace shall band together in some common undertaking of mutual assistance for self-preservation against aggression, the future outlook must be dark indeed. It has been only too well demonstrated during the past 25 years that pious thinking and temporizing tactics do not afford security. These methods do not deter the law-breaker or dim his lust for world domination. They only give him time.

It is particularly gratifying that this meeting is being held under the auspices of the International and Comparative Law Section of the American Bar Association and of member organizations of the Inter-American Bar Association.

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Section of International and Comparative Law of the American Bar Association and constituent members of the Inter-American Bar Association, Washington, Jan. 27, 1945. Mr. Hackworth is Legal Adviser, Department of State.

The lawyers have a special mission in this field. Theirs is the responsibility for upholding the dignity and supremacy of law. A quickening of the sense of that responsibility in the international field should augur for good.

Coming now more directly to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, I should like to dwell for a few moments on the methods there contemplated for the peaceful adjustment of differences between nations. The very first purpose of the proposed International Organization is, of course, the maintenance of peace and security. As corollaries to this are the development of friendly relations among nations and the promotion of international cooperation in the solution of economic, social, and other humanitarian problems. The principles of the Organization are declared to be: (1) the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states; (2) the fulfillment by members of the Organization of the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter; (3) the settlement of disputes by peaceful means; (4) the avoidance of the use of, or threats to use, force in a manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization; (5) the obligation to give assistance to the Organization in any action undertaken by it under the Charter; (6) the obligation to refrain from giving assistance to any state against which action is undertaken by the Organization; and an undertaking by members of the Organization to see to it that non-member states shall act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of peace and security.

The Organization is not to be a closed corporation; rather, it is to be open to all peace-loving states. It would have an assembly in which all member states would be represented; a security council with limited membership but representative of all states; an international court of justice; and subsidiary agencies and organizations. Both the Assembly and the Security Council would have jurisdiction to entertain questions relating to peace and security. Both could make recommendations regarding peaceful settlement, but the As-

sembly would not, on its own initiative, make such recommendations as to matters concerning peace and security if they were being dealt with by the Security Council. This latter qualification is designed to prevent the possibility that the Assembly and the Security Council might be working at cross-purposes on a matter in which the Council would have ultimate responsibility.

The Security Council, which would function continuously, would be charged with primary responsibility in maintaining peace and security. It would be empowered to investigate any dispute or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute. The investigation would be for the purpose of determining whether continuance of the dispute or the situation would likely endanger international peace and security. This investigation may be referred to as a first step in maintaining the international equilibrium. An investigation by a representative group of men before a dispute reaches fever heat may well prevent it from ever reaching that stage. The focusing of the light of day on differences between two states is bound to have a sobering, as well as a deterring, effect, especially if it is known that this may be followed, if necessary, by more stringent measures against the recalcitrant state.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals would place upon all parties to a dispute likely to endanger the peace an obligation to seek a solution by peaceful means. Five methods of peaceful procedure are specifically named, that is to say, negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement. The naming of these methods does not preclude resort to other peaceful methods.

The provisions concerning investigations by the Security Council and obligations on the parties to a dispute are contained in chapter VIII of the Proposals. The same chapter provides that if the parties to a dispute which is likely to endanger international peace and security fail to reach a settlement, they should be obligated to refer it to the Security Council. It would then be the duty of the Council to decide whether or not continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to have that effect and, accordingly, whether it should deal with the matter. If the Council should decide that action by it is called for, it may at any stage of a dispute that seems to threaten the peace recommend procedures or methods of adjustment. It

may also ask the International Court for advice on legal questions that may be involved. Should the parties to a dispute fail voluntarily to reach a settlement, whether on their own initiative or on the basis of a suggestion from the Council, and should such failure in the judgment of the Council constitute a threat to the peace, it would be authorized to take such measures as might be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organization. In general, the Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken. The Council might decide that a partial or complete interruption of means of communication, or the severance of diplomatic and economic relations, would be sufficient to bring the particular state or states into a more reasonable frame of mind. But if the Council should decide that measures short of the use of force would not suffice to preserve peace, it would be empowered under the Proposals to use air, naval, or land forces to maintain or restore peace. Such forces might be used only in demonstrations, or in the establishment of pacific blockade, or they might be used in such other manner as the circumstances might require.

The Security Council might call upon all members of the Organization to supply military contingents or it might limit its call to some of them, depending upon the locality and magnitude of the threat or breach of the peace.

In brief, the Security Council would be empowered to inquire into any dispute or situation that might lead to international friction. It would not take further action unless there should appear to be a threat to the peace. Action by the Council might be by way of recommendation to the parties under section A of chapter VIII; or it might be more direct through the use of diplomatic or economic measures, or even resort to force when necessary, under section B. The parties themselves would be under an abiding obligation to settle their differences by pacific methods. If they observe this obligation there should be little or no occasion for resort to stringent measures.

Coming now to the International Court of Justice contemplated in chapter VII of the Proposals, little can here be said except that the representatives of the four powers meeting at Dumbarton

Oaks were in entire agreement that an international organization would be incomplete without a court. They were also in entire agreement that all members of the International Organization should *ipso facto* become parties to the Statute of the Court, and that the Statute should be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the Organization. They realized the painstaking care with which the present Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice had been prepared initially by a committee of distinguished jurists and with which the amendments had been drafted in 1929; also that there had developed around the Statute a considerable body of jurisprudence which it might not be desirable unnecessarily to disturb. On the other hand, they recognized that at least some changes would be necessary to fit the Statute to the pattern of the new Organization. They therefore suggested that the Statute should continue in force with such modifications as may be desirable or that it should be used as the basis of a new statute.

Public discussions of the Court have, to a considerable extent, revolved around three major topics: (1) compulsory jurisdiction, (2) enforcement of decisions, and (3) the possible creation within the framework of the Court of auxiliary courts with original jurisdiction.

The first of these propositions (compulsory jurisdiction) relates to the question whether, as in municipal law, a plaintiff should be empowered to bring an action against a defendant without the latter's consent or whether there should be a prior agreement between the parties to submit to the jurisdiction of the Court. Article 36 of the present Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice provides that "The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force." It also contains the "compulsory-jurisdiction" clause by which members may declare that they recognize "as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement", in relation to any other member or state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of four classes of legal disputes:

- (1) the interpretation of a treaty;
- (2) any question of international law;

- (3) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; and
- (4) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made.

The declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction of the Court may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain members or states, or for a certain time. Approximately 50 states have accepted compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in one form or another. Of these, 44 states conditioned their acceptance on reciprocity.

Jurisdiction of the Court, as indicated previously, comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions. Article 26 of the British Mandate for Palestine, for example, provided for submission to the Court of any dispute between the Mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, which could not be settled by negotiation. In the *Mavromatis Palestine Concessions* case, the Greek Government brought an action against the British Government, relying, *inter alia*, upon this article. The British Government countered that the Court did not have jurisdiction, but the Court held otherwise and heard and decided the case.

The number of treaties and conventions which make special provision for matters which shall fall within the Court's jurisdiction is very large. Instances of application to the Court to take jurisdiction over matters concerning which reference to it was specially provided for in treaties include the case just mentioned, the *S. S. Wimbledon* case, the case concerning *German Interests in Polish Upper Silesia*, the *Chorzow Factory* case, the case concerning the *Rights of Minorities in Upper Silesia*, the case concerning the *Interpretation of the Statute of Memel*, the case concerning the *Administration of the Prince of Pless*, and the proceedings concerning the *Polish Agrarian Reform and the German Minority*.

As to the enforcement of decisions of the Court, arguments *pro* and *contra* can of course be made, but to my way of thinking it is not a matter on which hasty conclusions should be reached.

The Constitution of the United States provides in article III, section 2, that "The judicial Power

shall extend to . . . Controversies between two or more States". By the same section it is provided that the Supreme Court "shall have original Jurisdiction" in all cases "in which a State shall be Party". There is, however, no provision in the Constitution with respect to the enforcement of decisions in such cases.

In 1906 the Commonwealth of Virginia filed a bill in equity in the Supreme Court seeking a decree for an accounting as between Virginia and West Virginia with respect to the balance due from the latter state, following its separation from Virginia, on the public debt as it existed prior to January 1, 1861, and praying that West Virginia "be made a party defendant". West Virginia demurred on the ground, among others, that the Court lacked jurisdiction because "this court has no power to render or enforce any final judgment or decree thereon". (*Virginia v. West Virginia*, 206 U. S. 290, 306, 307. 1907.) The Court overruled the demurrer, Mr. Chief Justice Fuller delivering the opinion. The Court stated:

"But it is objected that this court has no jurisdiction . . . because the court has no power to enforce and therefore none to render any final judgment or decree herein. . . .

"The object of the suit is a settlement with West Virginia, and to that end a determination and adjudication of the amount due by that State to Virginia, and when this court has ascertained and adjudged the proportion of the debt of the original State which it would be equitable for West Virginia to pay, it is not to be presumed on demurrer that West Virginia would refuse to carry out the decree of this court. If such repudiation should be absolutely asserted we can then consider by what means the decree may be enforced. Consent to be sued was given when West Virginia was admitted into the Union, and it must be assumed that the legislature of West Virginia would in the natural course make provision for the satisfaction of any decree that may be rendered." (*Ibid.* 317, 319. See also *Virginia v. West Virginia*, 220 U. S. 1, 34, 35-36. 1911.)

There will be various classes of cases before the International Court, some important, some less important. Public opinion will have its effect where the integrity of the litigant state is not alone sufficient. Moreover, in the important cases where non-compliance with a decision of the Court

## Designation of H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld as United States Representative in Hungary

[Released to the press January 20]

The President has designated H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld as the United States representative in Hungary for the general protection of American interests. As in the case of Rumania and Bulgaria, this representative will function in addition to and separate from the Control Commission.

Mr. Schoenfeld has the personal rank of Minister.

might constitute a threat to the peace, the Security Council would have jurisdiction to suggest or require adjustment.

On the proposal for the erection of so-called auxiliary courts, the house of delegates of the American Bar Association at its annual meeting in Chicago resolved that the Permanent Court of International Justice should be so organized that a member would "be available to sit as an International Circuit Court, with original jurisdiction".

Articles 26 and 27 of the existing Statute of the Court contain provision for the appointment by the Court of special chambers of five judges each, who may, if the parties so demand, hear and determine labor cases and also cases relating to transit and communications. In these classes of cases recourse may also be had to the summary procedure provided for in article 29 of the Statute. This article provides that for the purpose of the speedy despatch of business, the Court shall form annually a chamber of five judges who, at the request of the contesting parties, may hear and determine cases by summary procedure.

It may well be that the Court envisioned by the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals should have an auxiliary branch or branches to pass upon certain classes of cases or cases which parties to a dispute are prepared to submit to such a chamber or court. Such an auxiliary court could hold its sessions at places other than the seat of the principal Court, as might be desired by the parties or as might in the judgment of the Court best promote the administration of justice. There is much to be said for bringing the Court closer to the people and

closer to the locale of the dispute. Such a procedure might follow either of two courses: one would be to have the chamber sit as a court of first instance with a right of appeal by either party to the full Court in any or in certain classes of cases, and with the right of the principal Court to determine whether it should grant an appeal; and another course would be to make the decisions of the auxiliary chamber final. Certainly it could hardly be said that if the right to go to such a chamber is made optional, denial of right of appeal would work a hardship. If the parties were not prepared at the outset to accept its judgment as final, they could take their case in the first instance to the principal Court.

To summarize, the cardinal feature of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals is peaceful settlement of international disputes. Those Proposals envisage an undertaking by the nations who would become parties to the Charter to be evolved to settle disputes by peaceful means. The different steps for such a settlement are indicated. They are negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement, or such other peaceful means as the parties may choose. Any state, whether a member of the Organization or not, may bring any dispute or situation to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council. Both the Assembly and the Council would be empowered to consider any such dispute or situation and to make recommendations looking to an adjustment. If the dispute related to a legal question, such as the meaning of a treaty, the location of a boundary, the obligation of one of the parties toward the other, and solution could not be found through other peaceful means, the parties could have recourse to arbitration or to the International Court. The possible employment of force by the Security Council would be only a last resort and should, if these peaceful processes are followed, rarely if ever be necessary.

We are faced not with a theoretical situation but rather with a practical question as to whether nations shall follow the course that they have followed through the centuries with one war after another, or whether nations are capable of reformulating their attitudes and conduct along enlightened and constructive lines by placing wars of aggression in the limbo of the past.

The lawyers of this and other countries, no less than other seriously minded people, have a responsibility as well as an opportunity in this most

important movement for the advancement of law and order in the international field. The maintenance of law and order among nations must not be pursued with less vigilance than the maintenance of law and order within nations if peace is to be assured.

## Designation of Lauchlin Currie To Conduct Negotiations With Switzerland

[Released to the press January 25]

The Secretary of State stated on January 3 that we have had under consideration and study our economic relations with Switzerland. New negotiations with regard to this problem are about to be undertaken. The President has agreed to the designation of Lauchlin Currie to conduct these negotiations on behalf of the United States, and he will shortly leave for Switzerland.

Our efforts to shorten the war render it important that these negotiations be undertaken without delay.

## The Rubber Study Group

UNITED KINGDOM AND NETHERLANDS MEMBERS TO VISIT AMERICAN SYNTHETIC PLANTS

[Released to the press January 24]

The rubber industry has made arrangements for the Netherlands and the United Kingdom members of the Rubber Study Group to visit several synthetic-rubber plants as well as rubber-manufacturing and rubber-reclaiming plants in West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and New Jersey. This trip is for the purpose of acquainting the visiting delegates with the American synthetic industry which has been developed during the war to fill the gap caused by the loss of 90 percent of the Far Eastern rubber-producing areas. The following members will be included in the inspection group:

### UNITED KINGDOM

O. S. Franks, *chairman*  
Sir Gerard Clauson  
R. L. Hall  
E. M. L. Hall-Patch  
Sir John Hay  
W. G. Kellett  
F. G. Lee  
H. E. Miller  
A. G. Pawson  
Sir Walrond Sinclair

### NETHERLANDS

P. H. Westermann, *chairman*  
Lt. Col. J. T. Cremer  
Dr. P. Honig  
Captain L. Jiskoot  
O. Reuchlin  
Dr. T. A. Tengwall



# The Concern of the United States With Mineral Resources

Address by CHARLES P. TAFT<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 26]

You have asked me to speak to you today as a representative of the Department of State, because you want to know at first hand what the Department believes and what it is doing in these matters of foreign policy that affect you and your business of mining. That invitation deserves a clear and honest explanation. A year ago my associate, Paul Linz, came out to your congress and told many of you informally much of what the Department stands for. I shall try to be even more direct and specific today.

This statement must be placed within a broader background than crude ores and their extraction. We live in a shrinking world and you cannot live to yourselves in the Rockies any more than we in Washington can be permitted to withdraw to an ivory tower. The United States must adjust its situation to that of nearly all parts of the world, if not because of any philosophy of brotherhood (though I personally believe in that) then assuredly because we can't help ourselves.

You in the mining industry are a part of the pipe-line of industrial raw materials. You cannot ignore either the smelters, the transportation industry, the fabricators, or the consumers. You cannot ignore the welfare and standard of living of the men who work for you, but neither can you ignore the men who work for rail and steamship lines and for the industries that refine your product and then turn it into articles for the world's use.

Your view must go further. You must take into account the factors affecting our national defense. More than ten years ago a group organized by the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers conducted a conference in cooperation with the Council on Foreign Relations. Their findings were prophetic. They described our industrial organization as a giant among those of the other nations of the world, but a giant with weaknesses concerned principally

with a lack in the United States of some of the basic raw materials required for its output. These strategic raw materials, the group pointed out, must come, in an emergency, from domestic production, from existing stocks, and it should have been added, from foreign production in those cases where our foreign purchases could be adequately protected from foreign attack in an emergency during transit to these shores.

Cost is not a factor in such an emergency, but time is vital. There must be sufficient stocks to keep up production of needed articles, while the pipe-line is being filled with substitutes.

The group of 1933 named manganese, chrome, mercury, mica, tin, nickel, rubber, wolfram, cobalt, radium, and coconut shells as missing strategic materials. Prophets though they were, they missed a large number of the items on the strategic list of 1945, as established by the Army and Navy authorities. Their basic position was entirely right, but their best efforts were unable to persuade the Government in 1937 to do more than make a start toward a reserve stockpile.

The start was made by the stockpile act passed that year under the leadership of Senator Thomas of Utah, and it proved most fortunate as far as it went. The war came, and we were caught short in only too many respects. The United States and the British Government pooled their efforts in the Combined Raw Materials Board early in 1942, and herculean efforts through the last three years have brought a relatively easy supply of all but a few of the strategic raw materials. Most of them are still unavailable for many normal civilian uses, and of course sudden demands often change the picture.

Now we have reached the point where we must anticipate what will happen when hostilities cease. I am not predicting when the war will end. I am not modifying the demands on you made by the stated requirements of the War Production Board, but I am trying to state to you the foreign policy of the United States in order that you may have confidence in going forward now, full out for the winning of the war.

When hostilities cease altogether or in one of the great areas of conflict there will be cut-backs

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Inter-Mountain Mining and Economic Association, Denver, Colo., Jan. 26, 1945. Mr. Taft is Director of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, Department of State.

in requirements of raw materials. That must mean cut-backs in production under War Production Board contracts. For high-cost mines there have been higher prices, incentive prices. Obviously high-cost production must go first, but the contracting authority should taper it off, on an agreed basis if possible, but on a fair basis in any event. A government representing the taxpayers, as well as a government concerned with the ultimate welfare of the owners and the employees, must cut off the high-cost mines first and get back to a standard market price.

What about the question as between domestic and foreign producers? The State Department has been widely advertised among your mining fraternity as advocating the continuance of foreign purchases while your mines are shut down. That statement is not true and has never been true. That was not the position of Mr. Feis who preceded me as the officer responsible for relationships to the wartime policy of the Department in this respect.

We do take the position that the producers should be treated with justice in the cutting back or termination of existing contracts. That means that all high-cost mines here or abroad should be treated alike, in our judgment. If they are closed down or cut back here they should be closed down or cut back abroad, and vice versa. When the requirements cease, they should all be closed down. The high-cost mines have to be closed down eventually, and you should plan for the fairest and most effective way to do it when the time comes. You must plan for other ways for those miners to be employed in soundly established peacetime industry, after they have finished their job in the war. But let me repeat, their job in the war was never more essential than now at this crisis of the battle.

There are other important considerations affecting the future of the mining industry as well as national defense. Reserves of many of our strategic metals do not assure supply for more than two or three decades with present technology. It therefore behooves the industries of this country not only to intensify efforts to develop new resources at home but also to develop foreign sources of supply. It is the duty of the Government to provide every assistance in both these fields.

The argument has been made frequently that if we are using up a wasting asset, in the interest of national defense, we should use up the other fel-

low's wasting asset, and preserve our own. Our high-grade copper will be gone in 25 years, our best zinc concentrates in 15, they claim. Let's use up the other fellow's and save our own. The argument has much force. But when an emergency comes, what you need at once is stocks, not ore in the ground. And furthermore a careful measure of the power of our military forces shows that stocks of ore in the ground in Canada or Mexico, and even in South America, may be just as good as if we had brought them here or had them in American soil.

Appraisals of the present state of our mineral reserves by various authorities differ. However, few will deny that at some time in the future depletion will become a major problem and that this country will be in the midst of the same transition that England had to make at the beginning of the last century, that is, from a largely self-sufficient country to a country dependent upon imported mineral raw materials. In the future there will undoubtedly be even sharper division of opinion as to the proper course of action than there has been in the past, because fundamental economic decisions vitally affecting every citizen will have to be made. To accumulate information on a problem of such scope is not the task of a year or two; it must be done systematically and painstakingly over a long period. With these points in mind the regularly constituted agencies of our Government are now formulating plans to implement the efforts of the mineral industry in their development of foreign and domestic sources of supply and the assembly of information thereon.

Possibly the most important reason for investigating foreign supply during the post-war years is that, without adequate knowledge of foreign resources, an intelligent domestic mineral policy cannot be developed or implemented. As mineral deposits become depleted, costs usually rise. When domestic costs rise above world prices, the question of subsidy or tariff comes to the fore. An intelligent domestic mineral policy must balance the admitted desirability of maintaining domestic employment against the cost of doing so. When the cost of the raw materials for our manufacturing industries becomes too high in contrast with costs to other manufacturing countries, our industrial production must suffer in the long run and unemployment will result eventually, in spite of various palliative measures. Industrial unemployment, of course, is quickly reflected in the extractive indus-

tries. Adequate information on foreign resources will permit an intelligent appraisal of production trends and of availability of raw materials to our competitors and to ourselves.

Thus our mineral extractive industry and the mineral deposits it exploits are in direct competition with foreign mineral production on two fronts, in the raw-material stage and in the manufactured-product stage. It will be of considerable value to every mining enterprise, to the mining industry as a whole, and to the Government to have as much information as possible concerning the nature of the competition that this country must inevitably face.

In the meantime we are faced with the problem of surpluses when the shooting stops, and that brings us to the various plans for providing stocks of strategic materials, to be available in case of emergency.

The Minerals Inquiry Group of 1933 mentioned above, proposed that the World War debts, otherwise uncollectible, be paid off by accepting raw materials of this strategic character and laying them aside as national insurance. Similar proposals have been made more recently. It was admitted that accepting them for resale to American consumers would reduce the trade credits normally created by this sale in American markets. This would be of no assistance whatever in helping those countries to buy American goods, but, they said, transfers above and beyond normal trade, for a frozen-security stockpile, would have no such effect.

I cannot agree with that. These raw materials are most of them wasting assets as I have said. The existence of such materials abroad, which the United States will need after the war, is one of the great resources for getting international trade with the United States going again. We have more interest, more immediate and long-run selfish interest, in seeing every scrap of possible and desirable imports come in which can stimulate an immediate export of new goods, than we have in getting any dead horses paid for. Production and export mean employment.

But do we want a stockpile for security after the war? Well, whether we want it or not, for whatever purpose, we are certainly going to have one. Exact estimates are of course impossible, but the very fact that our whole war effort has been stepped up to a new peak means at least very sizeable stocks when hostilities cease. In many cases, we shall have on hand in Government or

private ownership two or three years' supply above the normal pipe-line for peacetime demands. Congress has recognized the danger which that creates for employment in extraction and refining by freezing such stocks until a year from this spring. But what then?

A frozen-security stockpile subject only to congressional release has been often proposed and widely discussed within and without the Government. However, neither the Government departments nor the Congress has gone further than the inadequate stockpile act of 1937 and the recent Surplus Property Act. Such a stockpile should be fixed in amounts by the competent authorities for direct military and indirect industrial needs, in case of emergency. The amounts required for such a stockpile would in most cases be beyond existing stocks. That would permit, if Congress approved, continued buying at home and abroad on a fair basis of prompt tapering off. It would in any case remove from post-war markets the overwhelming threat of dumping a surplus into commercial channels, with the devastating results on employment that you oldtimers, who went through the early twenties, can describe better than I can. The plan has great advantages and should commend itself to the Congress if properly presented and supported.

One question may well be raised. How would this fit in with our plans for world security, especially those embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals? Are we seeking peace with our tongues in our cheeks and with a gun and a blackjack behind our backs? Certainly not! From Dumbarton Oaks came proposals, in the direct line of inheritance from the League to Enforce Peace and the League of Nations. They were worked out by able statesmen representing four great nations. They will soon be submitted to the United Nations and will grow in content and authority. But they will not achieve maturity, prestige, and power over the spirits of men and nations until we have all lived with them for a number of years. In the meantime they carry the hope and yearning of millions of men and women, and children, too, and the determined hope of the world's political leaders, during a period of the worst in brutal warfare, with chaos in civil government clearly possible in many areas when that warfare ends. We, like every other nation, must maintain our own security until collective security is firmly established, and none of us is hypocritical or inconsistent in doing so. An adequate navy

and an adequate air force will be maintained by us under a world organization, and peacetime conscription is no doubt proposed with similar intent.

It is clear therefore that we can appropriately consider the proposal for a security stockpile on its own merits now. It becomes, if set up by Congress, an additional factor to back up the peace-loving nations in their support of the world organization, and to insure that no anti-social minority will again wish to make war.

There is a brief review of our thinking in the Department of State. The foreign policy of the United States must promote the best interests of Americans from coast to coast, all Americans. That means many adjustments, obviously. Policies must be worked out with a full understanding of every interest of every group, but it is equally true that every group must study its own problems in the light of the interest of the whole United States, the immediate interest and the long-time interest. I am sure you would ask nothing less from your Department of State in your Government of the United States.

## Proposed Exchange of Nationals Between United States and Japan

[Released to the press January 22]

The following communication from the Japanese Government has been forwarded to the Department of State by the Spanish Embassy at Washington, in charge of Japanese interests in the continental United States, with the request that it be made known to the Japanese nationals concerned:

"Japanese Government are carefully considering further exchange of nationals between Japan and United States and expect to be able to carry it out during next year (1945). In view of special nature of Tule Lake segregation center Japanese Government are prepared to give special consideration to repatriation of Japanese subjects detained there through exchange."

The Department of State has requested the Swiss Government, in charge of United States interests in Japan, to obtain additional information with regard to the Japanese Government's plans for the proposed exchange of nationals between Japan and the United States.

The efforts put forth by the Department for the repatriation of American nationals in Japanese custody have been many and continuous.<sup>1</sup> The first exchange of nationals between the United States Government and the Japanese Government took place in the summer of 1942 when over 1,300 American nationals were repatriated from the Far East. Further negotiations, lasting more than a year, culminated in a second exchange of civilians late in 1943. Approximately 1,240 nationals of the United States, including a small number from the Philippine Islands, and 260 nationals of the other American republics and Canada were repatriated by this exchange.

In negotiating for the second exchange, and while that exchange was in progress, the Department of State proposed to the Japanese Government that further exchanges be effected immediately. The Japanese Government at that time refused to discuss further exchanges, advancing as its reason that it desired to receive "clarification on certain points respecting the treatment of Japanese nationals in the United States". Spanish representatives in charge of Japanese interests in the continental United States were requested to supply the information requested by the Japanese Government and there is reason to believe that they complied with this request.

In March 1944 the Department of State reopened, through the Swiss Government, the question of further exchanges. A complete plan was presented under which, on a reciprocal basis, accelerated exchanges might be made. The Japanese Government informed the Swiss Government that this proposal was under study. Since then the Department of State has done everything possible to obtain Japanese agreement to further exchanges. In an effort to overcome Japanese indifference, the Department continued to present proposals, including one for a series of continuous small-scale exchanges involving the use of available railroad connections between Japanese-held territory on the Asiatic continent and the Soviet Union.

The present communication from the Japanese Government indicates that, after long delay, Japan is now ready to negotiate for the further exchange of American and Japanese nationals. The Department of State is prepared to insure the speedy execution of any exchange to which the Japanese Government's agreement can be obtained.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 15, 1944, p. 439.

# The International Control of Radiocommunications

Address by FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 25]

On February 23, 1902 Admiral Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of Kaiser Wilhelm II and active head of the German Navy, arrived in New York aboard the North German Lloyd liner *Kronprinz Wilhelm*. The purpose of the visit was to represent the Kaiser at the launching of the imperial racing yacht *Meteor* and incidentally to do what he could by his personal charm and genial presence to improve German-American relations, which had been none too friendly for a number of years.

The visit of the Prince happened to coincide with the tremendous interest that was developing in regard to the sensational achievements of Marconi in the field of wireless telegraphy. Three months earlier, on December 11, 1901, Marconi had sent his first message across the Atlantic between his Cornwall and Newfoundland stations. However, the Marconi system was not the only one in operation. Other inventors had been at work on the principle of the Hertzian wave. The two competing German systems were the Slaby-Arco and the Braun, the former being favored by the German Government while the latter was officially adopted by the Australian Government. The Popp-Branley system was preferred in France where the authorities had ordered it installed in all coastal stations and on warships of the Republic. In the United States, the leading systems were the De Forest and the Fessenden-Moore. In Great Britain, however, Marconi was supreme, and he had entered into an arrangement with the British Government which practically barred all competitors from getting a foothold throughout the British Empire.

Opposition to the Marconi monopoly developed rapidly in Germany and in an order dated March 1, 1902 the German Emperor decreed that the Slaby-Arco system of wireless telegraphy was to be used exclusively on board ships of the Imperial Navy and at coast stations. A furious controversy between the various proponents of different systems of radio communications ensued and it was at that very time that Prince Henry made his memorable trip to the United States. As a result he had wireless trouble on the way over and on the voyage home. The *Kronprinz Wilhelm* was at that time still equipped with Marconi apparatus. When the

vessel arrived within radio distance of the American coast, about 100 miles, an attempt was made to send a wireless message to President Theodore Roosevelt announcing the impending arrival of the royal guest. It was not until the vessel was inside New York Harbor that communication was established with the shore station on Governor's Island and the message sent. The failure was ascribed to the interference of an outward-bound Cunarder, which was carrying on a continuous conversation with the shore and refused to get off the air so that no message from the German vessel could get through. On the return voyage there was trouble from start to finish.

The homeward trip was made aboard the Hamburg-American liner *Deutschland*, equipped with the Slaby-Arco system. The German authorities had addressed an application to the management of the Marconi Company, requesting their operators to receive Slaby-Arco messages during Prince Henry's voyage, but the request had been promptly refused.

Before leaving the American coast, the liner attempted to communicate with the Nantucket Shoals Lightship, which employed the Marconi system, in order to send a farewell message from Prince Henry to President Roosevelt. The Lightship refused to acknowledge the *Deutschland's* signals or to enter into any communication with her.

The same thing happened again as the vessel approached the shores of England and tried to get in touch with the Marconi station at the Lizard. But the crowning insult to German royalty came as the liner neared the German coast and tried to establish contact with the wireless station at the port of Cuxhaven in Germany.

The Kaiser had made elaborate plans to greet his royal brother from a German battleship which was to meet the *Deutschland* a few miles outside Cuxhaven and escort the vessel into port. When the liner attempted to communicate its po-

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the 33d annual banquet of the Institute of Radio Engineers, New York, N. Y., Jan. 25, 1945. Mr. de Wolf is Chief of the Telecommunications Division, Office of Transportation and Communications, Department of State.

sition about 100 miles from port, no message could get through because of interference from the powerful Marconi shore station at Poldhu across the English Channel. Consequently the *Deutschland* was practically in the harbor before news of its arrival was delivered to the Kaiser at lunch. The plans of His Majesty were completely upset and the whole ceremony of the Prince's reception misfired rather badly. Whether as a result of the feelings of outraged royalty or not, the German Government acted promptly. The Prince had arrived at Cuxhaven on March 18; and on the following day, March 19, the German Ambassador in Washington presented a memorandum to the Department of State requesting an international conference on wireless telegraphy with a view to establishing regulations for its control.

The first International Radio Conference took place in Berlin in August 1903. The principles embodied in the final protocol of the Berlin conference have remained the basic law of international radio regulations, notably, the rules that coastal stations are obliged to exchange telegrams with ship stations without regard to the system employed; that distress calls have priority; that services must be organized in such a way as to avoid interference with other stations; and that military and naval services are exempt from the provisions of the regulations except with regard to distress calls and interference. The basic principles of rate regulations in this field of communications were also adopted.

The British Delegation undertook to submit the conclusions of the Berlin conference to the examination of its Government, but declared that, in view of the situation of wireless telegraphy in the United Kingdom, the Delegation must "maintain a general reservation."

The Italian Delegation substantially followed the lead of the British Delegation.

The principles of the Berlin protocol were reaffirmed at a radio conference at Berlin in 1906 and a London conference in 1912. Fourteen nations, including the United States, signed the Berlin convention which was finally proclaimed and put into effect on May 25, 1912. Shortly before, the *Titanic* disaster had demonstrated to the world the mischief which could be accomplished by unregulated wireless communications.

Thus the visit of Prince Henry to the United States dramatized, if it did not hasten, the efforts

to secure international cooperation in the control of radio communications.

The first World War interrupted the process of regulating radio waves and it was not until 1927 that an international radiotelegraph conference took place in Washington, at which time the nations of the world adopted the first table of allocations which has become the guide for all international policing of the radio spectrum.

Five years later, in 1932 in Madrid, there took place the first Telecommunications Conference which placed, under one roof, radio, telephone, and telegraph and established a uniform convention to which the United States was willing to subscribe. As in former days, however, the United States abstained from becoming a party to the telegraph regulations on the ground that in this country telegraphy was largely carried on by private companies and the Government did not feel that it could become a party thereto. In Cairo, in 1938, at the last Telecommunications Conference before the present war, the regulations annexed to the Madrid convention were amended without changing the convention itself. These are the regulations which are in effect today.

And now as to the future.

The State Department has invited other interested Federal agencies, as well as private industry, to join with it in studying what should be the position of the United States at forthcoming international conferences. The first one of these, the Third Inter-American Radio Conference, will take place in Rio de Janeiro in June 1945.

Thereafter, we anticipate a world conference to continue the work of the Berlin, London, Washington, Madrid, and Cairo conferences. As I view it, the main purpose of these international conferences is to make the very best use possible of available radio frequencies. There is a constant race between science, which endeavors to extend the usable portion of the radio spectrum and to make more economic use of existing frequencies, and the ever-increasing demands for frequencies by the users. Until the close of World War I the use of radio was confined almost exclusively to communications with ships. Nowadays the number of radio services and the different kinds of radio stations have tremendously increased. In 1939 there were in the United States 3,061 broadcasting stations, including standard broadcast stations, television broadcast, international broadcast, and fac-

simile. There were at the same time 62,433 non-broadcast stations in the United States alone, divided between such services as amateurs (53,558 stations), aviation (subdivided into four categories), agriculture, police (municipal, state, et cetera), experimental, fixed public (point-to-point telegraph), public coastal, relay press, geophysical, and ship stations (3,736).

The recommendations of the Federal Communications Commission for post-war frequency allocation for radio services operating between 25,000 and 30,000 megacycles have opened up new vistas for radio, including frequency modulation, television, facsimile, "walkie-talkie", et cetera. The next international conference will thus be confronted with the tremendous problem of devising an adequate control of radio so that it will be of maximum benefit to all the users.

I think it is particularly true that in the field of radio communications, control is essential; without it we would have chaos. On the other hand, we must not lose sight of the fact that science and private initiative have been responsible for the tremendous development of the industry and that the controls have been created merely to bring the maximum utility out of the results of private research and endeavor.

I participated in the 1938 Cairo conference and I can testify to the splendid spirit of cooperation between American industry and the United States Government. This close collaboration between the Government and industry in the telecommunication field has proved most beneficial to both and has established a pattern which might well be copied in other fields of endeavor.

I feel confident, therefore, that with a continuation of this active cooperation, we will reach solutions which will prove acceptable to all the users of the radio spectrum, although they may not obtain 100 percent of all their demands.

For the past two years we have been working on plans of the post-war telecommunication world. Many of these, of course, are still in the blueprint stage. It is not possible for me at this time to go into detail as to what these plans consist of. I may say, however, that we have in mind a modernization of our existing international telecommunication bodies, bringing them more in line with the necessities of present day radio, particularly in the field of radio interference and radio regulation. In this field, as in other fields, we must determine

whether we are prepared to surrender a certain modicum of sovereignty to insure a more efficient control of radio, for radio knows no national boundaries. This is particularly evident at international radio conferences where the different categories of users of the radio spectrum have a tendency to gravitate toward each other. English and American broadcasters, for example, band together against the British and American aeronautical radio services and the latter seek allies among the maritime services against the amateurs. Eventually, solutions are reached and meanwhile national frontiers have been well-nigh forgotten.

We also envisage the possibility of the formation of an inter-American telecommunication union which would accomplish for this hemisphere what has been done on a world basis by the International Telecommunication Union at Bern.

We have other plans also for the saving of radio frequencies. We are considering means to assure radio services to certain points for twenty-four hours a day without interference from the magnetic pole. In one case we have already accomplished this by assuring a twenty-four-hour service between New York and Moscow through a relay operated by an American radio company station at Algiers. Our Government engineers are now studying the possibility of the so-called equatorial belt system, and at the same moment they are busy with the consideration of a plan which, in their estimation, would be even better than routing radio waves along the equator.

As you know, the question of a possible merger of the American communications companies engaged in international communications is also under active consideration. Reasonable men may differ as to the advisability of including all or only some of the American companies in such a merger, but whatever solution may be reached, it will undoubtedly result in a more efficient service and a definite saving of our all too precious frequencies.

The Federal Communications Commission, the Interdepartmental Radio Advisory Committee—IRAC to initiate—together with the State Department's interdepartmental post-war committees, will consider the new allocation plans to be submitted at the next international conference on behalf of the United States. Some time in the not too distant future we anticipate holding a conference with representatives of the British Com-

*(Continued on next page)*

# The Positive Approach to an Enduring Peace

Address by HENRY S. VILLARD<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 19]

We have heard a good deal of late about the need after this terrible war to organize international action in the political and military field, but rather less about the general principles which must govern the conduct of day-to-day human relations if future bloody strife is to be avoided. The shocking destruction of lives and property may have caused some of us to become preoccupied with the physical ways and means of stopping an aggressor in his tracks—by force if necessary. In our deep concern with the problem of world security we may be inclined to overlook the *positive* approach to an enduring peace.

It is obvious that the scientific weapons of mass murder today can develop staggering potentialities tomorrow. Never again can mankind afford a global war if our civilization is to survive. The task of this generation is to make certain that no such catastrophe takes place and that the united effort of the human race in so far as possible is bent to constructive ends.

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**RADIOCOMMUNICATIONS**—Continued from page 135  
monwealth of Nations looking toward a more efficient and more economical means of communications between the English-speaking people of the world.

I do not believe that the American public has ever been so conscious in its history of the importance of communications and of the advisability of breaking down all barriers which prevent the easy, economical, and speedy flow of intelligence. Never before has there been a closer integration between government and industry to bring this about.

Thus radio points the way to a new world, in which government and private enterprise, hand in hand, will work out solutions for the greater benefit of all mankind, where national boundaries will have as much or as little meaning as the boundaries between the several states of our Union and in which, by international cooperation, we will assure to the peoples of the world the free and untrammelled use of radio in all its varied applications.

We have a fine record of endeavor behind us. I know we have a still finer record ahead of us.

I don't suppose any audience could be more sincerely interested than you in the solution of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, and in the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Effective international cooperation along these lines is a basic requirement for the maintenance of world peace and security; without such cooperation, progress toward the elimination of war is impossible. It was in full recognition of these important factors in human existence that the Proposals for a world organization advanced at Dumbarton Oaks included this positive function as a major purpose of the Organization. Specifically, the Proposals vest in the General Assembly, and in an Economic and Social Council under its authority, responsibility for promoting international cooperative activity in the economic and social fields.

I can assure you that the Department of State is very much alive to the possibilities and implications of this new Economic and Social Council which would have to do with the whole wide and inspiring realm of constructive international cooperation. The subject is, of course, complex—as complex as human nature itself. But to strive effectively for harmonious relations between peoples, one must go to the roots of the manifold activities engaged in by society, with all the attendant difficulties brought about by differing points of view. I am going to try to tell you something about the human and social problems that are currently engaging the Department's attention; but first, I should like to explain a little more fully the scope of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals in terms of the Economic and Social Council.

Picture to yourselves an active agency of the proposed general International Organization, composed of representatives of 18 member countries elected every 3 years by the General Assembly, dedicated to the advancement of human welfare and the solution of those multiple problems which

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<sup>1</sup> Delivered at a luncheon given by the American Mission to Lepers on Jan. 22, 1945, at New York, N. Y. Mr. Villard is Chief of the Division of African Affairs, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State.



relate to man's material and cultural well-being. Assisting this widely representative agency and under its direction would be a number of highly competent commissions, staffed by experts and research specialists in the various fields calling for international collaboration. Behind the formal words defining the purpose, functions, and procedure of the agency lies an ideal to which everyone can contribute. If the objective of the Economic and Social Council and its advisory bodies is successfully carried out, it will result in the fostering on a grand scale of a state of affairs conducive to human progress which, with the aid of the security machinery of the Organization, can be carried on without the interruption of wars or preparations for wars.

Attempts have been made in the past, through commissions and committees of the League of Nations, to improve economic and social standards and to encourage among the nations the development of a sense of mutual responsibility and participation in meeting problems common to all. The International Labor Office, the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, the International Institute of Agriculture, and the Bank for International Settlements were additional examples of the growing trend toward world-wide cooperative action. While these bodies had their limitations, they have made useful contributions to the cause of international understanding.

But realization of the immense importance in the modern world of promoting cooperative effort among all peoples led the planners at Dumbarton Oaks to go further and, in their blueprints, to provide for bringing into relations with one over-all authority all the existing specialized international agencies dealing with such varied topics as economics, finance, agriculture, education, aviation, relief and rehabilitation, and the like. With proper coordination and assistance, such as would be afforded by the Economic and Social Council and its agencies or commissions, I think you will agree that the plan presents an unlimited challenge. If statesmen should devote their full energies to the opportunity, can there be any doubt that a long step forward will have been taken toward the removal of those deplorable situations which so frequently result in international friction and disputes?

The "Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation", as envisaged in chap-

ter IX of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, look directly to the creation of those conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. To this end, the proposed International Organization is specifically enjoined to "facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems", and to "promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms". In carrying out its duties under this directive, it seems to me that the Economic and Social Council will have to deal with three problems in particular.

As far as we here in America are concerned, I am sure that all of us earnestly believe that the close of this war must mark the inauguration of an era of greater civil liberty for free and peaceable men. The true progress of mankind is gauged by the advances in the realization of human rights which can enable the human personality to develop fully in a spirit of justice and tolerance. We here believe that the mind and spirit of men can best grow under a government devoted to protecting the liberties of its citizens and providing economic justice and security for all. It would seem further that the civil rights of mankind form an indivisible body of rights, for all civil liberties are interdependent; one cannot go forward without the others. The rights of freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of religious worship, and of association are basic, inalienable, and inseparable. To these rights should be added the right of free access to information so that men can form wise judgments as a prelude to wise action.

The constant goal of the American people has been the attainment of a society marked by greater individual liberty granted to all men regardless of race, creed, or economic status. The Bill of Rights in the American Constitution is a great landmark on the road to human liberty. It has been an inspiration to many freedom-loving men of many nations. While the attainment of civil liberty in each country is a struggle which the citizens of each country must wage for themselves, nevertheless we believe that it is possible and right for freedom-loving peoples to give help to those who aspire to freedom.

In formulating any plans for the promotion of human rights, it is essential to realize the difficulties involved in the solution of this problem. In the first place, it will not be easy to arrive at a universally satisfactory definition of "human rights

and fundamental freedoms". Those nations with the Anglo-American system of jurisprudence have traditionally tended to emphasize civil rights such as freedom of speech and freedom from physical restraint, whereas other countries have been inclined to emphasize social equality and economic rights. A much greater obstacle is presented by the traditional reluctance of states to assume international obligations in this field, due to their fear of external interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

These difficulties should not, however, preclude international efforts to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. To take a single illustration, the record of the International Labor Organization shows convincingly what can be achieved in a vital social field on the basis of voluntary international cooperation. Moreover, the present war, more than any other war, has so outraged and affronted the dignity of man that there has been aroused in the great masses of the people everywhere the urgent realization of the need for guaranties of the basic rights of man. These strong popular sentiments have found reflection in the statements of principle of the Atlantic Charter and of the United Nations Declaration, as well as in numerous public statements of various United Nations leaders. Efforts to implement the provisions of chapter IX of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals with respect to human rights would undoubtedly meet with wide-spread popular response throughout the world. These general provisions leave unanswered, of course, many important questions, such as: Should there be some precise definition of "human rights and fundamental freedoms"? Should there be an international bill of rights? Should there be established some specialized international agency, possibly along the lines of the International Labor Organization, which might be charged with the preparation of studies and the formulation of recommendations and other appropriate responsibilities with regard to the promotion of human rights on a universal basis?

One aspect of this matter which we have been actively studying in the Department is the question of religious liberty. A statement on religious liberty, adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, was presented to the Secretary of State last spring and has since received the careful consideration of persons

within the Department concerned with the post-war settlements. The United States has ever been in the forefront as a defender of religious liberty—meaning freedom of worship and of conscience—as shown by the numerous treaties between this Government and foreign governments that contain provisions on the subject. Throughout its history the United States has extended diplomatic protection to its citizens in other countries who follow conscientiously their religion without offense to high standards of morality. You will recall that at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 President Wilson pressed for the inclusion of a general article in the Covenant of the League of Nations providing for religious liberty everywhere. While the proposed article was never adopted in the Covenant its influence was manifest in the arrangements which were drawn up for the mandates and the minorities treaties.

If it were possible to obtain an international agreement on religious liberty following this war, the question might receive implementation—along with other civil liberties—through one of the commissions to be established under the proposed Economic and Social Council of the International Organization. This would not preclude the possibility of inserting in appropriate international treaties or conventions provisions for the free exercise of religion and for freedom of conscience, subject always to the maintenance of public order and security. A good example of such a guaranty is contained in the convention of St. Germain of 1919 relating to the conventional Basin of the Congo in Africa, which the United States ratified on April 11, 1930.<sup>1</sup> I can assure you that this Government is certainly prepared in future instances to accept nothing less than the guaranties of religious liberty already accorded.

We have also been working in the Department on the question of whether it would be feasible to reach an agreement among the nations concerning the free interchange of news and of information. It is becoming more and more obvious that an enlightened public opinion, based on full and free information, is indispensable to mutual respect and common understanding among the peoples of the earth. This differs from "freedom of the press" as we understand it, though Americans subscribe to that principle too, pro-

<sup>1</sup>Treaty Series 877.

vided it does not mean license, obscenity, fraud, or slander. Moreover, this would have nothing to do with necessary censorship controls in time of war. World freedom of information we interpret as the right of all responsible persons and agencies engaged in gathering and disseminating information to the public of their own countries to discharge that duty in other countries where they may be stationed without restraint or hindrance, and to have unimpeded access to all means of communications in doing so. Conversely, we also believe that each nation should permit the reception within territories under its control of information so gathered in other countries, in order that its people may be adequately informed. You will readily see that if these principles were to embrace all modern forms of information, including the press, the radio, and the motion picture, a realistic foundation would be laid for peace through full knowledge and international understanding.

In exploring the principle of freedom of information, various questions arise. Should there be an attempt to incorporate the principle in the Charter of the general International Organization or to obtain recognition thereof by means of a separate international agreement? If the free interchange of information is to be associated with the first of the Four Freedoms, "freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world", might it not belong in the category of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms which could receive attention in one of the commissions under the Economic and Social Council? There is an example of international cooperation in this field in the United Nations Information Board, a remarkably successful experiment born of the war, which might be used as a model for a future expansion in the dissemination of information by means of up-to-date techniques in every part of the world.

Perhaps the most easily understood and the closest to reality of all the media of information—and therefore the most suitable to convey a universal message—is the motion picture film. No mere theory is involved in this statement if our experience in the Department of State is any guide. We are constantly in receipt of requests from foreign countries for motion pictures depicting patterns of American life, activities of our vocational groups, and even such things as the physical characteristics of this country. There is

evidently a real hunger on the part of other peoples to know what we are like, and this has been accentuated by the war. Why should not the means of satisfying this natural desire of the people of one country to know about the people of another be projected on the international plane? Some agency of the International Organization might well render effective assistance in solving the practical problems involved in interpreting the peoples of the world to one another in order to achieve that reciprocal understanding which would make wars less possible.

A second problem which is likely to figure prominently in connection with the work of the future International Organization is that of dependent territories. It is now quite generally recognized that the several hundreds of millions of people who have not yet attained the privilege of self-government, and the resources of the territories they inhabit, are of prime concern to the international community. This concern finds expression not only in humanitarian terms but also in terms of regional and world security. States responsible for the administration of colonies and other possessions in these modern times may reasonably be expected to recognize a firm obligation not only to the dependent peoples but to the world at large, for the welfare and development—political, economic, and social—of the people of their dependent territories.

To assist in formulating policy on this vital subject, in which Americans are taking an increased interest, a Division of Dependent Area Affairs has just been established in the Department of State. This new Division will have to do particularly with the activities of the proposed International Organization as they affect the far-flung dependent areas of the world—an indication of the importance attached to this problem in the current studies for a durable peace.

Of course, post-war international arrangements affecting the dependencies have not as yet taken clear shape. There are difficult problems outstanding, such as the ultimate disposition to be made of the mandates system as a legacy of the League of Nations, and of any non-self-governing territories which may be detached from enemy states in this war.

The mandates system, established 25 years ago as part of the League of Nations, has been a unique experiment in international supervision over the

administration of dependent territories. This system was devised to take care of certain colonies and territories which were detached from our enemies in the last war and which were, in the words of the League Covenant, "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world". To these territories, the Covenant said, "there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation". The mandates system was widely heralded as a promising new departure in the colonial field, and has generally been regarded as one of the most interesting features of the League of Nations, although the experts disagree, as usual, over its merits and defects. One of the mandated territories, Iraq, has long since achieved self-government; and we have recently recognized the independence of Lebanon and Syria.

The United States after the last war concluded treaties with the states administering most of the mandates in the Near East and Africa and with Japan as mandatory power over the former German islands in the North Pacific. The United States as one of the Allied and Associated Powers in the last war has consistently maintained its rights and interests in the mandated territories. The mandates system, like the League of Nations as a whole, continues to exist, and no decision has yet been made concerning its future. This problem was one of several which was not discussed at the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, and still remains for consideration.

The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, in the nearly three years of its operation, has provided a demonstration of a new device in international arrangements affecting dependent territories. This advisory commission, operating in a region in which dependent territories are an outstanding characteristic, has made an excellent start toward giving practical meaning to international cooperation for the primary benefit of the dependent peoples of the area. In its short period of existence the Commission has to its credit a notable record of achievement as, for example, in developing fisheries in the Caribbean, in making foodstuffs available, and in organizing a schooner pool for inter-island shipping. There has been a growing tendency to cite the AACC as an example for other possible post-war organizations in regions whose territories are largely dependent.

The twenty-sixth session of the International Labor Conference, which convened at Philadelphia last spring, also took an important step in a new direction by adopting a "Recommendation Concerning Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories", aimed at insuring progress in the welfare of native labor by inviting colony-holding states to accept well-defined minimum standards with respect to employment practices and living conditions. It may well be that this device of minimum standards of policy and conduct will merit wider application and could be employed to the advantage of dependent peoples in the broad spheres of general political and economic development.

A third problem which will concern the general International Organization is the promotion of cultural and educational cooperation. We are all aware of the appalling disintegration which has taken place in the cultural and educational life of the countries occupied by the enemy. Teachers, students, and men of science appear to have been singled out for special persecution and the wrecks of universities, schools, libraries, museums, and laboratories are scars that will take a long time to heal. Without the intellectual tools to which our civilization has become accustomed, economic and social disorganization is intensified and moral despair easily sets in. Such conditions inevitably tend toward internal disorder and external difficulties, bringing new threats to world stability and security. Because the well-being and peace of the American people may thus be directly affected, the Department of State believes that this Government should participate in an international program to help the war-torn countries of the United Nations to help themselves in repairing the moral, spiritual, and physical damage which has been done to their intellectual institutions.

For this purpose the Department is now collaborating with other members of the United Nations in forming, as soon as practicable, an international agency for educational and cultural reconstruction. An emergency program for the period immediately following hostilities is only one of the important problems in this field which are receiving active consideration at this moment. Of very great significance also is the long-range furtherance of educational and cultural relations among the nations. The Department's object is increasingly to encourage democratic international co-

operation in these matters, looking toward the promotion of free and friendly intellectual intercourse among the peoples and nations of the world in the interest of international peace and security.

A beginning was made a few months ago by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London to formulate plans for the restoration of educational and cultural life in the devastated countries. It is proposed to go on from this point and consider methods of supplying essential facilities and trained personnel. The significance of such a program, particularly to the hundreds of thousands of children whose training has been violently interrupted, will, I am certain, be appreciated by all.

There are so many fields open to human endeavor which would contribute to the well-being and progress of mankind that it is not easy to define the full scope of an international organization designed to further that aim. Take the fields of health, sanitation, medicine, nutrition, or take the particular subject which engages your attention today—leprosy. Millions of human lives are constantly being wasted in the struggle against disease or ill health. A world-wide effort to eradicate some of the social evils with which we are beset would indeed be worthy of united action. The feasibility of the nations working together has already been demonstrated in many ways by the various international institutions which have existed in the past. Moreover, as the world grows smaller and a common denominator of interests becomes more apparent, there may be a great strengthening of the forces which tend to draw men closer. Science, for example, often transcends national boundaries. So it has been with the arts and with religion. In the present century we may find similar trends in the case of labor and in the highly technical spheres of transportation and communications. When a true universality has been achieved in the principal pursuits of mankind, we shall see the dawn of that permanent peace so ardently desired by the great masses of people everywhere in the world.

There is no reason why the permanent International Organization which is expected to arise on the ashes of this war should not provide the greatest opportunity yet offered to man for a constructive and positive approach to a lasting peace. Much depends, of course, upon the imagination and daring of the men chosen by the different na-

(Continued on page 148)

## Deaths of the Soviet Ambassador to Mexico and Mrs. Oumansky

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press January 25]

I have learned with deep regret of the untimely deaths of the Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, Mr. Constantine Oumansky, and Mrs. Oumansky. Mr. Oumansky served his country in Washington with great distinction for many years, first as Counselor of Embassy, and subsequently as Ambassador. News of their deaths will come as a great shock to their many friends in this country.

## Applicability of Anti-Trust Laws to Agreements Between United States and Foreign Air Carriers

The Attorney General in an opinion dated October 31, 1944<sup>1</sup> stated that, except to the extent that Congress has specifically provided exemptions, agreements between United States air carriers or between United States air carriers and foreign air carriers, designed to control or prevent competition in air transportation between the United States and foreign countries, are subject to the provisions of the anti-trust laws to the same degree as are similar agreements between domestic air carriers. The opinion also stated that agreements between foreign air carriers, involving no United States air carriers, are subject to the anti-trust laws of the United States if the agreements affect the foreign commerce of the United States. If a United States air carrier is a party to such an agreement the agreement may be exempted from the application of the anti-trust laws under section 414 of the Civil Aeronautics Act if it is approved by the Civil Aeronautics Board under section 412 of the act. The exemption must be secured in the precise manner and method prescribed in the act by Congress. No procedure is provided for exempting agreements solely between foreign air carriers from the anti-trust laws.

<sup>1</sup> *Opinions of the Attorneys General*, vol. 40, op. no. 85.

# Legal Policy for Trade

Address by CHARLES BUNN<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 25]

You have asked me to discuss the United States and the world economy. It is not necessary, in Baltimore, to take time to demonstrate that an active foreign trade in both directions is important to prosperity in the United States, or that prosperity in the United States and abroad is necessary to an active foreign trade. It is perfectly obvious, in Baltimore, that the rates of employment in many industries in the United States are dependent on the number and variety of cargoes moving outbound through your port; and that that in turn depends on the size of the effective demand for goods in foreign countries, and on the success of American industry and agriculture in meeting that demand. It is equally obvious that the weight of inbound cargoes is dependent on the rate of operations of the American industries that use them, and that that depends primarily on buying power in the United States. It is obvious, in short, that prosperity is indivisible, and that an active foreign commerce is an essential part of it. These things have been well known to you in Baltimore for a long time. In recent years they have become increasingly clear to intelligent men everywhere. It is for this reason, I suppose, that so many Americans in all parts of the country now desire to see a large increase in our foreign trade in both directions after victory. The practical question now is how best to move toward that objective.

We are agreed in the United States that the actual conduct of business operations, including foreign trade, is the affair of private enterprise and management. The place of Government is to contribute what it can, by general rule, to making private operations possible on a basis that is both profitable to enterprise and beneficial to the public.

Inside of the United States the Government for generations has followed four main policies in aid of active trade. One dates from the Constitu-

tion and is to the effect that states and cities may not build tariff walls against each other's products. The second is expressed in the national currency and banking legislation, which provides us with one currency, uniform throughout the country. The two together are the necessary legal basis of large-scale production for the national market, and are therefore fundamental to our prosperity and our standard of living.

The third policy relates to the financing not only of industry but of internal improvements of all kinds. It has two parts. The first part is an effort to give reasonable legal security to private investment and is expressed in the great body of law which we teach in law schools under the head of "Creditors' Rights" and so on. Anyone, like myself, who has lived in the Mississippi Valley or further west knows very well how much the early development of western industry and transportation owes to the investment of private capital both from the eastern seaboard and from England. We know also that our great development out west has made us a great market for many eastern products.

The other source of capital for the development of the United States has been the Public Treasury and the public lands. There is nothing new about this. It was Alexander Hamilton who said "that whatever concerns the general interests of learning, of agriculture, of manufactures, or of commerce are within the sphere of the national councils, so far as regards an application of money". And it was President Lincoln who approved the first great land-grant in aid of the construction of a railroad to the Pacific.

Private and public capital, then, for the development of agriculture, industry, and transportation are an essential part of the history of American development. The legal security of private capital and the provision of public capital in some essential cases is the third major policy of government on which our prosperity depends.

The fourth great policy is that against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade. It is expressed in the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 and in very similar laws in many states. By this

<sup>1</sup>Delivered before the annual meeting of the Baltimore Association of Commerce, Baltimore, Md., on Jan. 25, 1945. Mr. Bunn is Adviser, Division of Commercial Policy, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State.

legislation and its enforcement we endeavor to make sure that the great industries which the other policies make possible shall be competitive and, therefore, be efficient and conducive to the public interest. Few Americans doubt that this policy is just as essential to our welfare as the others. The result of the four policies together, plus our great resources and the many skills and talents of the American people, is the most efficient industry and the highest standard of living in the world.

I have talked so long about the laws that we apply at home in order to suggest that possibly the policies which work well here may also be intelligent for international transactions. Obviously the situations are different in many ways. One of the great differences is that there is no legislative body for the world, and that objectives that are sought at home by act of Congress have to be sought in international affairs by the slow process of international negotiation and agreement. In that field other people's ideas are important too, and we can not expect the world to adopt a carbon copy of our local laws. But our ideas are influential, and it is only common sense to use what influence we have in favor of the sort of thing that has worked so very well in the United States. As a matter of fact, that is substantially what the President has proposed in recent messages, especially in the message of January 6 on the state of the Union and that of January 9 on the budget.

You will remember that the first item in our national program is free trade between the states. By analogy, in the message on the state of the Union, the President said this:

"We support the greatest possible freedom of trade and commerce.

"We Americans have always believed in freedom of opportunity, and equality of opportunity remains one of the principal objectives of our national life. What we believe in for individuals, we believe in also for nations. We are opposed to restrictions, whether by public act or private arrangement, which distort and impair commerce, transit, and trade.

"We have house-cleaning of our own to do in this regard. But it is our hope, not only in the interest of our own prosperity but in the interest of the prosperity of the world, that trade and commerce

and access to materials and markets may be freer after this war than ever before in the history of the world."<sup>2</sup>

The instruments for this policy remain to be worked out. They will obviously have to include both international agreement and domestic legislation. The international agreements will have to include many countries and will have to deal comprehensively not only with tariff rates but with quotas, prohibitions, licenses, preference systems, government monopolies, and all the other subtle and numerous devices by which modern nations have learned how to restrict trade and divert it from its natural channels. On the domestic side it is clear that for as vigorous a policy as the President proposes the legislative instrument will have to be something more energetic than the existing Trade Agreements Act. A major part of the tariff reductions authorized by that act have already been made in agreements now in force, and a major part of our bargaining power under it is therefore already used up. This is especially true as to commodities of special interest to the countries with whom we already have trade agreements, and especially as to commodities of interest to our two largest customers, Great Britain and Canada. Clearly, if the goal set by the President is to be approached, the renewal of the act will have to include a great increase in the authority to make reductions in our own tariff rates, and therefore in our bargaining power, toward other countries under it.

The second part of our domestic program is a single and uniform currency. By international analogy we have the Bretton Woods proposal to create an International Monetary Fund. A main purpose of the Fund is to keep currency relationships—rates of exchange—reasonably stable. The President has recommended, in the budget message, "the enactment of legislation which would permit the United States to make its proportionate investment in the Fund".

The third head of our home policy is reasonable security for private development capital and the provision of public capital in some essential cases. One international analogy is a program of commercial treaties—treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation, as the phrase goes—for the protection among other things of American commerce and investment. The second treaty which the

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 7, 1945, p. 22.

United States made, during the Revolution, was a treaty of that sort with France. Obviously this old program must be pushed with vigor once the war is over. It forms the necessary legal basis on which American enterprises can make direct investments abroad with assurance against unfair treatment. It is, of course, quite clear that when we ask such assurances from others we must be prepared to furnish them ourselves.

With perhaps more direct reference to financing, the President has recommended, in the budget message, that the United States accept the plan for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, also proposed at Bretton Woods; that we enlarge the lending powers of the existing Export-Import Bank; and that we repeal legislation forbidding private loans to countries in default on their old debts to the United States. Those three measures, when enacted, will make it possible for both private and public American capital to participate in sound foreign projects of industrial development, to the benefit both of this country and of the countries where the money is invested. I assume that these proposals will be considered by the Congress in the present session.

The fourth head of our home policy, as you remember, is the anti-trust laws. International agreement on the problems of cartels remain to be worked out. Our objective in any such negotiations has been clearly stated by the President, in the letter of instructions to the Secretary of State made public September 8 last. In that letter the President said:

"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."<sup>3</sup>

I hope you will agree that this is a well-integrated and intelligent program for prosperity. We shall not reach it in a day or in a month. But we are moving in the right direction.

## Financial Agreement With Haiti

The text of the supplementary agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Haiti, providing for amortization of the 1922-23 bonds during the fiscal year 1944-45, signed at Port-au-Prince November 9, 1944, is as follows:

### SUPPLEMENTARY EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI

The provisions of Articles I and II of the Executive Agreement of August 28, 1943, shall continue in effect from and after October 1st 1944, to and including September 30, 1945, except that

(1) All the receipts of the Haitian Government shall be deposited without deduction at the Banque Nationale de la République d'Haiti, which bank shall make the payments provided for by the loan contracts of 1922 and 1923, in accordance with the procedure outlined in Article VI of the Executive Agreement of September 13, 1941;

(2) The Government of the Republic of Haiti agrees to pay a total of \$700,000 United States Currency during the period October 1, 1944, to September 30, 1945, inclusive, (including \$400,000 paid on October 2, 1944) on account of the amounts required to be paid under the loan contracts of October 6, 1922 and May 26, 1925, for the amortization of the loans of 1922 and 1923, the provisions of the paragraph designated (2) of Article VI of the Executive Agreement of September 13, 1941, and those of the subsequent paragraphs of the said Article notwithstanding.

Provided, however, that \$300,000 of the amount shall be paid only if the revenue situation and outlook of the Haitian Government at the end of the first half of the fiscal year ending September 30, 1945, indicate that the receipts for the entire fiscal year will reach Gdes. 35,000,000, in which case the \$300,000 shall be paid in monthly installments of \$100,000 in May, June and July, 1945.

Signed at Port-au-Prince, in duplicate, in the English and French languages, this 9th day of November nineteen hundred and forty-four.

ORME WILSON  
GERARD LESCOT

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 10, 1944, p. 254.



# Regional Aspects of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals

Address by **DURWARD V. SANDIFER**<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 27]

I can think of no more appropriate group before which to discuss the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for the establishment of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security than the two organizations represented here. Both are dedicated to promoting the development of that international law and justice upon which any successful international organization must be founded. Both have made distinguished contributions in this field. Only through the constant and unflagging leadership of such organizations can the informed public opinion be developed which will make possible the organization of peace in the post-war world.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals have been exhaustively discussed and analyzed in practically all their aspects during the past four months. Another formal speech about them, especially to you who have been so active in their study and discussion, seems almost superfluous. One aspect of the Proposals, however, has received less attention than one would have expected—their regional implications and particularly their provisions for the utilization of regional arrangements and organizations. With your permission I will disregard the subject announced for my remarks and comment briefly on this subject.

In recent years there has been much discussion of the comparative merits of universal organization and regional organization for bringing about orderly and peaceful international life. It is not my intention to attempt to resolve that debate on its theoretical basis. I do not regard the two types of international organization as mutually exclusive. Both types can be useful. The question of where to rely on one type or the other is a practical one and should be so considered. This is the great value of the approach taken in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at a joint meeting of the Inter-American Bar Association and the Section of International and Comparative Law of the American Bar Association, Washington, Jan. 27, 1945. Mr. Sandifer is Chief of the Division of International Organization Affairs, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State.

The Proposals proceed from the assumption that a threat to or breach of the peace anywhere is a matter of concern to all states everywhere. There is a unity of peace in the closely knit life of the modern world which we can only disregard at our peril. The peoples of this country and of most other countries have learned this at terrible cost through two world wars within a generation.

This does not mean that all action must be on a universal basis, or that the obligations of states should be uniform in all cases. Just as disturbances may be local, so enforcement responsibilities must be measured by the needs of a particular case. Measures to improve economic and social conditions need not be applied equally everywhere, since the conditions requiring remedy and improvement are not equally distributed around the globe. Still, some disturbances are not local or cannot readily be localized, and some social and economic problems have wide repercussions. The possibility of a universal approach is essential if the basis of orderly society is to be established and maintained.

The Proposals therefore envisage an organization which would be world-wide both in membership and in scope. The organization would be open to all peace-loving states, the ultimate goal being to bring all states within that category so that membership would become truly universal. The basic guaranties and obligations of the organization would extend to all states everywhere.

Regional arrangements and agencies however are not ignored. Provisions with respect to them are set forth in the Proposals in the chapter on arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and security, including the prevention and suppression of aggression.

Treatment of them at this point in the Proposals should not be taken to mean that the principles of regional relationship and utilization apply only with respect to security action. The principles are simply of particular and dramatic importance in this field.

Four basic rules are stated with respect to regional arrangements and activities. In the first place nothing in the Charter of the Organization

should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organization.

Of paramount importance in all matters involving regional arrangements and agencies is this proviso that their activities must be consistent with the purposes and principles of the general Organization. Such a proviso is essential to the effective development and functioning of the general security Organization. The conclusion of special security arrangements or treaties is not thereby precluded. In fact general security may be strongly reinforced by such agreements if their aim is the attainment of peace and security through mutual action within the framework of the general International Organization. The proviso does mean, however, that regional arrangements or agencies must, if they are to continue, be brought into harmony in their activities and purposes with the purposes and principles of the general Organization.

This first rule speaks of regional arrangements or agencies dealing with such matters relating to international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action. While peace and security are used here in the specific sense of pacific settlement and enforcement action, subsequent provisions in chapter IX on economic and social cooperation clearly cover the activities of regional specialized organizations as well as those that are general in scope. The authority of the General Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council is broad and flexible enough to cover both types of organization. Thus, though not so clearly defined, the principle of utilizing regional agencies where appropriate extends also into the field of economic and social cooperation.

A second rule relating to regional arrangements is that the Council should encourage the settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Council.

In the pacific-settlement procedure contemplated under the Proposals, emphasis is put upon settlement by the parties through means of their own choice. The Security Council may call upon

the parties to settle a dispute by such means, and it is directed to encourage settlement through regional arrangements or agencies. If such means fail, the case goes to the Security Council and the Council has authority to recommend further procedures or methods of adjustment. There is every likelihood that under these provisions local and limited disputes would be handled largely through regional procedures of settlement where such procedures existed. By this means the load of the Security Council in handling disputes would be lightened and more expeditious action achieved.

Provision is made in the Proposals for the establishment of an international court of justice as the principal judicial organ of the Organization. This way of stating the matter leaves open the possibility of the establishment by agreement of other subsidiary or related courts. Or panels of the International Court might be established to handle special cases or cases regional in character. This further aspect of regional organization will be explored in drawing up the Statute of the Court.

A third rule governing the relation of regional arrangements and the general Organization is that the Security Council should where appropriate utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority, but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council. Taken in conjunction with other provisions in the Proposals, ample latitude is thus given for the differentiation of responsibilities for enforcement action. It is provided that the action required to carry out the decision of the Security Council should be taken by all the members in cooperation or by some as the Council may determine. This would permit the Council to call upon particular states or groups of states, or to utilize an existing regional organization or arrangement. The forces marshaled could be in proportion to the need. Also it is specifically provided that specialized organizations and agencies may be used.

There is a further possibility for making allowance for variations according to need in enforcement action through the agreements governing the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. Also recognition is given to the regional application of enforcement in the provision for regional subcommittees of the Military Staff Committee.

It is thus clear that ample provision is made for the taking of enforcement action on a special or regional basis. However, the proviso that no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without authorization of the Security Council would permit the Security Council to prevent action being taken by such agencies on their own initiative. Thus the flexibility is maintained which would assure action on a universal basis in case of need.

A fourth rule states that the Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security. This rule is intended to safeguard the maintenance of a working relationship between the general Organization and regional organization and agencies. It is essential that the general Organization have full knowledge of the plans and activities of regional bodies, first in order to judge their consistency with the purposes and principles of the Organization, and secondly to estimate the extent to which such bodies could be relied on in dealing with questions that arise. The obligation on regional bodies to supply full information is central to the entire conception of the Proposals.

The realistic recognition and allowance for the utilization of regional arrangements and procedures in the Proposals is of the greatest importance to those of us from the American republics. This country naturally regards the inter-American system built up through a period of over half a century as the first line of action for the maintenance of peace and security in this hemisphere. Our continued faith in its efficacy as an instrumentality of cooperation, and conviction that it must be maintained and developed, have been repeatedly affirmed. I am sure that the other American republics share this view. At the same time there is full recognition in this country of the need for our full participation in cooperation on a world-wide scale to assure peace and security by universal action where necessary.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals offer every encouragement to the further strengthening of the inter-American system. They contemplate effective action for the maintenance of peace and security, and to that end they would place important responsibilities upon regional arrange-

ments and agencies. For that reason the further development of the inter-American system and the question of its relation to the general Organization is a matter which will require the most careful and thorough consideration both before and after the United Nations conference.

The resulting modifications and adjustments should prove mutually beneficial to the inter-American system and to the general Organization. A strengthened inter-American system would be a bulwark to the general Organization, and the Organization by laying a general basis for peace and security would remove threats from without the hemisphere.

Thus the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals provide the means for developing through both general and local action the political stability and economic and social well-being which must constitute the foundation for continuing peace.

## Telecommunications

### *Venezuela*

The Government of Venezuela has ratified the Inter-American Agreement Concerning Radiocommunications (Santiago Revision 1940) signed at Santiago January 26, 1940, and the South American Radio Agreement signed at Santiago January 16, 1940, the Department has been informed by the American Ambassador to Venezuela in a despatch from Caracas dated January 3, 1945. The ratifications were signed August 2, 1944 but became effective with respect to Venezuela from publication in the *Gaceta Oficial*, No. 21,586, December 13, 1944. Copies of the *Gaceta Oficial* were transmitted to the Department with the above-mentioned despatch. The Ambassador reported that the instruments of ratification were deposited with the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Relations on December 1, 1944.

The Inter-American Agreement Concerning Radiocommunications, to which the United States is a party, replaces, as regards relations between states which approve it, the Inter-American Arrangement Concerning Radiocommunications signed at Habana December 13, 1937. The South American Radio Agreement replaces the agreement concluded at Rio de Janeiro in 1937.

## Letters of Credence

The Ambassador of Canada, Mr. L. B. Pearson, presented his letters of credence to the President on January 22. The texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply will appear in the BULLETIN of February 4.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Confirmation

On January 25, 1945 the Senate confirmed the nomination of Edwin C. Wilson as American Ambassador to Turkey.

### Embassy at Rome

The American Embassy at Rome was reestablished on January 8, 1945 and will function as a combined office.

### Mission at Helsinki

A Special Mission was established at Helsinki, Finland, January 16, 1945.

VILLARD—Continued from page 131

tions to work together in the cause of economic stability and social advancement. Much depends upon their skills and techniques, and on their ability to work in harmony with representatives of other nations—even with divergent viewpoints. But if they are conscious of the true aspirations of the masses and are backed by the popular will, if the fullest advantage is taken of the chance for constructive social accomplishment, I personally have no doubt that the forthcoming new attempt of man to create an organization not only capable of maintaining the peace but of advancing human welfare will mark a greater advance and give more cause for hope than any similar effort in the experience of the world.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Functions of the Special War Problems Division of the Office of Controls<sup>1</sup>

1 Departmental Order 1301 of December 20, 1944, section XVIII, paragraph 3(e),<sup>2</sup> concerning the responsibilities of the Special War Problems Division, Office of Controls, is hereby amended to read: "(e) Representation by this Government of the interests of foreign governments;"

2 This amendment is effective as of December 20, 1944.

### Secretariat of the Executive Committee On Economic Foreign Policy<sup>3</sup>

1 *Transfer of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy.* The Secretariat of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy, designated in Departmental Order 1280,<sup>4</sup> is hereby transferred from the Office of Economic Affairs to the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs.

2 *Previous orders amended.* Departmental Order 1280 of June 30, 1944 and Departmental Order 1301 of December 20, 1944, par. XII, A, are accordingly amended.<sup>5</sup>

### Appointment of Officers

Edward S. Mason as Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, effective January 22, 1945.

William L. Clayton as Chairman and Edward S. Mason as Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy, effective January 25, 1945.

<sup>1</sup> Departmental Order 1304 dated Jan. 10, 1945; effective Dec. 20, 1944.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN SUPPLEMENT of Dec. 17, 1944, p. 807.

<sup>3</sup> Departmental Order 1305, dated Jan. 22, 1945; effective Jan. 22, 1945.

<sup>4</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 3, 1944, p. 247.

<sup>5</sup> BULLETIN SUPPLEMENT of Dec. 17, 1944, p. 785.

*State*

# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 293

FEBRUARY 4, 1945

## *In this issue*

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

*Address by Acting Secretary Grew*

ALIENS IN GERMANY, 1939

*By Clarence B. Odell and Robert H. Billigneier*



THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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## Contents

	Page
<b>CANADA</b>	
Presentation of Letters of Credence by the Ambassador of Canada . . . . .	174
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Some Aspects of Our Relations With France. Address by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	151
Proposed United Government of Yugoslavia. Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	153
Inquiries on American Citizens in the Vicinity of Athens . . . . .	160
Aliens in Germany, 1939. By Clarence B. Odell and Robert H. Billigmeier . . . . .	164
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation: Exchange of Letters Between President Avila Comacho and President Roosevelt . . . . .	155
Text of Final Report of the Commission . . . . .	157
The Rubber Study Group: Discussion and Appraisal of the Future Rubber Situation . . . . .	161
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
Punishment of War Criminals. Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	154
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
Civil Aviation:	
Civil Air-Transport Matters: Announcement by United States and Canadian Representatives . . . . .	160
Aviation Agreements . . . . .	169
Air-Transport Services:	
Agreement Between the United States and Iceland . . . . .	170
Agreement Between the United States and Ireland . . . . .	172
Disposition of American Defense Facilities in Canada:	
Exchange of Notes Between the Canadian Ambassador and the Secretary of State . . . . .	162
Convention on the Inter-American University . . . . .	175
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Reorganization of the Economic Offices . . . . .	175
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	176
<b>THE FOREIGN SERVICE</b>	
Assignment of Ellis O. Briggs to the American Embassy at Chungking. Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	169

# Some Aspects of Our Relations With France

Address by ACTING SECRETARY CREW<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 2]

Too often the problems with which the Department of State is faced in its conduct of the foreign affairs of this country are considered as strictly State Department problems. Actually, they are the problems of the American people; and it is the duty of the Department of State, as we see it, to put those problems before the country as fully and as promptly as it can. It is the Department's conviction that the people of the United States are entitled to know what they face in their relations with other countries—what is the background and what are the details which eventually crystallize into what becomes known as "policy".

One of the principal problems with which our country is now faced is the problem of getting vital supplies to civilian populations in liberated areas still involved in war. This problem exists in all liberated countries, but I should like to speak of it tonight as it presents itself in our relations with one of our oldest and most trusted friends—France.

The impulses of our minds and hearts are simple enough. We and our Allies desire to aid the French in all possible ways to relieve their present suffering in order that they may fight and produce for victory in this war. But there the simplicity stops, and we have to start weighing priorities and other obstacles.

On the one hand we have in France a nation which has undergone four years of Nazi occupation, four years of physical, mental, and moral anguish, four years of organized plunder of every conceivable description. The sufferings of France are today spoken of almost too glibly by some returning travelers. Those sufferings have been, and are, too real to be glossed over with clichés or overshadowed by the memory of a black-market meal in a Paris restaurant. The French people are cold; and they are all the colder because many of them are hungry. Some of their machinery has been destroyed, and they lack the raw materials to start their industries going again. Millions of their men, businessmen and laborers alike, are either in prison camps or have been carried off to Germany to forced labor.

It is as complete a vicious circle as one can imagine. France as a nation is literally stuck at dead center and will require a boost from us in order to start rolling again. And we want to give her that boost with all our hearts.

On the other hand we have a France at war and *in* war. France, from the military point of view, is the supply area behind the principal battle line of the major Anglo-American effort to destroy the Nazi enemy. That this supply area is the same France to which I have just referred, lived in by the same people, is one of the great tragedies of this war.

Before France can cease to be a supply area behind a major line of battle, the battle must be won. And until the war is won, men, munitions, machines, and supplies must continue to flow, not to France, but through it, to support the fighting on beyond.

Now one of the major decisions of the Allies in connection with the western European military operation was that the Allied military, unlike the German military, would be completely self-sufficient, and that the produce of France would not be requisitioned by the Allied armies. I need not go into any astronomical statistics to have you appreciate what that decision meant in terms of shipping tonnage, and internal-transport tonnage, and transport which may have been used for civilian-supply purposes. But the decision was worth it.

The amazement and gratitude of the French over the fact that gigantic armies *could* land in France, deploy over their country, and in a relatively short period drive the Germans from virtually all of France, without living off the land, was the complete justification for the decision.

However, some of that French gratitude turned to dismay when the inevitable things that go wrong in war began to go wrong in France. Of those things which went wrong, three were major.

First was the condition of internal transport in France. Between German demolition, sabo-

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Foreign Policy Association at Philadelphia, Pa., on Feb. 2, 1945.

tage by French resistance in aid of the Allied armies, and Allied bombings, there wasn't much left in the way of bridges, canal locks, marshaling yards, important rail centers, or rolling stock. In locomotives alone, France dropped from approximately 15,000 locomotives in 1939 to under 1,000 at the time of the landings in Normandy. Those automobile trucks which had been left by the Germans—all of them operating on wood gas—were in a shocking state.

Next was what we can call the "port" situation. Between German demolition and German tenacity we did not obtain useful ports in sufficient quantity soon enough. Even today certain French ports are still in enemy hands, and the facilities of ports which have been liberated were thoroughly wrecked, with their channels sown with mines undetectable by normal means and requiring slow and hazardous work by deep-sea divers who incredibly find these mines by sight and touch. This shortage of ports did two things: First, it made the round trip by ship to France longer than had been expected, thereby reducing delivered tons per ship. Second, and most important, it greatly lengthened the anticipated truck haul, thereby cutting down the Army transport tonnage available for emergencies. You can visualize for yourselves the difference in your trucking problem to supply a military unit in Luxembourg if, instead of having Antwerp as your port of supply, you have to go to Cherbourg to get your supplies. Your demand remains constant; your trucks remain constant; your mileage is almost trebled.

The last difficulty, but by no means the least, is the weather. France has had and is having one of the worst winters of its history. The rivers reached flood stage in December. Not since the famous floods in 1908 has the Seine risen so high. That meant that all river traffic, which had been painfully organized to supplement the inadequate rail traffic, was immobilized for weeks, since neither the tugs nor the barges could pass under the bridges. In January France had an unprecedented snowfall. In Paris approximately 12 inches of snow fell—something absolutely unheard of—followed by just enough thaw to make just enough ice when it froze to render road traffic throughout France almost impossible.

I have not listed the following as a major point, but I feel that I should be guilty of an historical oversight if I did not mention the fairly recent

German Ardennes offensive and Alsace offensive, which did not lessen the Allied supply and transport problem.

Thus we find that France's own internal physical situation, plus the hazards of war, plus certain acts of God, combined to create an acute French supply problem, which will be corrected as fast as it is humanly and logistically possible to do so. But meanwhile the problem exists, and we should recognize it and recognize its impact upon Franco-Allied and Franco-American relations. It is a painful labor to balance the needs of the civilian population of France, or of any other liberated area, against the needs of a battle line flung around the world. But until the supply of shipping is adequate—which means until the war is won—that painful labor must be faced.

That is the black side, and I have not attempted to lighten it. There is also a brighter side, and I ask that you accept it as unequivocally as I have tried to depict the dark side. The fact is that we have shared what we could with the French from the beginning, and we will continue to share with them.

French ports are being reconstructed and French means of transportation are being improved. I referred to French locomotives as being under 1,000 on D-Day. They now number several thousand. This reconstruction and these repairs, though undertaken for military reasons, accrue directly to the benefit of the French people.

For the French Army: Eight full divisions of French troops and approximately 300 supporting and service units have been equipped by the United States with material valued, through December 31, 1944, at \$700,000,000. Recently the equipping of eight more divisions of French troops was agreed upon, and substantial numbers of Army planes have already been delivered.

For the French Navy: The battleship *Richelieu*, several cruisers, submarines, and more than 20 other French war vessels have been overhauled and modernized in United States Navy yards. Three heavy and seven light cruisers are now operating in the Mediterranean, all with American equipment, and well over 100 other warships have been turned over by the United States.

For France herself: A substantial program for French industry, using American and French raw materials, with the military effort as the initial beneficiary, but with obvious advantages to the



civilian economy, is now about to start.<sup>1</sup> The Army has initiated procurement of one billion dollars worth of military supplies, to be produced in France during 1945. Raw materials will be shipped to France in vessels allotted for this purpose. Let me name a few of the diversified articles already contracted for: 2,600,000 uniforms for American soldiers; 200,000,000 board-feet of lumber; \$10,000,000 worth of X-ray film; up to 200,000 heavy-duty tires. These orders, a percentage of which will be released for French use, will create employment in France and, by starting France off dead economic center, will inevitably aid in the restoration of her economy.

Even in the almost insoluble problem of shipping, considerable aid has already been given. Merchant-vessel space has been assigned to carry civilian cargo to France; a total of 26 precious ships, having an aggregate capacity of approximately 182,000 tons, are scheduled to sail during the first quarter of this year.

Moreover, the War Shipping Administration has turned back to the French Government for manning by French crews some French ships formerly operated by it. An undetermined number of Liberty Ships will be manned by experienced French crews and operated as part of the United Nations shipping pool under the French flag.

Various agencies of our Government are now processing additional French programs of non-military purchases. These will be held for available shipping.

Besides these French-procured supplies, provision has been made for a continuing program of shipment of civilian supplies by the military. By December 1944 a total of 175,000 tons of civilian supplies had been shipped by the United States Army to southern France and northwest Europe. A total of 17 ships carrying approximately 119,000 tons are scheduled for February arrivals in the same areas. Substantial portions of these cargoes will be made available for civilian uses in France.

The French, with their characteristic courage and clarity of mind, know that the larger needs of France cannot be met until Nazi Germany has been defeated. The French should not be and are not ashamed to voice their needs. We should not be and are not ashamed to state our capability. We both know that the fighting war comes first.

It was General Eisenhower who said that the French forces of the interior had been worth 15

Allied divisions in the liberation of France. Today French troops are fighting beside American troops on the western front. Today French civilians all over France are suffering but are confident of victory—for victory when it comes will be a victory of our Allied arms, in which all our fighting men will have shared, and a victory of suffering in which the French will have *more* than shared. May our will for peace and security, and may our plans for the rehabilitation of those who have suffered, be equal to the victory we will have achieved and the task that lies before us.

## Proposed United Government Of Yugoslavia

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press February 1]

As I said in my statement on January 23, this Government has approved of the main objective of the Tito-Subasic agreement, namely, that the Government-in-exile and the elements within Yugoslavia should work together to establish a unified administration.<sup>2</sup> Ambassador Patterson, while not participating in the negotiations, has of course conveyed to all parties concerned the desire of this Government for a prompt and amicable settlement of the Yugoslav problem.

We understand that if a final accord is reached along these lines the proposed united Government of Yugoslavia would be set up for the transitional period, and that after the liberation of the whole territory national elections would be held in which the Yugoslav people would have an opportunity freely to express their will.

If the proposed united Government of Yugoslavia can be so organized as to be representative of the Yugoslav people, such an arrangement would be in accord with the general principles of this Government which found expression in the President's recent message to Congress.

For the implementation of this agreement it would be necessary for the Government to be established at Belgrade. Naturally the diplomatic missions of friendly governments would also be reestablished there.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 21, 1945, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Acting Secretary Grew's statement referred to in this release was made at his press and radio news conference on Jan. 23.

# Punishment of War Criminals

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY CREW

[Released to the press February 1]

The Department of State welcomes the public discussion of the punishment of war criminals. This discussion has made clear the determination of our people that the guilty shall be punished. The Department of State and the Government share that inexorable determination. The final decision as to the procedures in the punishment of those guilty of war crimes will be made in consultation with the United Nations, 15 of which are now represented on the War Crimes Commission in London.

Certain broad positions have already been taken, however, by the Allied Governments principally engaged in the fighting of the war. The declaration issued at Moscow on November 1, 1943 stated that German officers and men who had been responsible for, or had taken a consenting part in, the unspeakable crimes and atrocities perpetrated by Nazi Germans in this war "will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be created therein". It was further stated in this same document that the above declaration was "without prejudice to the case of the major criminals, whose offences have no particular geographical localisation and who will be punished by the joint decision of the Governments of the Allies".<sup>1</sup>

The broad position taken by our own Government in this matter has been clearly indicated by the President on numerous occasions.

On July 17, 1942 the President wrote to Dr. Stephen S. Wise:

"... Citizens, regardless of religious allegiance, will share in the sorrow of our Jewish fellow-citizens over the savagery of the Nazis against their helpless victims. The Nazis will not succeed in exterminating their victims any more than they will succeed in enslaving mankind. The American people not only sympathize with all victims of Nazi crimes but will hold the perpe-

trators of these crimes to strict accountability in a day of reckoning which will surely come".

On August 21, 1942 the President declared:

"The United Nations are going to win this war. When victory has been achieved, it is the purpose of the Government of the United States, as I know it is the purpose of each of the United Nations, to make appropriate use of the information and evidence in respect to these barbaric crimes of the invaders, in Europe and in Asia. It seems only fair that they should have this warning that the time will come when they shall have to stand in courts of law in the very countries which they are now oppressing and answer for their acts".<sup>2</sup>

On October 7, 1942, referring to the statement of August 21, the President said:

"I now declare it to be the intention of this Government that the successful close of the war shall include provision for the surrender to the United Nations of war criminals.

"With a view to establishing responsibility of the guilty individuals through the collection and assessment of all available evidence, this Government is prepared to cooperate with the British and other Governments in establishing a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes.

"... It is not the intention of this Government or of the Governments associated with us to resort to mass reprisals. It is our intention that just and sure punishment shall be meted out to the ringleaders responsible for the organized murder of thousands of innocent persons and the commission of atrocities which have violated every tenet of the Christian faith."<sup>3</sup>

On March 24, 1944, the President declared:

"In one of the blackest crimes of all history—begun by the Nazis in the day of peace and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war—the wholesale systematic murder of the Jews of Europe goes on unabated every hour. As a result of the events of the last few days, hundreds of thousands of Jews, who while living under persecution have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more heavily upon these lands. That these innocent

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 6, 1943, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Aug. 22, 1942, p. 710.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1942, p. 797.

people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolizes, would be a major tragedy.

"It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that Justice be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries. All who knowingly take part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland, or Norwegians and French to their death in Germany, are equally guilty with the executioner. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment."<sup>1</sup>

Over the past months officers of the Department of State, in consultation with other Departments, have worked out proposals for the realization of the objectives stated by the President. Pending the outcome of current discussions with our Allies on this subject, these proposals cannot be published. I wish, however, to state categorically that these proposals are as forthright and far-reaching as the objectives announced by the President which they are intended to implement. They provide for the punishment of German leaders and their associates for their responsibility for the whole broad criminal enterprise devised and executed with ruthless disregard of the very foundation of law and morality, including offenses wherever committed against the rules of war and against minority elements, Jewish and other groups, and individuals.

## Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN

PRESIDENT AVILA CAMACHO AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

[Released to the press January 29]

MEXICO, D.F.,

January 20, 1945.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

The Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation has placed in my hands, as it has also placed in those of Your Excellency, a Report which it submits on the result of its efforts from its formation in September 1943 to the present, supplemented by appropriate documentation and enclosures.

At the same time, the delegates of the Mexican Government who form a part of the Commission have given me a detailed account of the results of their activities and of the frank, friendly and efficient collaboration rendered in the fulfillment of their duties by their American colleagues and by other officials of the United States Government with whom they were in constant contact.

The modifications made necessary by the course of the war in the system established by the Government of Your Excellency to control emergency economic relations, prompted the recommendation that the work of the Commission be discontinued

"sine die", which recommendation was deemed timely by both Governments.

Therefore, it is with pleasure that I express to Your Excellency my sincere satisfaction with the achievements of the Mexican-American Commission which was able, to the fullest extent possible under the critical conditions caused by war, to translate into practical results the recommendations formulated by the previous commission.

The Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation leaves in our hands a program of greater scope, the fulfillment of which has scarcely begun and which should be carried out in the years to come in accordance with the new methods of exportation which the Government of the United States has established in its administrative organization looking toward the return of international trade to normal channels. It is my hope that the execution of this program will be characterized by the same spirit of frank cooperation which made possible the creation of the Mexican-American Commission for Economic Co-

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 25, 1944, p. 277.

operation and the satisfactory performance of its duties in the midst of abnormal conditions.

I take pleasure in expressing to you my conviction that every effort of our Governments to augment their mutual assistance, will be of inestimable value in further strengthening the cordial relations of our people and a valuable contribution towards the construction of new foundations of peace and justice which we hope it will be possible to establish in the world.

I renew, Your Excellency, the assurances of my consideration and sincere friendship.

MANUEL AVILA CAMACHO

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JANUARY 20, 1945.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I am pleased to learn of the successful completion of the work of the Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation, which has so constructively carried out within the past sixteen months the recommendations of its similarly named predecessor Commission. It appears to me that both of these Commissions have fulfilled the aims which we expressed in our conversations in Monterrey and Corpus Christi in 1943 when we agreed to appoint the first Commission to study and make recommendations for the maintenance and intensification of economic cooperation between the Government of Mexico and the Government of the United States.

We of the United Nations are today still engaged in the greatest and, in so far as its implications are concerned, the most significant war in history, towards the victorious conclusion of which our manpower and natural resources, our industrial production, our wealth are dedicated, so that our armed forces may effectively and speedily end the world-wide suffering and devastation. Through such efforts and sacrifices we of the Americas have been spared much of the destruction and misery of total war which have devastatingly affected many other countries.

I have long noted the very extensive contributions of Mexico to the war effort of the United Nations. Throughout the war Mexico has maintained a continuous flow of strategic materials to the United States. Furthermore, the thousands of Mexican workers who have come to the United States have performed essential services and have

done much towards alleviating the critical manpower shortage in agriculture and railroad transportation.

In spite of the demands of war upon all the resources of the United States, it is a source of satisfaction to my Government that it has been able to carry out its pledge under the resolution of the Third Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers held at Rio de Janeiro in 1942 for the Maintenance of the Internal Economies of the American Nations. Although in 1943 and 1944 the industry of the United States, through conversion and expansion, was primarily engaged in the production of war materials, it was nevertheless possible to make available and supply to Mexico for its consumption needs and the maintenance of its economy more products in those years than during any similar period of time in the trade between the two countries. I am also gratified to know that in 1944, a year of tremendous demands upon the industry and economy of the United States, my country was able to meet the requirements of Mexico for materials and equipment for the maintenance and development of its economy in amounts greater than it had received from all world sources in any year preceding the war.

The fulfillment of immediate and long-range plans for the improvement of transportation, the extension of electric power, irrigation and other public works, the sound expansion and diversification of industrial plant capacity, and the supplying of the necessary equipment required therefor, gave added momentum to the increasing purchasing power of the Mexican people and the sound expansion of trade between our two countries.

The Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation has played an important role, not only in assisting in obtaining materials and equipment for Mexico's economic development, but also in focusing attention on the significance of this development, its problems, and its requirements for still greater expansion when peace comes.

The American members of the Commission inform me that their relations with their Mexican colleagues have been characterized by a spirit of full collaboration and deep understanding. In the same spirit of mutual collaboration which characterized our conversations at Monterrey and

Corpus Christi nearly two years ago, I believe that the Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation has successfully carried forward its work of furthering economic collaboration between our two countries and I approve its recommendation that it now adjourn "sine die".

It is my conviction that the basis of sound collaboration between our two countries in the economic field which has been so fruitfully begun

through the work of this Commission, now terminating its task, may be widened in the years to come to the mutual benefit of both countries and peoples.

I renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration and warmest friendship.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

### TEXT OF FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSION<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press January 29]

#### MEMBERS

Primo Villa Michel, *Chairman*  
Nelson A. Rockefeller, *Vice Chairman*  
Evaristo Araiza  
Thomas H. Lockett  
Wayne C. Taylor  
Salvador Ugarte

#### EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Armando C. Amador, *Secretary General*  
Gustavo A. Rohen y Galvez, *Secretary of Mexican Section*  
A. Willing Patterson, *Secretary of American Section*  
(resigned November 1944)  
William E. Clayton, *Secretary of American Section*  
Dudley B. Bonsal, *Executive Secretary of Washington Office*  
William F. Machold, *Special Representative*

#### TECHNICAL ADVISERS

<i>Mexican Section</i>	<i>American Section</i>
Federico Bach	Evert L. Stancliff
Mario Javier Hoyo	Horace H. Braun
Gonzalo Robles	C. Norman Frees
Josue Saenz	Albert K. Pappano

#### SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

<i>Mexican Section</i>	<i>American Section</i>
Gustavo P. Serrano, <i>Chairman</i>	Harry E. Beyster, <i>Chairman</i>
Oswaldo Gurria Urgell	William S. Vaughan
Mario Javier Hoyo	Evert L. Stancliff
Hector Martinez D'Meza	Horace H. Braun (Alternate)
Jose Antonio Rivera	
<i>Assistant</i>	<i>Assistant</i>
Fernando Zamora	Manuel A. Tavarez

#### SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

<i>Mexican Section</i>	<i>American Section</i>
Alfonso Gonzales Gallardo, <i>Chairman</i>	Lester D. Mallory, <i>Chairman</i>
Mario Javier Hoyo	C. Norman Frees
Fernando Romera Quintana	Theodore H. Mayer
	J. Stanton Robbins

#### SUBCOMMITTEE ON AVIATION

<i>Mexican Section</i>	<i>American Section</i>
General Alberto Sanlinas	Major General Julian L. Carranza, <i>Chairman</i>
(resigned, June 1944)	Schley, <i>Chairman</i>
General Alfredo Lezama	Thomas D. Park
Alvarez, <i>Chairman</i>	
Juan Guillermo Villasana	

#### SUBCOMMITTEE ON HIGHWAY TRANSPORTATION

<i>Mexican Section</i>	<i>American Section</i>
Bernardo Chavez V., <i>Chairman</i>	Major General Julian L. Schley, <i>Chairman</i>
Jesus Hernandez Llargo	Fisher G. Dorsey
Antonio Vargas McDonald	

#### SUBCOMMITTEE ON TOURISM

<i>Mexican Section</i>	<i>American Section</i>
Alejandro Buelna, <i>Chairman</i>	J. Stanton Robbins, <i>Chairman</i>
Lucas de Palacio	

This report covers the activities of the Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation, hereinafter referred to as "The Commission", from its organization in September 1943 to January 1945.

The Commission was created by the joint action of the Governments of Mexico and the United States. The Mexican members who were appointed by President Manuel Avila Camacho are:

Primo Villa Michel  
Evaristo Araiza  
Salvador Ugarte

The American members who were appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt are:

Nelson A. Rockefeller  
Wayne C. Taylor  
Thomas H. Lockett

<sup>1</sup>The final report was submitted and accepted on Jan. 29, 1945 at the final meeting of the Commission in Mexico City.

At its first meeting, the Commission designated Mr. Villa Michel as its Chairman, and Mr. Rockefeller as its Vice Chairman.

The Commission was formed for the purpose of carrying forward to the maximum degree within the period of the war emergency, the recommendations made in July 1943<sup>1</sup> by the previous Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation, hereinafter referred to as the "Previous Commission", which was set up following the meetings in April 1943 of the two Presidents at Monterrey and Corpus Christi to consider and make recommendations with regard to the most pressing economic problems calling for the immediate joint action of the two countries. The Commission, with the approval of the two Presidents, assumed the name of its predecessor Commission.

The Previous Commission had found that Mexico's economy had become unbalanced by reason of wartime conditions. On the one hand, Mexico was exporting a maximum amount of critical and strategic materials to the United States for the common war effort. On the other hand, because of the conversion of industry in the United States to war production and the cutting off of former overseas sources of supply, Mexico was unable to obtain sufficient imports to adequately maintain its national economy and at the same time to continue the flow of war materials to the United Nations.

The Commission determined that the economic development of Mexico along sound lines, with such amounts of material and equipment from the United States as could be made available without interfering with the war effort and the essential needs of other friendly countries, would do much to meet Mexico's wartime economic problems, as well as those to be faced in the immediate postwar period.

The Commission therefore, after convoking sponsors of prospective public and private projects and after a thorough consultation with them concerning Mexico's immediate needs for economic development, prepared its so-called Minimum 1944 Program. This program included the important

projects submitted by the interested parties, and consisted of twenty projects with an over-all total cost of approximately 24,000,000 Dollars (120,000,000 Pesos). Smaller projects submitted, with an over-all total cost of approximately 9,000,000 Dollars (45,000,000 Pesos), were turned over to the Mexican *Comite Coordinador de las Importaciones* for its recommendations.

Practically all of the materials and equipment required for the projects in the Minimum 1944 Program have been licensed, and arrangements have been concluded to the end that they will be made available. Most projects are already under construction.

To consider Mexico's long-term capital goods requirements, the Commission appointed a joint Subcommittee on Industrial Development in April 1944. This Subcommittee, after a study of the applications and proposals made by the interested parties, submitted to the Commission in June of 1944, a comprehensive report of Mexico's programs in the power and irrigation fields, and substantial information as to other phases of its needs for future economic development. The Subcommittee estimated that according to projects and suggestions considered, Mexico will need in the areas studied a minimum of capital equipment from abroad valued at approximately 94,000,000 Dollars (470,000,000 Pesos) through 1947, and 43,000,000 Dollars (215,000,000 Pesos) in 1948 and the immediate subsequent years for projects of major significance to its economic development which have an estimated total over-all cost of 383,000,000 Dollars (1,915,000,000 Pesos) as more fully set forth in the four attached charts.<sup>2</sup>

The report of the Subcommittee on Industrial Development has been considered by the Commission and accepted and made available to the two Governments, the Commission urging them to fulfill the recommendations contained in the report. The Commission believes that this report will be of great value to the two Governments in such further joint economic activities as they may determine to be necessary, or desirable, in the years to come. Moreover, this report points the way to the realization of major portions of Mexico's development program.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of July 17, 1943, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Not here reproduced.

The Commission has approved a total of fifty-eight development projects of which twenty were the total of major projects submitted for the Minimum 1944 Program, thirty-one were included in the Long Range Report of the Subcommittee on Industrial Development, and seven were important miscellaneous projects. The greater part of the required equipment for these projects is now either in Mexico or in the process of being manufactured for delivery. Its purchase is being financed entirely by private enterprise, preponderantly Mexican, or, in the case of public works, such as electric power, irrigation and drainage, by the Mexican Government.

The Commission has conferred with businessmen of both countries regarding the formulation and development of sound projects with the participation of both Mexican and United States capital when appropriate, and has rendered every possible assistance to the sponsors of such projects. However, the primary assistance which this Commission has been able to render, after previous study and industrial planning, has been in the obtaining of priorities and export licenses to the end that materials required for these projects have been made available as promptly as possible, consistent with the war effort, and the needs of other friendly countries.

Following the previous Commission's recommendations, the Commission has also reviewed the general requirements (i. e. requirements not related to specific projects) of Mexico for commodities in short supply and has urged revisions in allocations from the U. S., on the basis of changed conditions in Mexico, or on the basis of data heretofore not available. This additional information on Mexico's requirements has been most useful to the war agencies and, in view of such information, certain allocations have been increased or established for additional products.

To carry out its functions with regard to immediate problems in broad fields of economic development, Subcommittees of the Commission, in addition to that on Industrial Development already referred to, made studies and recommendations in the following fields: agriculture, aviation, highway transportation, and tourism. Briefly sum-

marized, these Subcommittees carried out their objectives in the following manner.

*Agriculture.* Largely through the efforts of this Subcommittee, a program was drawn up under which the Banco Nacional de Credito Ejidal, S.A. placed orders in the United States for approximately 3,200,000 Dollars (16,000,000 Pesos) of agricultural machinery and repair parts, nearly all of which have been shipped to Mexico. The work of this Subcommittee brought out the need of resolving many technical agricultural problems affecting the two countries, and to this end, a separate Mexican-United States Agricultural Commission was appointed by President Avila Camacho and President Roosevelt, and began its activities in June of 1944.

*Aviation.* The Subcommittee on Aviation has achieved its objectives in a two-fold manner. Throughout the period of its activities in Mexico, much useful advice and counsel was given to the Mexican airlines on operation, maintenance and equipment problems particularly difficult of solution considering the wartime scarcity of repair parts and equipment. In addition, through the efforts of the Subcommittee, twenty-one used planes were located and obtained in the United States for service on Mexican commercial airlines.

*Highway Transportation.* As in the case of the Subcommittee on Aviation, the Subcommittee on Highway Transportation provided much helpful guidance and made recommendations to the appropriate agencies of the Mexican Government towards the solution of truck transportation problems and the further development of sound highway transportation policies.

*Tourism.* The labors of the Subcommittee on Tourism were naturally pointed towards the postwar growth of the tourist industry, since the promotion of travel for pleasure on wartime congested facilities is neither feasible nor desirable. Considerable useful information was compiled which was made available to both Governments together with recommendations designed to encourage and facilitate tourist travel after the war. It is estimated by the Subcommittee that the tourist industry, which was already of major

significance before the war, will approach an annual volume of business of around 50,000,000 Dollars (250,000,000 Pesos).

It is the policy of the Government of the United States to return to normal conditions, eliminating wartime controls, as rapidly as the war situation will permit. Many such controls have already been eliminated. The allocation of materials and equipment is now governed much less by the assignment of priority ratings and the issuance of export licenses than in the past, and eventually these controls will disappear altogether. Export licenses are being issued for materials for projects whenever such action does not cause interference with the war effort. Therefore, the Commission believes that it has completed the wartime function for which it was created and it respectfully submits to the Government of the United Mexican States and the Government of the United States of America that it adjourn "sine die". The Commission believes that it has carried out the recommendations of the Previous Commission to the maximum extent possible during the present emergency and considers that its work has contributed substantially to the economic development of Mexico and has constituted an achievement in the light of difficult wartime conditions. The Commission hopes that its work may contribute much towards the growth of Mexico's economic structure and that it may pave the way towards further development, thereby bettering the purchasing power of the Mexican people and their general standard of living, and stimulating mutually advantageous commercial relations between Mexico and the United States.

The Commission has received throughout, the generous and understanding collaboration of both Governments. The Commission further hopes that the completion of its work will constitute another forward step in the practical application of the Good Neighbor Policy.

MEXICO, D.F.

January, 1945.

<sup>1</sup> Released to the press on Jan. 26, 1945 by the United States and Canadian representatives.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 21, 1945, p. 110.

## Inquiries on American Citizens In the Vicinity of Athens

[Released to the press February 3]

The Department of State announces that the American Embassy at Athens is prepared to ascertain the welfare and whereabouts of individual American nationals residing in the vicinity of Athens. Inquiries and messages from persons in the United States concerning American nationals in Athens and its environs should be forwarded to the Department of State. However, messages for communication to Americans in that area can be accepted for transmission to the Embassy only in cases where the sender has been unsuccessful in attempting to use normal mail channels.

For the time being this service does not include inquiries and messages sent in behalf of aliens or persons not residing in the Athens area.

## Civil Air-Transport Matters

### ANNOUNCEMENT BY UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES<sup>1</sup>

Representatives of the United States and Canada made the following announcement on January 26 upon the conclusion of discussions in New York on civil air transport:<sup>2</sup>

1. The Canadian representatives stated that Canada had decided to adhere to the International Air Services Transit Agreement (Two Freedoms Agreement.)

2. A draft of a bilateral aviation agreement in the general form recommended by the Chicago aviation conference was agreed upon and will be submitted to the two Governments for their consideration. Under this draft existing routes between the United States and Canada are continued and additional routes are allocated with the object of assuring equitable distribution of routes between carriers of the two countries. Announcement of these routes will be made upon completion of the exchange of notes incorporating the draft agreement. Provision is also made for the establishment of further routes as the public convenience and necessity of the two countries may require.



# The Rubber Study Group

## DISCUSSION AND APPRAISAL OF THE FUTURE RUBBER SITUATION

[Released to the press January 29]

On September 21, 1944 it was announced that an informal Rubber Study Group had been established, composed of representatives of the Governments of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of the Group was to discuss common problems arising from the production, manufacture, and use of rubber, crude, synthetic, and reclaimed.

As announced on January 17, 1945 a meeting of the Group was scheduled in Washington for the week of January 22-27 inclusive.<sup>2</sup> B. F. Haley, Director, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State, presided over the meeting. The Netherlands Delegation was led by P. H. Westermann, Head of the Economics Section, Netherlands Ministry for the Colonies, and the United Kingdom Delegation by O. S. Franks, Second Secretary, Ministry of Supply. At the first meeting of the Group, extensive studies about various aspects of the future rubber situation were presented on behalf of the representatives of the participating Governments. The main business of the meetings was a discussion and appraisal of these studies.

Representatives emphasized the very great uncertainties which surround any estimates of future capacity both to produce and to consume the various types of natural, synthetic, and reclaimed rubber. In particular, the time at which the Far Eastern rubber-growing areas will be liberated and the condition of these areas at the time of liberation are both unknown. There is also some uncertainty about the rate at which labor will become available in some areas.

Broadly, however, the Group reached the conclusion that actual production, if required, of the natural-rubber areas of the world could rise in three to four years after liberation of the Far Eastern territories to an annual figure in the neighborhood of 1½ million tons of rubber. As regards synthetic rubber, while the position in the United States can be predicted with some accuracy, the state of the plants in Europe at the end of the war with Germany is very conjectural,

but the Group arrived at a figure of world productive capacity of synthetic rubber of approximately 1½ million tons annually.

As against this, it is considered that the amount of rubber processed and consumed is not likely to reach more than 1½ million tons annually of all types of natural and synthetic rubber. This will be true even though there at present exists a large banked-up demand all over the world for both rubber itself and rubber goods, since this accumulated demand can be met only gradually. The Group considers that even the realization of this estimate depends on the maintenance of a high level of economic activity in the major consuming countries of the world. They point out, however, that this consumption estimate rests on the assumption that there will be no sudden large development of existing or of new uses of rubber.

It appears, therefore, that a marked disequilibrium between the productive capacity of the world and the demands for consumption could develop in the course of a few years after the liberation of the Far East. Over a longer period, however, the Group is hopeful that the very marked upward trend in the world consumption of rubber, which was a feature of the years from 1914 to 1941, will continue and that an expanding world economy will lead to great increases in the *per-capita* consumption of rubber in many countries where the present figures are low. It is further expected that the past rapid development of new uses for rubber will continue and may well be accelerated by the advances scientists have made in developing new physical and chemical characteristics in rubber and rubber-like materials.

The Group also considered the probable trend of production costs but reached the conclusion that any definite estimates would be purely speculative, in the case of natural rubber because of the uncertainties about conditions in Japanese-occupied territories, and in the case of synthetic rubber because of the fact that large-scale synthetic production in the United States has only recently developed.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 24, 1944, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 21, 1945, p. 108.

The Group paid a warm tribute to the immense achievements of the American synthetic industry during the war but noted that supplies of natural rubber were likely to remain short for some time. An account was given of the broad lines of the plans being made by the governments concerned, and by the plantation industries, for the rehabilitation of the natural-rubber-growing areas after liberation.

At the time of the announcement of the formation of the Group, it was stated that arrangements

would be made to keep other interested governments informed of the progress of studies and discussions, and steps are being taken to place a full report of this first meeting at the disposal of such governments.

It was agreed by all representatives that the meeting had been of value and it was decided to keep the rubber situation under continuous review. No date was fixed for the next meeting, as it was felt that this must to some extent be determined by future developments.

## Disposition of American Defense Facilities in Canada<sup>1</sup>

### EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press February 1]

NOVEMBER 22, 1944.

SIR:

Under instructions from my Government, I have the honour to refer to recent discussions with respect to the post-war disposition of defence projects, installations and facilities built or provided in Canada by the Government of the United States. This matter was the subject of a recommendation of the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence, adopted on January 13, 1943, and subsequently embodied in an Exchange of Notes dated January 27, 1943.

After further study, and in the light of experience in connection with specific agreements already reached, it appeared desirable to the Board to amend its earlier recommendation and to make the revised recommendation applicable to all projects, disposition of which remains unsettled. Accordingly, on September 7, 1944, the Board adopted the following recommendation:

"The Permanent Joint Board on Defence recommends that the following formula be applied to the disposition of all defence facilities constructed or provided in Canada by the United States (and *mutatis mutandis* to any defence facilities constructed or provided in the United States by Canada) which have not already been dealt with.

#### "Immovables

"A—The Government of the United States shall, within three months from the date of the approval

of this Recommendation, supply the Government of Canada with a list of immovables (hereinafter referred to as facilities) which it desires to make subject to the provisions of this Recommendation.

"B—In the case of each of the facilities included in the list referred to in A, the Canadian Government and the United States Government will each appoint one qualified appraiser whose joint duty it will be to appraise such facility in order to determine the fair market value thereof at the time and place of appraisal. If the two appraisers cannot agree on the fair market value, they will select a third appraiser to determine this value. The amount set by the appraisers shall be paid to the United States Government by the Government of Canada,

"provided that the foregoing paragraphs A and B shall not apply to any facilities heretofore specifically provided for;

"C—Any existing facility not included in the United States list shall, within one year after the cessation of hostilities, be relinquished, without cost, 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.

<sup>1</sup> On Jan. 31 the War Department issued a press release on the agreement reached between the Canadian and United States Governments relating to the disposition of American defense facilities in Canada, disposition of which had not previously been settled.

*"Movables"*

"A—The Government of the United States shall remove from Canada all those items which it desires.

"B—The Government of Canada shall arrange through the appropriate governmental agencies for the purchase from the United States of such remaining items as it desires to obtain for its own use or disposition.

"C—All other movables shall be transferred to a designated agency of the Canadian Government and shall be sold or disposed of by such agency, the proceeds to be paid to the Government of the United States,

*"provided that, in connection with the items referred to in paragraph C, the United States Government shall be represented by an officer designated by it for that purpose, who shall have an equal voice in the setting of prices, the allocation of priorities, the assessment of legitimate sales costs and other details of the sale or other disposal of the items concerned;*

*"and provided further that any such items remaining unsold at the end of two years from the time they are transferred to the Canadian agency concerned shall either be declared of no value and the account closed or, at the option of the United States, shall be removed from Canada by the United States authorities."*

I have been directed to inform you that this recommendation has been approved by the Government of Canada, subject to the following proviso:

"That, as there are certain facilities whose disposal would entail expenses such as custody and demolition, any expense of such a character would be taken into consideration in the final accounting."

and to propose that, 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 the two Governments concerning this matter.

Accept [etc.]

L. B. PEARSON

For the Ambassador

The Honourable CORDELL HULL,  
*Secretary of State of the United States,*  
Washington, D.C.

DECEMBER 20, 1944.

## EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note no. 399, November 22, 1944, referring to recent discussions on the disposition of defense projects, installations and facilities built or provided in Canada by the Government of the United States and informing me of the approval by the Canadian Government of the 33rd Recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense, United States and Canada, on this subject. The 33rd Recommendation amends and supersedes the 28th Recommendation of the Board which was embodied in the exchange of notes of January 27, 1943.

The United States Government has been pleased to observe that, pursuant to the 28th Recommendation specific agreements have already been reached covering the disposition of the major defense projects constructed by the United States in Canada. It is considered that the current Recommendation of the Board is suitable for application to all projects, disposition of which remains unsettled and I am glad, therefore, to inform you that the Government of the United States approved the 33rd Recommendation on November 11, 1944.

It is noted that the Canadian Government's approval is subject to the following proviso:

"That, as there are certain facilities whose disposal would entail expenses such as custody and demolition, any expense of such a character would be taken into consideration in the final accounting."

In accepting the Canadian Government's proviso to the 33rd Recommendation, I believe it useful to mention that it is understood by this Government from an explanatory memorandum kindly furnished by the Canadian authorities that expenses of custody and demolition will be taken into account by the appraisers and will through their findings be reflected in the final accounting.

In conclusion I may state that the United States Government accepts the proposal that your note under reference and this reply shall be regarded as placing on record the understanding arrived at between the two Governments on this matter.

Accept [etc.]

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.

# Aliens in Germany, 1939

By CLARENCE B. ODELL and ROBERT H. BILLIGMEIER<sup>1</sup>

CENSUS DATA available on the national origin, numbers, and distribution of aliens in Germany in 1939 have important implications for those interested in the present displacement of population in Germany.<sup>2</sup> In addition to being of historical interest, the data represent a point of departure in the study of wartime movements of people in Germany and serve as a background for the present-day situation and the future problem of repatriation.

Between 1933 and 1939 large numbers of foreign workers were attracted to Germany by the possibilities of employment attending the huge rearmament program. Internal migration and the influx of alien labor were related to changes occurring in the economic structure of the Reich. Germany needed labor to complete its preparations for war, and a large part of the required labor supply was drawn from foreign sources.

With the outbreak of the war the movement of foreign workers into Germany was accelerated. In order to meet the requirements of German industry and agriculture vast numbers of prisoners of war, political prisoners, and forced alien laborers conscripted from areas occupied by the German Army were added to this influx.

In Germany, as in other countries, the problem of displaced peoples and their repatriation is exceedingly complex. It is not easy to reduce the wide-spread movements of people into an intelligible pattern. There is little adequate information relating to the nature of the migration of peoples into Germany since 1939. Only fragmentary data are available on the types of displaced groups, their geographical distribution within the Reich, the country of origin of the displaced peoples, their age and sex distribution, and other descriptive material. The value of the

1939 census of aliens, therefore, lies in the fact that it affords a reliable background of data for the study of movements of people occurring since the outbreak of the war.

## Number of Aliens

According to the preliminary returns of the German census of May 17, 1939, there were 939,386 aliens in Germany comprising 1.18 percent of the total population. This figure represents a considerable increase over the number of aliens resident in the Reich in 1933. Despite the increases in territory after 1933, there were fewer aliens in Germany in 1939 than in 1925. The largest number of aliens and the highest proportion of aliens to the total population were recorded in the years before World War I. The last census before the first World War, held in 1910, listed 1,259,873 aliens, a number which constituted 1.94 percent of the total population of Germany. Even

## NUMBER OF ALIENS IN GERMANY SINCE 1871

Area and year	Number	Percent of total population
Area of Germany before World War I:		
1871 . . . . .	206,755	0.50
1875 . . . . .	290,799	0.68
1880 . . . . .	276,057	0.61
1885 . . . . .	372,792	0.80
1890 . . . . .	433,254	0.88
1895 . . . . .	486,190	0.93
1900 . . . . .	778,698	1.38
1905 . . . . .	1,028,560	1.70
1910 . . . . .	1,259,873	1.94
Area after World War I (without Saarland):		
1910 . . . . .	*1,129,951	1.95
1925 . . . . .	957,096	1.53
1933 . . . . .	756,760	1.16
Area of the Reich at time of 1939 census (without Memelland):		
1933 . . . . .	**672,000	0.88
1939 . . . . .	939,386	1.18

\*Adjusted to post-World War I area.

\*\*For Germany the census of June 16, 1933 was used; for Saarland, June 25, 1935; for Austria, Mar. 22, 1934; for the Sudetenland, Dec. 1, 1930.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Odell is head of the Population Section and Mr. Billigmeier is Population Analyst. Both are in the Division of Geography and Cartography, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State.

<sup>2</sup> These notes and tables are based in part upon the text and statistics contained in "Die Ausländer im Deutschen Reich—Vorläufiges Ergebnis der Volkszählung vom 17. Mai, 1939", *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, June 1, 1940.

if the pre - World War I German area is considered in terms of the territory of the Weimar Republic, there were only 1,129,951 aliens, comprising 1.95 percent of the total population.

#### STATUS OF ALIEN GROUPS

In 1939 almost three-fourths of the 939,386 aliens were of known national origin. The remainder of the aliens were either persons whose nationality had been undetermined or questioned, or were considered stateless, that is, without legal citizenship in any country.

#### STATUS OF ALIENS IN GERMANY, 1939

	Number	Percent
Total aliens . . . . .	939,386	100.0
Aliens of known origin . . . . .	681,224	72.5
Persons whose citizenship is undetermined . . . . .	134,583	14.3
Stateless . . . . .	123,579	13.2

#### Undetermined citizenship

The alterations of national boundaries which the Reich had experienced before the 1939 census and the dislocations that attended the seizures of territory had important consequences in the enumeration of aliens. In 1933 there were 1,727 persons whose citizenship status was undetermined in contrast to the far larger number of 134,583 in 1939. In 1939 there were a large number of persons in the recently annexed Sudetenland who were confused as to their citizenship at the time of enumeration. This confusion is manifest in the large number of persons living in the Sudetenland whose nationality is listed in the census as undetermined (*unermittelt oder ungeklärt*). Of the total 134,583 aliens of undetermined citizenship in Germany, 125,153 were found in the newly incorporated Sudetenland. Almost 90 percent of the aliens in the Sudetenland were uncertain of their citizenship. In the 1939 census reports no aliens in the Sudetenland were listed as citizens of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, whereas Czechs living in other parts of the Reich were listed as Protectorate citizens.

Decrees were issued later which served to clarify the matter of citizenship for most of the Czechs who were recorded as having undetermined citi-

zenship. Czechs who were not established residents of the Sudeten area, and who were also eligible for citizenship in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia under the decree of January 11, 1940, were allowed to acquire Protectorate citizenship. The same confusion did not exist as far as the Slovaks were concerned. The Slovaks in the Sudetenland were described as aliens of Slovak citizenship. Over half of the known aliens enumerated in the Sudeten area were Slovaks.

At the time of the census there were a large number of persons in the Sudetenland who were eligible for German citizenship but who were either unaware of that fact or did not want to avail themselves of that right. It is probable, therefore, that the number of aliens in Germany (including Sudetenland) at the time of the census was consequently somewhat less than the 939,386 enumerated in the census.

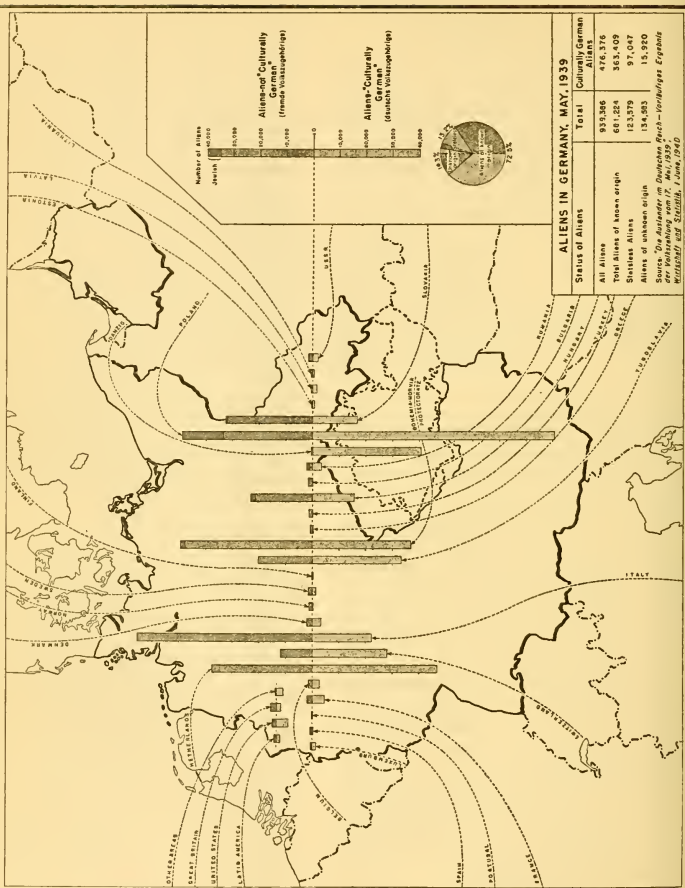
Of the aliens of undetermined citizenship in Germany, a relatively small number of Jews, only 984, were listed. This number represented only 0.7 percent of the total group.<sup>3</sup> Another group, 16,000 persons, or 11.8 percent, were listed as alien members of the German *Volksstum*. The great majority were aliens of foreign culture, *fremde Volkzugehörige*.

#### Stateless Aliens

There were 123,579 aliens in Germany listed as stateless in 1939. Four fifths of the stateless aliens, 97,047 of them, were described as German *Volkszugehörige*, that is, culturally German. According to the quoted article in *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, a large proportion of the stateless are members of German minorities who have been deprived of their former citizenship for "political reasons" by the countries from which they emigrated. Another large number of stateless Germans included those immigrants who had lived in Germany for decades and had become assimilated. Nevertheless, they lost their former citizenship without acquiring German citizenship. Stateless Jews numbered 15,946 representing 12.9 percent of all stateless persons in the Reich.

<sup>3</sup> The article in *Wirtschaft und Statistik* defines Jews as those persons with 3 or 4 fully Jewish (*volljüdischen*) grandparents.

NATION OF ORIGIN OF ALIENS IN GERMANY, MAY 17, 1939



Approximately two thirds of the stateless aliens in 1939 lived in Prussia. East Prussia had by far the largest proportion of stateless persons among its alien population. Numerically, however, the largest group was in Berlin; the second largest in East Prussia; and the third largest group in Vienna.

Alien German "Volkszugehörige"

Among the aliens in the Third Reich 476,000 persons, comprising 50.7 percent of all aliens, belong to a group which the census tables call the German *Volkstum*, or German *Volkszugehörige*.

CONDITION OF CITIZENSHIP IN RELATION TO GERMAN "VOLKSZUEHÖRIGE"

	Total	German <i>Volkszugehörige</i>	
		Number	Percent
All aliens . . . . .	939, 386	476, 376	50. 7
Aliens of known nationality . . . . .	681, 224	363, 409	53. 3
Stateless . . . . .	123, 579	97, 047	78. 5
Persons whose citizenship is undetermined . . . . .	134, 583	15, 920	11. 8

Among the aliens of known nationality more than half belong to the German *Volkstum*. Many of these "culturally German" aliens came from Danzig, whose population is almost entirely German-speaking, and from countries having substantial German minorities.

In some alien groups the "culturally German" element constitutes more than half the national contingent. By far the largest number of these aliens emigrated from Poland. Danzig supplied the second largest contingent, which was, however, less than half as large as that of Poland. Danzig's alien group was almost totally "German."

Of the larger national alien groups in Germany the proportion of "cultural Germans" was lowest in the total Italian group among which they represented approximately 25 percent. Other alien groups were 60 percent or more "culturally German." The proportions were lower in the alien groups from Ireland, Bulgaria, and Turkey, countries in which no large German minorities exist.

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF GERMAN "VOLKSZUEHÖRIGE" IN ALIEN CONTINGENTS FROM SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country of origin	Total aliens	German <i>Volkszugehörige</i>	
		Number	Percent
Free State of Danzig . . . . .	41, 000	40, 780	99. 5
Latvia . . . . .	2, 123	1, 685	79. 4
France . . . . .	6, 669	4, 806	72. 1
Estonia . . . . .	1, 213	854	70. 4
Switzerland . . . . .	39, 901	27, 972	70. 1
United States of America . . . . .	6, 177	4, 326	70. 0
Belgium . . . . .	4, 355	2, 974	68. 3
Luxembourg . . . . .	2, 262	1, 475	65. 2
Poland . . . . .	139, 441	90, 614	65. 0
Yugoslavia . . . . .	53, 618	33, 229	62. 0

Sex Ratios

The migration of foreign peoples into Germany has been sex selective. Among the aliens residing in the Reich at the time of the census in May 1939, there was a considerable excess of males. The sex distribution of the alien group offers a significant contrast to that of the citizen population of the Reich. Among the aliens there were 123 males per 100 females while females predominated in the total German population with a recorded ratio of 94 males per 100 females.

The proportions of males and females among alien contingents from the different countries varied widely. The greatest disparity in the relative proportions of the two sexes existed among the Italian aliens. Among the members of that group there were 234 males per 100 females. The next highest ratio existed among the aliens from Bohemia and Moravia. Of the various important national groups in Germany, the French immigrants alone were predominantly female.

In the far larger alien population now in the Reich, the disparity of the sexes is doubtlessly far greater than it was in 1939. In the first place, a large part of the alien population in Germany today is composed of prisoners of war, political prisoners, and conscripted labor from occupied countries—these aliens are, of course, predominantly male. Secondly, because of the nature of the work opportunities in German war industries and agriculture it is probable that the excess of males over females even among voluntary immigrants

from neutral and satellite nations is considerably greater than that recorded among the aliens in the enumeration of 1939.

#### SEX RATIOS FOR SELECTED ALIEN GROUPS IN GERMANY, 1939

Country of origin	Total	Males per 100 females
All aliens . . . . .	939, 386	123. 1
Italy . . . . .	88, 324	234. 4
Bohemia and Moravia . . . . .	86, 234	159. 1
Slovakia . . . . .	49, 350	133. 2
Yugoslavia . . . . .	53, 618	125. 0
Hungary . . . . .	38, 611	124. 3
Danzig . . . . .	41, 000	122. 1
Netherlands . . . . .	84, 543	121. 4
Poland . . . . .	189, 441	112. 3
Switzerland . . . . .	39, 901	105. 1
France . . . . .	6, 669	81. 7

#### Country of Origin and Distribution of Aliens

Among the various national groups the Poles had the greatest representation. There were 139,000 aliens from Poland or 14.8 percent of all aliens in the Reich; next to the Poles, the Italians were the largest contingent, followed by the alien groups from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and the Netherlands. The number of Poles in Germany decreased significantly between 1933 and 1939; the movement of Italian aliens into Germany, however, greatly increased between the two censuses.

The majority of the aliens in Germany came from states sharing common frontiers with Germany. Approximately 641,000 aliens, or more than two thirds of all foreigners in the Reich, came from adjacent states. Only 11,500 persons from non-European states resided in Germany and of these more than half were citizens of the United States.

The distribution of nationality groups within the Reich was determined to a large extent by the position of bordering states—thus four fifths of all Netherlands nationals were in the Rheinprovinz and Westfalen. Of the Polish nationals,

more than half (51.8 percent) were in Ostpreussen, Brandenburg, Pommern, Schlesien, and Berlin. Similarly 39.7 percent of the Yugoslav nationals lived in Steiermark, Kärnten, Wien, and Niederdonau.

#### Alien Jews

There were 39,375 alien Jews enumerated in 1939, a number representing 4.2 percent of the total alien population. Significantly the Jews in the alien population are proportionately 11 times more numerous than among the citizen population of the Reich.

The alien Jews have immigrated to Germany principally from eastern Europe. Four fifths of the 22,445 Jews of known national origin came from Poland, Hungary, and Rumania. From Poland came 15,128 Jews comprising 10.8 percent of the total aliens from that country; 1,098 Jews were from Rumania representing 19.2 percent of the aliens from that country; 1,745 were Hungarian Jews, 4.5 percent of the total number of Hungarian aliens. A numerically unimportant group of Jewish aliens were Lithuanian citizens, but the group comprised 10.1 percent of all Lithuanian aliens.

#### Aliens in German Cities

Of the 939,386 aliens in Germany, 276,922 or a little less than a third (29.5 percent) lived in the 61 German cities, each having a total population of 100,000 or over. No data are available on the number of aliens in the smaller urban centers of Germany, so that it is impossible to compute for all of Germany the proportion of aliens that were urban or rural.

Almost half of the aliens living in the large cities of Germany (47.7 percent of them) were included in the populations of the 3 cities with over a million inhabitants, namely, Berlin, Vienna, and Hamburg. Cities near the international boundaries of Upper Silesia, Austria, and the border cities of Aachen and Duisburg had the largest proportions of aliens in their populations. In addition, slightly over 20 percent of the aliens lived in the 17 cities of the Ruhr.<sup>4</sup>

In no city did the proportion of aliens reach as much as 5 percent of the total population. The city with the highest proportion of aliens was Beuthen with 4.59 percent; Vienna was next with

<sup>4</sup>Including Duisburg, Oberhausen, Krefeld-Uerdigen, Düsseldorf, München-Gladbach, Mülheim, Köln, Solingen, Remscheid, Wuppertal, Hagen, Dortmund, Gelsenkirchen, Münster, Bochum, Essen, Bonn.



the largest proportion of the 3 major cities, 3.11 percent. Other cities followed: Graz, third with 2.92 percent; Hindenburg, 2.84 percent; Duisburg, 2.66 percent; Aachen, 2.13 percent; and Linz, 2.02 percent.

#### Conclusion

The foreign population in Germany is not composed entirely of forced alien labor, prisoners of war, and political prisoners conscripted in occupied nations. Since the beginning of its industrial development, Germany has attracted large numbers of immigrants from other European states. Before the outbreak of the first World War there were more than a million and a quarter aliens in Germany. The movement of aliens into the Reich decreased somewhat after the war until the development of Germany's economic and military program, which resulted in an acceleration of immigration, a condition that continued up through the present war years.

Almost a million aliens were living in the Reich in 1939 according to the census taken in May of that year. Since that time large groups of aliens have been added through various means. In addition to the aliens brought to Germany by force and conscription, volunteer workers migrated to Germany after the outbreak of the war from neutral, occupied, and satellite nations. Germany drew volunteer and forced labor from foreign labor reserves to meet the requirements of its wartime agriculture and industry. An important part of the alien population in the Reich migrated because of the economic opportunities which existed there for foreign laborers.

Whether Germany will continue to attract large numbers of aliens and whether it will retain a large proportion of the voluntary immigrants now resident there is largely dependent on how Germany is reconstructed economically and socially after the war. It cannot be assumed that all aliens in Germany will necessarily desire to return to the countries of their origin. Future movements of aliens in and out of the Reich will depend upon conditions in Germany and in the rest of Europe. Such conditions are closely related to the whole problem of post-war resettlement of displaced population in Europe.

## Aviation Agreements

### *Guatemala*

On January 30 the Guatemalan Ambassador signed on behalf of his Government the Convention on International Civil Aviation, the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation, the International Air Services Transit Agreement, and the International Air Transport Agreement. The convention and the three agreements were all concluded at the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago December 7, 1944.

### *Norway*

The Norwegian Ambassador on January 30 signed the Convention on International Civil Aviation, the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation, and the International Air Services Transit Agreement concluded at Chicago December 7, 1944. In a note dated January 30 the Ambassador advised the Secretary of State that he had been authorized by the Norwegian Government by Royal Decree of January 26 to sign for Norway the convention and to sign and accept the interim agreement and the transit agreement.

## Assignment of Ellis O. Briggs To the American Embassy At Chungking

*Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW*

[Released to the press February 1]

In recognition of the vital importance of our relations with China, and of the active interest of the American public in China, the Department is taking steps to strengthen its official representation in Chungking. To this end it is assigning Ellis O. Briggs to the Embassy to coordinate, under the direction of Ambassador Hurley, the various activities of official American organizations in Chungking, and to assist the Ambassador in the general administration of the Embassy. Mr. Briggs will depart for China within a few weeks.

# Air-Transport Services

## AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ICELAND

[Released to the press January 30]

A reciprocal air-transport agreement between this country and Iceland was signed at Reykjavik on January 27, 1945. The agreement was concluded through notes exchanged between the American Minister to Iceland, the Honorable Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr., and the Icelandic Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honorable Olafur Thors.

The new arrangement, which becomes effective on February 1, provides that United States airlines may obtain rights of transit and non-traffic stop, as well as the right to pick up and discharge international traffic at Iceland's important Keflavik airport, on a route from the United States "to Iceland and points beyond".

The agreement is substantially similar to those which this Government concluded with Denmark and Sweden under date of December 16, 1944.<sup>1</sup>

The text of the agreement follows:

### AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ICELAND RELATING TO AIR TRANSPORT SERVICES

Having in mind the resolution signed under date of December 7, 1944, at the International Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago, Illinois, for the adoption of a standard form of agreement for provisional air routes and services, and the desirability of mutually stimulating and promoting the sound economic development of air transportation between the United States and Iceland, the two Governments parties to this arrangement agree that the establishment and development of air transport services between their respective territories shall be governed by the following provisions:

#### *Article 1*

The contracting parties grant the rights specified in the Annex hereto necessary for establishing the international civil air routes and services therein described, whether such services be in-

augurated immediately or at a later date at the option of the contracting party to whom the rights are granted.

#### *Article 2*

(a) Each of the air services so described shall be placed in operation as soon as the contracting party to whom the rights have been granted by Article 1 to designate an airline or airlines for the route concerned has authorized an airline for such route, and the contracting party granting the rights shall, subject to Article 6 hereof, be bound to give the appropriate operating permission to the airline or airlines concerned; provided that the airlines so designated may be required to qualify before the competent aeronautical authorities of the contracting party granting the rights under the laws and regulations normally applied by these authorities before being permitted to engage in the operations contemplated by this agreement; and provided that in areas of hostilities or of military occupation, or in areas affected thereby, such inauguration shall be subject to the approval of the competent military authorities.

(b) It is understood that either contracting party granted commercial rights under this agreement should exercise them at the earliest practicable date except in the case of temporary inability to do so.

#### *Article 3*

In order to prevent discriminatory practices and to assure equality of treatment, both contracting parties agree that:

(a) Each of the contracting parties may impose or permit to be imposed just and reasonable charges for the use of public airports and other facilities under its control. Each of the contracting parties agrees, however, that these charges shall not be higher than would be paid for the use of such airports and facilities by its national aircraft engaged in similar international services.

(b) Fuel, lubricating oils and spare parts introduced into the territory of one contracting

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 17, 1944, p. 757.

party by the other contracting party or its nationals, and intended solely for use by aircraft of such other contracting party shall be accorded national and most-favored-nation treatment with respect to the imposition of customs duties, inspection fees or other national duties or charges by the contracting party whose territory is entered.

(c) The fuel, lubricating oils, spare parts, regular equipment and aircraft stores retained on board civil aircraft of the airlines of one contracting party authorized to operate the routes and services described in the Annex shall, upon arriving in or leaving the territory of the other contracting party, be exempt from customs, inspection fees or similar duties or charges, even though such supplies be used or consumed by such aircraft on flights in that territory.

#### Article 4

Certificates of airworthiness, certificates of competency and licenses issued or rendered valid by one contracting party shall be recognized as valid by the other contracting party for the purpose of operating the routes and services described in the Annex. Each contracting party reserves the right, however, to refuse to recognize, for the purpose of flight above its own territory, certificates of competency and licenses granted to its own nationals by another State.

#### Article 5

(a) The laws and regulations of one contracting party relating to the admission to or departure from its territory of aircraft engaged in international air navigation, or to the operation and navigation of such aircraft while within its territory, shall be applied to the aircraft of the other contracting party, and shall be complied with by such aircraft upon entering or departing from or while within the territory of the first party.

(b) The laws and regulations of one contracting party as to the admission to or departure from its territory of passengers, crew, or cargo of aircraft, such as regulations relating to entry, clearance, immigration, passports, customs, and quarantine shall be complied with by or on behalf of such passengers, crew or cargo of the other contracting party upon entrance into or de-

parture from, or while within the territory of the first party.

#### Article 6

Each contracting party reserves the right to withhold or revoke a certificate or permit to an airline of the other party in any case where it is not satisfied that substantial ownership and effective control are vested in nationals of either party to this agreement, or in case of failure of an airline to comply with the laws of the State over which it operates as described in Article 5 hereof, or to perform its obligations under this agreement.

#### Article 7

This agreement and all contracts connected therewith shall be registered with the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization.

#### Article 8

Either contracting party may terminate the rights for services granted by it under this agreement by giving one year's notice to the other contracting party.

#### Article 9

In the event either of the contracting parties considers it desirable to modify the routes or conditions set forth in the attached Annex, it may request consultation between the competent authorities of both contracting parties, such consultation to begin within a period of sixty days from the date of the request. When these authorities mutually agree on new or revised conditions affecting the Annex, their recommendations on the matter will come into effect after they have been confirmed by an exchange of diplomatic notes.

#### ANNEX TO AIR TRANSPORT AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ICELAND

A. Airlines of the United States authorized under the present agreement are accorded rights of transit and non-traffic stop in the territory of Iceland, as well as the right to pick up and discharge international traffic in passengers, cargo and mail at Keflavik or other suitable airport, on the following route:

The United States to Iceland and points beyond, via intermediate points; in both directions.

B. Airlines of Iceland authorized under the present agreement are accorded rights of traffic and non-traffic stop in the territory of the United States, as well as the right to pick up and discharge international traffic in passengers, cargo

and mail at New York or Chicago, on the following route:

Iceland to New York or Chicago, via intermediate points; in both directions.

#### AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND IRELAND

[Released to the press February 3]

The Department of State announces the conclusion of an air-transport agreement with Ireland, which was concluded by an exchange of notes dated February 3, 1945 between Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton and the Minister of Ireland, the Honorable Robert Brennan. The Irish agreement closely follows that which was concluded with Iceland under date of January 27. This agreement becomes effective February 15.

The annex to the agreement provides that authorized American airlines will obtain rights of transit and non-traffic stop in Irish territory, as well as the right of commercial entry for international traffic at Shannon airport, on routes from this country "to Ireland and countries beyond".

In addition to the agreements with Ireland and Iceland, the State Department also concluded similar agreements with Denmark and Sweden last December 16 and with Spain on December 2.<sup>1</sup>

The text of the agreement follows:

#### AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND IRELAND RELATING TO AIR TRANSPORT SERVICES

Having in mind the resolution recommending a standard form of agreement for provisional air routes and services, included in the Final Act of the International Civil Aviation Conference signed at Chicago on December 7, 1944, and the desirability of mutually stimulating and promoting the sound economic development of air transportation between the United States and Ireland, the two Governments parties to this agreement agree that the further development of air transport services between their respective territories shall be governed by the following provisions:

##### *Article 1*

The contracting parties grant the rights specified in the Annex hereto necessary for establishing

the international civil air routes and services therein described, whether such services be inaugurated immediately or at a later date at the option of the contracting party to whom the rights are granted.

##### *Article 2*

(a) Each of the air services so described shall be placed in operation as soon as the contracting party to whom the rights have been granted by Article 1 to designate an airline or airlines for the route concerned has authorized an airline for such route, and the contracting party granting the rights shall, subject to Article 6 hereof, be bound to give the appropriate operating permission to the airline or airlines concerned; provided that the airline so designated may be required to qualify before the competent aeronautical authorities of the contracting party granting the rights under the laws and regulations normally applied by these authorities before being permitted to engage in the operations contemplated by this agreement; and provided that in areas of hostilities or of military occupation, or in areas affected thereby, such inauguration shall be subject to the approval of the competent military authorities.

(b) It is understood that either contracting party granted commercial rights under this agreement should exercise them at the earliest practicable date except in the case of temporary inability to do so.

##### *Article 3*

In order to prevent discriminatory practices and to assure equality of treatment, both contracting parties agree that:

(a) Each of the contracting parties may impose or permit to be imposed just and reasonable charges for the use of public airports and other facilities under its control. Each of the contracting parties agrees, however, that these charges shall not be higher than would be paid for the use of

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 3, 1944, p. 674.

such airports and facilities by its national aircraft engaged in similar international services.

(b) Fuel, lubricating oils and spare parts introduced into the territory of one contracting party by the other contracting party or its nationals, and intended solely for use by aircraft of such other contracting party shall be accorded national and most-favored-nation treatment with respect to the imposition of customs duties, inspection fees or other national duties or charges by the contracting party whose territory is entered.

(c) The fuel, lubricating oils, spare parts, regular equipment and aircraft stores retained on board civil aircraft of the airlines of one contracting party authorized to operate the routes and services described in the Annex shall, upon arriving in or leaving the territory of the other contracting party, be exempt from customs, inspection fees or similar duties or charges, even though such supplies be used or consumed by such aircraft on flights in that territory.

#### *Article 4*

Certificates of airworthiness, certificates of competency and licenses issued or rendered valid by one contracting party shall be recognized as valid by the other contracting party for the purpose of operating the routes and services described in the Annex. Each contracting party reserves the right, however, to refuse to recognize, for the purpose of flight above its own territory, certificates of competency and licenses granted to its own nationals by another State.

#### *Article 5*

(a) The laws and regulations of one contracting party relating to the admission to or departure from its territory of aircraft engaged in international air navigation, or to the operation and navigation of such aircraft while within its territory, shall be applied to the aircraft of the other contracting party, and shall be complied with by such aircraft upon entering or departing from or while within the territory of the first party.

(b) The laws and regulations of one contracting party as to the admission to or departure from its territory of passengers, crew, or cargo of aircraft, such as regulations relating to entry, clearance, immigration, passports, customs, and quarantine shall be complied with by or on behalf of such passengers, crew or cargo of the other

contracting party upon entrance into or departure from, or while within the territory of the first party.

#### *Article 6*

Each contracting party reserves the right to withhold or revoke a certificate or permit to an airline of the other party in any case where it is not satisfied that substantial ownership and effective control are vested in nationals of either party to this agreement, or in case of failure of an airline to comply with the laws of the State over which it operates as described in Article 5 hereof, or to perform its obligations under this agreement.

#### *Article 7*

This agreement and all contracts connected therewith shall be registered with the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization.

#### *Article 8*

Operating rights granted previously by either of the contracting parties shall continue in force according to their terms.

#### *Article 9*

This agreement or any of the rights for air transport services granted thereunder may, without prejudice to Article 8 above, be terminated by either contracting party upon giving one year's notice to the other contracting party.

#### *Article 10*

Except as may be modified by the present agreement, the air navigation arrangement between the two contracting parties signed September 29, 1937, and November 4, 1937, shall continue in force until superseded by a multilateral aviation convention to which Ireland and the United States become contracting parties.

#### *Article 11*

In the event either of the contracting parties considers it desirable to modify the routes or conditions set forth in the attached Annex, it may request consultation between the competent authorities of both contracting parties, such consultation to begin within a period of sixty days from the date of the request. In case the aforementioned authorities mutually agree on new or re-

vised conditions affecting the Annex, their recommendations on the matter will come into effect after they have been confirmed by an exchange of diplomatic notes.

#### ANNEX TO AIR TRANSPORT AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND IRELAND

A. Airlines of the United States authorized under the present agreement are accorded in the territory of Ireland rights of transit, non-traffic stop, and commercial entry for international traffic at Shannon airport (Foynes and Rineanna), on the following routes:

The United States to Ireland and countries beyond, via intermediate points; in both directions. It is agreed that in view of the long trans-oceanic flight necessary on the above routes, and considering the still limited development of aero-

nautical science, all eastbound aircraft on routes covered in this Annex shall stop at Shannon airport as first European port of call and all west-bound aircraft on the same routes shall stop at Shannon airport.

B. Airlines of Ireland authorized under the present agreement are accorded in the territory of the United States rights of transit, non-traffic stop and commercial entry for international traffic at specific airports in connection with such route or routes as may be determined at a later date.

C. Aircraft of either contracting party availing itself of the non-traffic stops granted by this agreement may be required by the other contracting party to offer reasonable commercial services in passengers, cargo and mail, both outward and inward.

## Presentation of Letters of Credence by the Ambassador of Canada

[Released to the press January 22]

The remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Canada, Mr. L. B. Pearson, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, January 22, 1945, follow:

MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to present to you, Mr. President, the letter by which my Sovereign has been pleased to accredit me as his Ambassador for Canada in the United States of America, as well as his letter terminating the mission of my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Leighton McCarthy, whose retirement has been necessitated by compelling personal reasons.

In beginning my mission as Ambassador, I am fortified by the confident hope and belief that the warm neighborly relations between our two countries, which have been deepened and strengthened by the common successes and sacrifices of the war which we wage together, will continue and develop in the years to come.

To contribute to this high purpose I pledge my best endeavors. In the work that lies ahead of me, I am encouraged, Mr. President, by the knowledge that I can count on your friendly encouragement and support.

I am encouraged also by the fact that I have already lived long enough in the United States of America to have made many friends and received much kindness. During this time, I have ac-

quired an increasing admiration for the vigor and vitality of this great land, a great respect for its achievements and a sincere affection for its warm-hearted and generous people. No Canadian, Mr. President, feels himself a stranger within the hospitable borders of your country.

I assume the responsibilities of my post at a time when the victory of our arms has become sure, if we do not relax our efforts of body and mind and spirit. With victory assured, however, there emerge into bold relief many and difficult problems of organizing peace and post-war prosperity. These will tax our understanding, our imagination, and our power of cooperation as much as ever the problems of war have done. I feel certain that the United States and Canada, in seeking their solution, can work together with all other nations of good-will, to the end that this time victory in war will mean a peace worthy of the men who have fought for it with selfless devotion.

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

MR. AMBASSADOR: It is with particular pleasure that I accept the letters by which your Sovereign has accredited you as Canada's new Ambassador to the United States. You are assured of a warm welcome, first because you represent Canada but also because you have already won a place in our affections. My old friend Leighton McCarthy,

whose judgment I greatly respect, has told me how pleased he was that you were chosen to be his successor. My regret at his departure is, therefore, tempered by the knowledge that his high office has fallen to the one he considered best qualified to assume it. I need hardly add that you may count on the fullest support from me and from this Government.

I greatly appreciate your kind words about my countrymen. Canada is held in ever high regard here. We in this country know that Canadians play the game and that they are strong people to have on our team. Their batting average throughout the war has been right up at the top where we Americans would expect it to be.

Canada and the United States are peculiarly fortunate in their relations one with another. This happy state of affairs is, however, not the result of chance, good luck, or even of the many things we have in common. It is instead the result of forbearance, of a desire to get on together, a determination to find the constructive rather than the destructive solution of our problems. In the process we developed an understanding of the other fellow's viewpoint. As your distinguished predecessor said not long ago, we Americans and Canadians believe in each other and, where mutual confidence exists, any problem, however difficult, can be solved with credit and satisfaction to both parties. Our record over many years is the best and happiest proof of this.

I hope that the Canadian-American record will be noted the world over. You, who have contributed so greatly to the new international organizations already in action, will by your example bring this record into greater prominence. Just as the drive for victory and a world of peace and order proceeds resolutely on both sides of our border, so must it be with the United Nations as a whole. As you suggest, this is a moment for supreme effort on the part of all of us. It is a moment to close ranks and to go forward in mutual confidence and trust. Nothing less will be worthy of the sacrifices of our fighting men. I have faith that we will rise to this great moment and that, in line with the spirit of the relations between our two countries, we will realize our aspirations for a

world order in which all peace-loving nations will find a full and rewarding place.

## Convention on the Inter-American University

### Venezuela

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State in a letter dated January 17, 1945 that the Ambassador of Venezuela had on January 11, 1945 deposited with the Pan American Union his Government's instrument of ratification of the Convention on the Inter-American University. The convention was signed at the First Conference of Ministers and Directors of Education of the American Republics held in Panamá from September 27 to October 4, 1943.

The instrument of ratification by the Government of Venezuela is dated November 6, 1944.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Reorganization of the Economic Offices<sup>1</sup>

*Purpose.* The purpose of this order is to announce the first steps in the reorganization of the economic work under the Assistant Secretary for economic affairs, to establish three permanent Offices, and to describe the status of the present economic divisions in those Offices pending further realignment.

*1 Background.* The reorganization of the Department on January 15, 1944 (Departmental Order 1218) created an Office of Economic Affairs and an Office of Wartime Economic Affairs. The time has arrived when it is appropriate to merge the work of these two Offices, in view of the growing interrelation of wartime economic problems with problems of the peace settlement and the post-war period. The Office of Transportation and Communications was established by Departmental Order 1218, and was transferred by Departmental Order 1301 of December 20, 1944, to the Assistant Secretary for economic affairs.

<sup>1</sup> Departmental Order 1306, dated and effective Jan. 26, 1945.

2 *Abolition of the Office of Economic Affairs and the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs and Creation of Two New Offices.* The Office of the Director of Economic Affairs and the Office of the Director of Wartime Economic Affairs are hereby abolished, and the functions, personnel and records of these Offices transferred to the following two new Offices. There are hereby established under the Assistant Secretary for economic affairs the Office of Commercial Policy and the Office of Financial and Development Policy. These Offices shall be under the direction of the Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for economic affairs. The Office of Transportation and Communications shall continue under the direction of the Assistant Secretary for economic affairs.

3 *Responsibility of the Office of Commercial Policy.* (a) The Office of Commercial Policy shall be responsible for initiation, formulation, and coordination of policy and action by the Department of State for international economic, trade and commercial affairs.

(b) Temporarily, the following divisions shall report to the Director of the Office of Commercial Policy:

- (1) War Areas Economic Division;
- (2) War Supply and Resources Division (except the Surplus War Property Section);
- (3) Commodities Division;
- (4) Petroleum Division;
- (5) Division of Commercial Policy;
- (6) Division of International Labor, Social, and Health Affairs.

(c) The Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons is temporarily assigned to the office of the Director of the Office of Commercial Policy.

4 *Responsibility of the Office of Financial and Development Policy.* (a) The Office of Financial and Development Policy shall be responsible for initiation, formulation, and coordination of policy and action by the Department of State for international financial and economic development affairs, and related emergency property and financial controls;

(b) Temporarily, the following divisions shall report to the Director of the Office of Financial and Development Policy:

- (1) Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs (including the functions of the Surplus War Property Section of the War Supply and Resources Division);
- (2) World Trade Intelligence Division.

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State*

### Appointment of Officers<sup>1</sup>

#### OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Edward S. Mason to continue as Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs.

Charles P. Taft as Special Assistant, and John E. Orchard to continue as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs.

Emile Despres as Adviser on German Economic Affairs in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs.

#### OFFICE OF COMMERCIAL POLICY (OCP)

Bernard F. Haley as Director, and Leroy D. Stinebower as Deputy Director, of the Office of Commercial Policy.

Livingston T. Merchant to continue as Chief of the War Areas Economic Division, Courtney C. Brown as Chief of the War Supply and Resources Division, Edward G. Cale as Acting Chief of the Commodities Division, Charles F. Darlington as Chief of the Petroleum Division, William A. Fowler as Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy, and Otis F. Mulliken as Chief of the Division of International Labor, Social, and Health Affairs.

#### OFFICE OF FINANCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY (OFD)

Emilio G. Collado as Director of the Office of Financial and Development Policy, and temporarily, as Acting Chief of the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, and Covey T. Oliver as Acting Chief of the Division of World Trade Intelligence.

<sup>1</sup> Designations effective Jan. 26, 1945.



# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 294

FEBRUARY 11, 1945

## *In this issue*

### OUR RESPONSIBILITIES FOR VICTORY AND PEACE

*Address by Assistant Secretary Holmes*

### MAPPING SOME OF THE EFFECTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ON HUMAN RELATIONS

*By S. W. Boggs*

### ATTITUDES OF NEUTRAL GOVERNMENTS REGARDING ASYLUM TO WAR CRIMINALS

### THE INTER-AMERICAN JURIDICAL COMMITTEE: RÉSUMÉ OF ITS ORGANIZATION AND ITS ACTIVITIES

*By Charles G. Fenwick*

*For complete contents  
see inside cover*



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## Contents

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## BULLETIN

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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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	Page
<b>AMERICAN REPUBLICS</b>	
Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace: American Delegation . . . . .	192
The Inter-American Juridical Committee: Résumé of Its Organization and Its Activities. By Charles G. Fenwick . . . . .	194
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Statement by Acting Secretary Grew on Italian Surrender Terms . . . . .	182
Ashes of Late Soviet Diplomat To Be Transported to Moscow . . . . .	208
<b>FAR EAST</b>	
Welfare of Liberated Internees in the Philippines . . . . .	182
Relief Supplies for Allied Nationals Interned in the Far East . . . . .	188
Japan's Proposal for Reciprocal Visits to Internee Camps . . . . .	191
Liberation of Manila:	
Message From President Roosevelt to President Osmeña . . . . .	193
Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	193
<b>CULTURAL COOPERATION</b>	
Appointment of J. G. Bradshaw as Visiting Professor to Colombia . . . . .	197
Parasitologist To Visit Mexico . . . . .	197
Mathematician Accepts Visiting Professorship to Brazil . . . . .	208
Geologist Accepts Visiting Professorship to Costa Rica . . . . .	208
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
Proposed Extension of the Lend-Lease Act. Statement by Assistant Secretary Acheson . . . . .	189
The Proclaimed List . . . . .	196
<b>GENERAL</b>	
Mapping Some of the Effects of Science and Technology on Human Relations. By S. W. Boggs . . . . .	183
Attitudes of Neutral Governments Regarding Asylum to War Criminals . . . . .	190
Exchange of American and German Nationals . . . . .	196
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
Our Responsibilities for Victory and Peace. Address by Assistant Secretary Holmes . . . . .	179
Letter on Foreign Policy From the New Members of the Senate to the President. Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	181
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
Proposed Lend-Lease and Reciprocal-Aid Agreements With France . . . . .	193
Exploratory Conversations on Double-Taxation Conventions With the United Kingdom . . . . .	197
Civil Aviation:	
Acceptance of Aviation Agreements . . . . .	198
International Air Services Transit Agreement . . . . .	198
Double-Taxation Convention With Canada: Exchange of Instruments of Ratification . . . . .	199
Cooperative Rubber Investigations . . . . .	199
Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement . . . . .	200
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	209
<b>THE FOREIGN SERVICE</b>	
Regulations, Orders, and Instructions Relating to the Foreign Service . . . . .	210
Confirmations . . . . .	209
<b>PUBLICATIONS</b> . . . . .	
	210
<b>THE CONGRESS</b> . . . . .	
	209

# Our Responsibilities for Victory and Peace

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLMES<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 5]

We are still in the midst of fighting this mighty war against evil and vicious enemies. The Army, Navy, and Air Forces, fighting side by side with our Allies, are beating those enemies on the land and sea and in the air, but the road to complete victory is still ahead of us, long and tough and bloody, and many a battle must still be fought and won.

When I was asked to transfer from the Army and take up my present post in the State Department, I felt as any other American soldier would feel in similar circumstances. I was a charter member of the Eisenhower team, and it was quite a wrench to leave it and take off my uniform before the job was done. However, it was strongly impressed upon me that my new duties were not a return to civilian life in the strict sense, but rather a change of wartime assignment. This was convincing because I *know* that victory in this war will give us nothing in the long run except loss and bloodshed and heartbreak unless this country is prepared to assume its full responsibility to stop war in the future—to plan and work unremittingly that there may be permanent peace and security in the world.

That is a large order. But this time we do not dare fail. The price of victory will be enormous; I have seen part of it paid in the hills of Tunisia, on the beaches of Sicily and Italy, and among the hedgerows of France. And I can assure you that it is with the greatest humility that I have accepted my new responsibilities with the Department of State and taken my place with the group of men whom the President and Secretary of State have chosen to administer the foreign relations of the nation. Our greatest task is to see to it that the huge price for victory will not be wasted. Let us examine that task which is the responsibility of all of us.

There was a time when our security was guaranteed by what we fondly called our two-ocean boundary. That security is now gone forever.

Oceans have ceased to exist as barriers. Aviation, robot bombs, all the implements of modern warfare have eliminated mere space as a factor of security. And let me say here that whatever we may think about robot bombs it isn't good sense to be complacent about them. You can take it from me that they are extremely unpleasant instruments.

We haven't had to take such things here on our home ground—yet. We don't have to dread the sound of bombers flying over our cities. We haven't had to fight the terrific fires caused by incendiaries or flatten ourselves on the ground to escape, if we can, the blast of a V-2. Our roads aren't pock-marked by shell holes or our buildings masses of rubble. Our women and children haven't been driven from their blasted homes, cold and hungry.

But if any truth on earth is self-evident, it is that we won't be spared, if we allow it to happen again. Maybe we have not been consciously aware of the part we have played in the last war and in this war. Both times the United States has entered the battle and turned the tide of the fighting. But don't forget, too, that both times we have had time to prepare, while our Allies held the enemy in check, often with insufficient manpower and matériel but with stout courage and resolution. The forces of aggression know what we can do, now. If they are left with the power to plan future wars, those plans will start with one thought: Knock out America first!

Our performance in this war has given us something new that we must recognize as important in terms of our future. The world has found out that the United States is now a great *military* power as well as a great *industrial* power. That is something we have never sought. We have always been a people dedicated to the principles of democracy and human welfare, and this

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Chamber of Commerce at Topeka, Kans., on Feb. 5, 1945.

development into a military power has been literally thrust upon us through the necessity to protect ourselves. But we *are now* a military power. I saw the realization of this in the wonder and gratitude in the faces of thousands of the people of Paris a couple of days after the city's liberation when two American divisions, straight from one battle, rolled down the Champs Élysées, four vehicles abreast, and on through Paris to another fight.

We must be prepared to use the fact of our real and potential military might along with every other means of strength at our disposal in fulfilling our responsibility for taking the lead in organizing for security and peace after this fight is over. There is nothing for us or for the world to fear in this. As someone has said: "The weapons for war must remain in the hands of those who hate war". We allow our policemen to carry guns, but we deny this right to hoodlums. The hoodlum nations of the world must not be allowed to carry guns.

The Department of State's greatly expanded—and still inadequate—staff must work long hours at top speed to meet the many and difficult tasks that confront our country in its foreign relations. One of the gravest of those tasks and one of the Department's greatest responsibilities is to plan now and to work now for the setting up of effective machinery of international cooperation for peace and security.

That task involves agreed action by us and by our Allies in this war for seeing to it that our enemies—Germany and Japan—never again assemble sufficient strength for another assault on human freedom. In October 1943 we took the first step toward that end. At the Moscow conference, at which our country was so ably represented by Secretary Hull, Great Britain and the Soviet Union and the United States pledged themselves to join together to enforce the surrender terms imposed upon Germany. Since then the three Governments have worked diligently together in the formulation of the necessary plans for such joint action. These plans are ready to be put into effect at a moment's notice. Later on, other agreements may be necessary among us to make effective, for as long as may be necessary, the pledge contained in the Moscow declaration. Similar arrangements will be made with respect to Japan by the nations at war with Japan.

All this is essential but clearly it is not enough. There will be, in the future, other dangers to peace and security, equally grave, perhaps even more grave. To meet all such dangers, the signatories of the Moscow declaration also pledged themselves to take the lead in the creation of a general international organization for the maintenance of peace and security. And last fall they took the first, immensely important step toward carrying out that pledge, when the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, and China formulated what has become known as the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

These Proposals outline the main features of a world security organization which, it is hoped, will eventually be established by all peace-loving nations, large and small. It is not anticipated that, at the outset, the world organization will concern itself with the control of the enemy states. It is specifically proposed that this latter problem remain—for the time being, at any rate—the responsibility of the victorious Allies. The central purpose of the general organization is to create conditions and arrangements for the removal and suppression of threats to the peace, from whatever source they may arise. The carrying out of this purpose is absolutely indispensable if peace and security are to become a reality for our Nation and for all nations desirous of peace.

The control of the enemy states may at some later time pass to the international organization.

A great many documents explaining the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals have been sent out from Washington and through interested private organizations in response to requests from people all over the United States. Departmental officers have met with groups of citizens to explain the Dumbarton Oaks plan, to answer questions, and to listen to expressions of public opinion.

Wide-spread study and discussion of the Proposals is of the utmost importance and the Department will continue to do everything possible to encourage this study and discussion. No foreign policy and no international planning in which we expect to take part can be of any consequence if it is not based squarely on the will of the people. Our foreign policy must be an expression of your conviction of what our dealings with other nations should be. In turn the State Department intends to give you as much information as possible, information in the form of factual material

on important foreign-affairs matters, so that your convictions may be founded on a knowledge of the facts.

I am not going to discuss the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals in detail this evening. You are all, I am sure, familiar with their main features. We believe—and we earnestly hope that our people and the peoples of other nations will agree—that these Proposals provide flexible and effective machinery for stopping aggression at its source and for achieving the basic goal of international cooperation—that human welfare be placed above selfish gain. Machinery of that sort is essential. But what is even more essential is firm resolution on the part of the peace-loving nations to use that machinery and to make international cooperation a reality rather than mere words.

As I look at the problem, one fact stands out—the former so-called “realists” and “visionaries” have swapped positions with one another. Today those who recognize the necessity for security through international agreement backed by force are the grimmest realists.

I say this as a soldier whose recent experiences would have made him a realist if he hadn't already been one by reason of his birth in Kansas. I have heard a lot of talk that our soldiers will come back to us confirmed isolationists. Well, the majority of them will come back isolationist in one sense only. They will want above all things to be able to live peacefully in their own country, to work, to make their homes, to raise their families in an atmosphere safe from the fear of war. They will have fought for that and will insist that the terrific cost of victory be not in vain. They will have seen too much of death and destruction and human suffering to let it happen again. But now they are busy with the job of fighting this war and undergoing perils and hardships which are difficult to realize if one hasn't seen them firsthand. Until these men come home they are expecting us to take the first steps to see to it that history will *not* repeat itself; to see to it that neither they nor their sons will be committed to the battle lines again.

The agreement reached at Dumbarton Oaks, important as it was, will need to be followed by other important steps. There will be in the near future a conference of *all* the United Nations. At that conference we can expect to have formulated a detailed charter, drawn up with due consideration for the views of all nations represented, large

and small. And even with eventual ratification of this charter and entrance of our country and other nations into the international organization, the work will not have been completed. Events as they happen, trial and error and trial again, lessons gained by working together—all will bring about additions and revisions which will make the machinery more stable and more workable.

Under the direction of the President, the Department of State, with the cooperation of the War and Navy Departments and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has been and will continue to be largely responsible for the negotiations with other countries in this all-important field. But remember that the President, and the State Department, and the Army and the Navy are only instruments of *your* Government. Unless you take the trouble to understand the world security organization, and believe in it and support it, the participation of our country in the organization will be meaningless, the organization will collapse, and we shall be faced with the third world war.

In the 84 years that Kansas has been a member of the Union, she has been renowned for moving consistently forward, never backward. Kansas was the child of struggle. We Kansans have believed in many causes and many ideals, and we have never been afraid to fight for them. The men of Kansas, many men of Kansas, are fulfilling that heritage on the battlefields of France, of Italy, and of the Pacific. Let them find that we too are fulfilling that heritage when they come home to us.

## Letter on Foreign Policy From the New Members of The Senate to the President

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press February 5]

The letter of January 25, 1945 addressed to the President by newly elected members of the House of Representatives is indeed gratifying.<sup>1</sup> It is most helpful to have this new manifestation of the conviction of the people of the United States that this country must not only play its full part in building an effective international peace and security organization but must exercise leadership to that end.

<sup>1</sup>BULLETIN of Jan. 28, 1945, p. 121.

## Statement by Acting Secretary Grew On Italian Surrender Terms<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 8]

As I have stated before, the Department of State is not in a position to make public the text of the surrender terms because of overriding military considerations.<sup>2</sup> For your guidance I might refer you to an interview which Prime Minister Bonomi gave to the Italian press February 5, in which he stated that the armistice follows the formula of unconditional surrender and thus "confers upon the Allies full powers over the internal, financial, economic and military life of the nation with the aim of placing at their command all of our remaining resources for the prosecution of the war. But in these admittedly stern conditions, there is no reference to the future status of Italy's frontiers or to the disposition of colonies; moreover, there is no reference to Italy's position in the

world when peace is made. In other words, the armistice refers to the present rather than to the future."

I may say that the surrender instrument does not contain any provisions with respect to future settlements. Furthermore, in view of the belligerency of Italy it has not been necessary to apply the terms as originally drawn up. Italy's economy is being devoted to the prosecution of the war in the same sense as is that of the other countries fighting Germany. In line with the statement of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on September 26, 1944,<sup>3</sup> the Allies are assisting Italy in every way practicable consistent with the prosecution of the war and the needs of the liberated Allied countries to meet her present difficult situation.

## Welfare of Liberated Internees in the Philippines

[Released to the press February 7]

The War Department and the Department of State have had under consideration since November 1944 plans for providing with the utmost dispatch whatever relief is essential for United Nations citizens liberated from enemy custody in the Philippine Islands and for the prompt repatriation of all those desiring it.

General MacArthur has informed the War Department within the past week that he has taken all appropriate measures to provide for the welfare of all United Nations citizens and that those relief measures will be continued throughout the period of military administration by the Civil Affairs authorities of the Army. According to General MacArthur, present arrangements for the care of liberated internees provide immediately shelter, clothing, food, and medical attention for those in

need of it. Such internees will be cared for in special camps provided by the Army pending their repatriation under the auspices of the theater commander.

General MacArthur has further informed the War Department that as soon as the military situation in the Islands permits and the Army is able to release shipping space for that purpose arrangements will be made for the repatriation of those wishing to leave the Islands. In the meantime preparations are under way to enable next of kin in the United States to communicate with their relatives in the Philippines through facilities to be provided by the War Department, pending the reestablishment of regular postal and telegraph facilities.

It is anticipated that the names of liberated internees will become available in the near future through appropriate War Department channels.

At present the responsibilities before mentioned are primarily those of the military authorities. As soon as civil officials again can function, the Department of State will reopen the American Consulate at Manila.

<sup>1</sup> Made on Feb. 8, 1945 with reference to a press report concerning alleged territorial dispositions contained in the Italian surrender terms.

<sup>2</sup> The statement referred to in this release was made by Acting Secretary Grew to the correspondents at his press and radio news conference on Feb. 1, 1945.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 1, 1944, p. 338.

# Mapping Some of the Effects Of Science and Technology on Human Relations

THE EARTH has changed but little since Man appeared, but the geography of human relationships has been transformed in a few decades. Because science knows no frontiers, scientists perhaps tend to overlook the remarkably uneven geographic distribution of the effects of their work.

The popular picture of a rapidly shrinking globe, based on the reduction of time required in circumnavigating the earth, is inaccurate and unfortunate. The world has not shrunk as if two thousand million microscopic ants had been banished from a pumpkin to live on a cherry. For the individual and for all types of corporate society, the range of activity and experience and the resources at the command of the individual and society have expanded astronomically. But the effects are distributed very unequally over the earth's surface; the geographic distribution is shifting rapidly and will apparently continue to undergo great changes. The present picture therefore gives no adequate concept of what the future will be like. It is as if the outlines of continents were picture frames within which appeared ever-changing motion pictures, like montage effects in the cinema newsreels.

Little has been done by geographers and others to map these phenomena. Any maps that might be devised to portray them would be as definitely dated as the constantly changing political maps of the world. A chronological series of such maps, however, would constitute a slow-motion study and, perhaps, would reveal or clarify important historical trends. Intelligent men instead of struggling vainly against the tide of history—now more like a cataclysmic tidal wave—might adapt themselves to making use of its power.

It would not be necessary to go back much farther than 1790 or 1800 for perspective. Tool steel and machine tools, which date from about 1770, began to make possible the utilization of scientific discoveries. The period is likewise significant because of the birth in the Americas of an infant republic and the spread in Europe of the

ideas of the French Revolution; while in China that period coincides with about the maximum extent of the Manchu empire.

Maps are advantageous for the presentation of data of this character because they show graphically the location and extent of change, and they can not evade areas and subject-matter as dexterously as text can. Maps, however, require an accompanying text to reveal significant points which might otherwise be noted by very few map-users. For most of these maps colors and atlas-quality reproduction on fine paper, like those used for the best physical and political maps, are required. The accompanying cartograms<sup>2</sup> in black and white merely suggest a few of the possibilities discussed below.

## I

In 1700 the distribution of available energy was practically uniform over the land surface of the globe, since man depended chiefly upon his own muscles, domestic animals, or slaves. But the multiplication of physical energy utilized by mankind, which is basic to all technological development, has resulted in an extremely uneven distribution of power utilized today. A lump of coal weighing about one pound now performs about as much work as a hard-working man in an eight-hour day; and one miner can mine several tons of coal a day. The present diversity in levels of living is largely due to differences in the quantities of energy consumed per capita for productive purposes. The map (fig. 1) reflects the situation in 1937. The changes within the last quarter century have been great, and they may be as great or even greater in the next 25 years.

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on a paper Mr. Boggs read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Boggs is Chief of the Division of Geography and Cartography, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State.

<sup>2</sup> Glossy reproduction prints of the illustrations are available from the Division of Research and Publication, Department of State, upon request, if desired for platemaking.

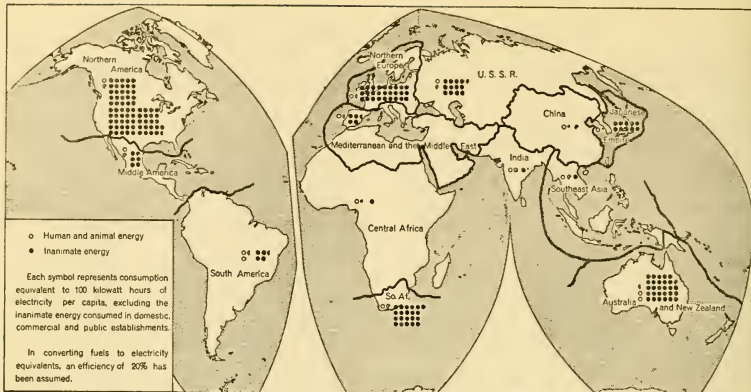


Fig. 1. Energy Consumed Per Capita for Productive Purposes in 1937

Technological changes resulting in economical mass production and revolutionary developments in transportation and communication have produced two significant and closely related results: (1) Man's relation to his local environment has been radically altered; and (2) human relations have been transformed on a global scale. Men can go farther, bring more back home, utilize more raw materials, and do much more with what they get than even the scientifically minded and far-seeing Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson could imagine.

## II

Available transportation maps usually show only the principal facilities. Little attempt has hitherto been made to show the significant differences in cost per ton-mile of freight movement. On a map centered at St. Louis, Missouri, (fig. 2) as of the year 1804, equal-cost distances by different means of transport present a very simple pattern—with long fingers following the rivers, six or seven times longer downstream than upstream, and extremely slender because of the high cost of land transport in terms of human and animal effort.

The relative efficiency of land and sea transport prior to 1800 is illustrated by the fact that

coal had been mined in Wales since Elizabethan times only where the sea actually cut into the coal field. Cardiff, only six miles from the nearest coal fields by land, imported coal from Tenby and other ports to the west. An official customs report in 1775 stated that no coal was exported from Cardiff, "nor ever can be, its distance from the water rendering it too expensive for any such sale". Such are the hazards of prophecy in a world of changing technology. Indeed, as a supplement to navigable rivers, canals provided the only cheap inland transport, when they could be dug by the simple means then available.

On the map centered on St. Louis today the contrast with 1804 reveals great expansion in all directions, notably where railroads and motor roads rival the more efficient river transport. River rates, however, have been artificially raised to a certain percentage of railroad rates, so that the down-river distance for a given cost is now less than it was nearly a century and a half ago.

Figure 3 is a cartogram intended to give a visual impression of the comparative efficiency of the principal means of transport. A steamship will usually carry a ton of freight eight or ten times as far as a railroad, for a given sum of money, and from one hundred to several thousand times as far as human porters or pack animals. The



bars in the diagram indicate in a general way how far a ton of bulk freight, such as wheat, can be transported for a sum approximately equal to the daily wage of a human porter in regions which lack railroads and motor roads. The maps in different scales are so proportioned in size, very roughly to be sure, that equal distances on all maps represent equal cost in terms of human effort. The map scales are therefore the reciprocals of the mean value of the bars in the diagram.

This cartogram in black and white is incidental to the preparation of a world map in color, not yet published, which constitutes an attempt to show the approximate cost per ton-mile for freight movement in all parts of the world today. Such a map brings out the areas in which surface transport is possible only on men's backs or heads, or on pack animals, or by means of animals pulling carts on rough roads. Here the cost factor of prim-

itive transport is represented graphically in the legend by a very steep slope, and one may imagine porters or pack animals toiling up these symbolic but very real slopes until they become exhausted. People in these regions are walled in by high transport costs. Railroads, with a cost factor a mile like the gradual upward slope of a smooth coastal plain, cut through the areas of high primitive costs like a great river which has incised its channel through a mountain range in past geologic ages.

Such equal-cost distance maps may be called "isotimal", from the Greek word *isótimos* meaning "equal cost or effort." In compiling a map of this type one would like to get back of the complicated rate structures of railroads, motor-truck carriers, and river and ocean shipping and measure cost in units of human effort. The march of physical progress could be recorded largely in a chronological series of such maps.

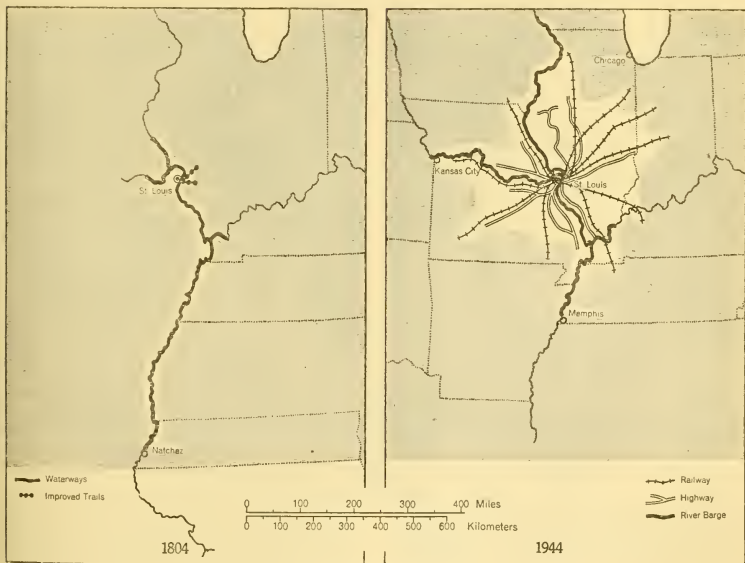


Fig. 2. Equal-Cost Distances From St. Louis, Mo., 1804 and 1944

This access to distance, due to cutting the cost with mechanized transport, largely accounts for contrasts such as that portrayed by the world maps of wheat production and commerce for 1800 and today. In 1800 the farmer who raised wheat did not dream of selling his product more than a few miles from home, where he could haul it by team and wagon or could send it a little farther by river or sea. The human use of the grasslands has been revolutionized by the railroads, the breeding of new wheat strains, the invention of roller milling and other machinery, and the opening of European markets since the industrial revolution. Consequently, wheat grown in four continents today competes in a fifth. Comparison of a map showing the areas in which wheat was both produced and consumed in 1800 with a similar map for today reveals the intimate relations between the railroad net and the areas in which wheat growing has been greatly extended in nature's grasslands.

Maps of many new types may be prepared to depict the geographic distribution of the effects of science and technology upon human relations.<sup>3</sup> Among them might be maps showing the following:

a) For a given place and several dates, the percentage of goods used in that place or region which came from distances of 10, 100, 1,000, 5,000, or 10,000 miles, thus providing some measure of expanding interrelationships.

b) For any product for which there is now a world market, the historical geography of production and distribution.

c) Decreases in cost of production per unit of output, by region and date.

d) Travel speeds, by regions, for various dates.

e) Communication costs and volumes of communications, by region and date.

<sup>3</sup> Maps of the world presenting data very objectively and impartially are most needed. To the people of this or any other country they would afford assistance in understanding the viewpoints of peoples whose historical backgrounds and environments differ greatly. It may be remarked that one of the most notable atlases in recent years is the *Great Soviet World Atlas*, projected in three volumes, the first of which, published in 1937, was devoted chiefly to world maps of great variety. Presumably an even greater contribution to world understanding could be made if such a map series included more maps specifically designed to show when, where, and how great have been some of the changes in human relationships between regions during the last century or more.

f) Geography of aviation development—factors conditioning the establishment and operation of air services.

g) Cultural relationships between different regions.

h) Levels of living based on various yardsticks.

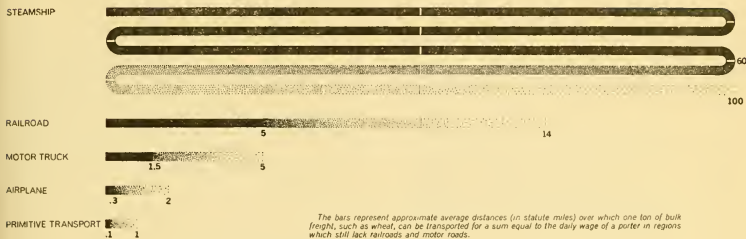
i) Social results of medical science.

j) The principal bases of prestige in various countries or regions, upon which concepts of success and leadership depend, some of them having been modified in recent decades by the development of certain industries.

One of the principal generalizations of geography is that there is very uneven, one may almost say very lop-sided, distribution of the earth's resources, land and sea, climatic zones, productive soils, population, and other factors. The influences of these inequalities of geographic distribution are very different from what they were 15 decades ago—even 5 decades ago. Some may naively imagine that the effects of this uneven distribution have been practically obliterated. On the contrary, they have simply been given new values, and some of them are more significant than ever. Just as the geographical factors have by no means been eliminated in war—in these days of mechanized warfare and of airplanes—so their influence in peace is constantly changing and is as yet inadequately appreciated. In terms of past experience it is as though we were living at the same time on several worlds whose differences in size were of almost astronomic proportions.

However great may be future changes in world maps showing the distribution of population, transportation, and communication facilities, exploitation of minerals, and the like, the pattern appears to be already well developed. The abstract pattern of relationship possibilities, moreover, is not likely to change so much as it has already changed within the last century. In at least one direction the ultimate has already been attained. Communication is instantaneous, with the speed of light, and may reach all points of the globe at once; it is being extended through television and the use of many electronic devices. In the days of both Nebuchadnezzar and Napoleon the fastest travel was at the rate of a fraction of one percent of the velocity of sound, whereas today it rapidly approaches the speed of sound, but presumably it can never attain a speed many times that of sound. The efficiency of the railroad might

[A] COMPARATIVE TRANSPORT DISTANCES AT EQUAL COST



[B] COMPARATIVE SIZES OF THE WORLD IN RELATION TO EQUAL TRANSPORT COST



Fig. 3. Transport by Different Means at Equal Cost

conceivably be doubled or quadrupled, but presumably no method of land transport can be devised which will reduce the cost to a level of that of the most efficient ocean freighter. One factory machine may now perform the labor of 10,000 human beings working by hand, but even if a new machine is invented which will produce as much as one hundred machines do now, the order of change will be less than that which has already occurred. The wizardry of chemistry already unites rare materials from the ends of the earth so that men who produce tungsten in Kiangsi Province, China, are closer as economic neighbors in normal times to Pittsburgh, the Ruhr, and the British Midlands than to communities in China one hundred miles distant.

Scientists will doubtless produce marvels far beyond our present conceptions. Their insatiable curiosity is now penetrating fields of invisible and astonishing forces; they operate without fear and in a spirit of humility before fact which enables them to discard outworn hypotheses and to learn new ways very rapidly. The changes to come in many regions hitherto referred to as "backward" may greatly exceed those already manifest in areas in which changes have been greatest in recent decades. The maps of human activities and relations will doubtless pass through rapid metamorphoses in the near future.

Flat maps cannot effectively reveal relationships of air travel and transport and of radio. While many types of aviation and telecommunication maps should be made, special globes and accessories are almost essential.

Man has a fondness for circulating, which accounts for some of his problems of relationships. Circulation is the rule in nature, of the air itself, of the sea, of many birds, and of some animals. Man's new facility of movement enables him to circulate with freedom equal to nature's in its freest moods.

People everywhere, even in remote places, are thereby being stimulated through contacts by radio, the press, the airplane, the marketplace. Human friction and heat may thus be generated. But to try to build a sort of wall to exclude contact, instead of to become adapted to it, is futile—a crustacean psychosis in an avian age.

The amazing discoveries of scientists and the resourcefulness of engineers and technologists af-

ford assurance that men's needs on the physical level can be met. The most difficult and important problems for the future which have stemmed from scientists' laboratories are the problems of human relationships, which have been multiplied almost beyond conception. Institutions with adequate resources, young men and women whose understanding of the world in the last few years has been broadened and deepened, may, by using geographers' techniques in the cartographic interpretation of spatial relations, provide us with maps that will carry us a long way toward a sound understanding of the world in which we now live.

## Relief Supplies For Allied Nationals Interned in the Far East

[Released to the press February 7]

On January 1 the Department announced that a proposal was submitted by the Japanese Government under which those portions of a recent shipment of relief supplies sent to Japan via a Soviet port allocated for distribution to Allied nationals held in camps outside Japan might be delivered in Japanese ships under safe-conduct carrying these supplies as part of their cargo.<sup>1</sup>

The first shipment under this arrangement was made in the Japanese ship *Hosi Maru*, which was scheduled to unload relief supplies at Shanghai and Tsingtao and return to Japan on January 30. While no official information in this regard has been received, it is assumed that this vessel has completed its mission.

The Japanese Government recently submitted to this Government through neutral channels a proposal to transport under a similar arrangement that portion of these supplies allocated to camps in the southern areas. This Government, acting for itself and its Allied governments, has communicated to the Japanese Government Allied agreement to the requested safe-conduct for the Japanese ship to be used in this operation. According to the terms of the safe-conduct the Japanese ship, the *Awa Maru*, will depart from a Japanese port on February 17 and will unload relief supplies at Formosa, Hong Kong, Saigon, Singapore, Surabaya, Batavia, and Muntok, returning to Japan early in April.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 7, 1945, p. 32.

# Proposed Extension of the Lend-Lease Act

Statement by ASSISTANT SECRETARY ACHESON<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 8]

MR. CHAIRMAN:

During the four years since the passage of the Lend-Lease Act, our mutual-aid programs with our Allies have become the underpinning of our joint war effort. Since those trying days in the spring of 1941, when it appeared that our enemies might succeed in their bid for the domination of the world, we have achieved a miracle in war supplies. We have managed to do this because the Congress has been willing to authorize the pooling of the products of our enormous facilities in the common war effort and because our Allies have also been willing to pool their resources for the winning of the war. Twice the Congress of the United States has extended the Lend-Lease Act for an additional year. Last year, at the time the question of the extension was before this committee, Congressman Eaton referred to these annual discussions as educational. Your committee should know how the act is being administered and what is being accomplished under it.

At the moment, the military situation appears to be favorable to our cause in nearly all areas of the world, and yet we must avoid wishful thinking and rosy predictions as to the course of military events. That can only lead us to error.

In planning for the war, we must assume that it will go on indefinitely, both in Europe and in the Far East, because it is unthinkable that we should permit any slackening of our war effort in any quarter until all of our enemies have been utterly defeated. It is impossible to say today that only so many thousand tanks or guns or ships are necessary to achieve the result we desire. Decisions as to what quantities of supplies shall be furnished and to what areas they shall go require continuing attention to the daily developments of the war and the relative needs of the forces of the United Nations everywhere.

Therefore, I cannot believe that it would be less than disastrous if at this stage of the war the Congress should indicate that it had any but the most unified determination to proceed with the programs of mutual aid as long as the resistance of Germany and Japan make them necessary. Any other implication would weaken

our own position and have a fatal effect upon the energy and will which the United Nations are throwing into the struggle for victory. To interfere with lend-lease aid would not be merely to terminate aid to others; it would be a tragic blow to our own war effort, for all of the aid which is given under the Lend-Lease Act is given because it has been determined that such aid in the hands of our Allies will best serve in the defense of the United States and the prosecution of the war.

When this committee acts to extend the Lend-Lease Act, it declares it to be the policy of this Government that we intend to continue an instrument which has proved to be so successful in a joint venture, and, when the House of Representatives and the Senate approve the extension, it is a declaration to the world, not only that our own war effort will not slacken, but that we intend to see that the war effort of our Allies will not be lessened because of a lack of supplies which we could fill.

I am sure it is unnecessary for me to remind this committee how carefully its action will be watched by all of the nations of the world. I am confident that it realizes the enormous importance to the United States of expressing its firm conviction that lend-lease must be continued just as long as it is required in the war.

Secretary Stettinius has called lend-lease a weapon for victory. He and all other witnesses before you have repeatedly stated that articles and services are and may only be provided under the Lend-Lease Act when to do so is in the interests of our national defense. That supreme interest at this moment is to win the war.

As we look about us at the progress of the war in Europe and in the Far East, we have every reason to feel pride in our Allies and gratitude for their enormously effective part in the war. We have all shared our problems, our hopes, our substance, and the burden of the battle. We must continue to do so; and we must continue to maintain faith and confidence in nations of good-will both to defeat our enemies and to secure a just peace.

<sup>1</sup> Made on Feb. 8, 1945 before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

# Attitudes of Neutral Governments Regarding Asylum to War Criminals

## *Argentina*

On September 5, 1944 the Chargé d'Affaires of the Argentine Embassy in Washington issued the following statement to the press:

"In view of versions which have appeared in the press to the effect that Argentina might become a refuge for Nazi leaders after the war, the Minister, chargé d'affaires of Argentina, Señor Rodolfo García Arias, stated: 'If the fact that Argentina has no communication or relations with the Axis powers were not sufficient in itself to disprove those versions, I wish to add I have express instructions from the Argentine Government to state that such versions or suppositions are totally unfounded.'"

The Argentine Ambassador to Great Britain on September 26, 1944 delivered to the British Foreign Office a note in which it was stated that in no case would persons accused of war crimes be granted refuge in Argentina, nor would they be permitted to set up deposits of capital in the country or acquire any kind of property.

## *Ireland*

The Irish Legation in Washington made public on November 15, 1944 the view of the Irish Government.<sup>1</sup> The Irish Government stated that it felt that the Government of the United States would understand that it could furnish no assurances which would prevent its exercising the right to afford asylum, which it noted was not in question, if national interest or honor or charity or justice demanded. It pointed out that the request of the Government of the United States was not covered by any comprehensive international code and that there was no generally recognized procedure or tribunal for judicial decision in individual cases. It was stated, however, that since the beginning of the present war the Irish Government had uniformly refused admission to all foreigners whose presence would conflict with its neutrality policy or would be harmful to the interests of the people of Ireland or would conflict

with their desire to avoid harming the interests of friendly governments, and that such foreigners who landed were deported as soon as possible to their state of origin. There was no intention, it was said, of changing this practice.

## *Portugal*

On October 11, 1944 it was stated in the British House of Commons that the Portuguese Government had informed the British Government that it would not, by granting asylum in its territory, permit war criminals to escape the decisions of national or international tribunals competent to try them.

## *Spain*

On September 3, 1944 the Spanish Ambassador in Washington made a press statement to the effect that "no one has ever contemplated providing a hiding place in Spain for enemies of the Allied countries". Spain would abide by international law, but the term *war criminal* must be defined before rules can be applied.

## *Sweden*

The position of the Swedish Government was formally announced on September 5, 1944 in a public statement by the Minister of the Interior to the effect that it must not be concluded that Sweden would be open to persons whose deeds have provoked the conscience of the civilized world or who have been traitors to their own country. He added that it might be assumed that Sweden would close her frontiers to "political" refugees and that if any succeeded in getting through the barriers they would be returned to their own country.

## *Switzerland*

The position of the Swiss Government was stated in the Swiss Parliament on November 15, 1944, as follows:

"In accordance with a long series of precedents which are to the honor of Switzerland, Federal Council intends to exercise unquestioned right of sovereign state to give asylum to fugitives whom it considers worthy thereof. It does not, however,

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 19, 1944, p. 591.

feel disposed—even in cases involving risk of death—to authorize without examination refuge on Swiss territory to all those who may request it as the number of fugitives therein has already reached disturbing proportions. It is obvious in particular that asylum could not be granted either to persons who have displayed an unfriendly attitude towards Switzerland or who have committed acts contrary to the laws of war or whose past gives evidence of conceptions incompatible with fundamental traditions of law and humanity.”

## Japan's Proposal for Reciprocal Visits to Internee Camps

[Released to the press February 8]

From the outbreak of hostilities the Japanese Government consistently refused, despite the continued representations of the United States Government, to authorize visits by representatives of the protecting power or the International Red Cross Committee to prisoner-of-war and civilian internment camps where American nationals were held in the Philippine Islands and in other occupied territories. The Japanese Government authorized visits to camps in Japan, Formosa, China, and Manchuria, but the permissions which the Japanese Government has actually granted to the representatives of the protecting power and the International Red Cross Committee have been sporadic and arbitrary. The United States Government has also learned that there are numerous camps in Japan proper whose locations have never been reported and which the representatives of the protecting power and the International Red Cross Committee have never been able to visit. The United States Government has faithfully abided by its commitments under the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention and has accorded the representatives of the International Red Cross Committee and the protecting powers in charge of Japanese interests complete authorization to visit regularly the camps in the continental United States and Hawaii and to report on the conditions under which Japanese nationals are held in custody by the United States.

Last summer the Japanese Government expressed an interest in its nationals held in custody on New Caledonia. In August the Spanish Embassy also transmitted a request from the Japa-

nese Government for a report on the conditions under which Japanese nationals are held on Saipan and the treatment accorded to them. The United States Government informed the Japanese Government that, immediately upon receipt of advice that the Japanese Government had undertaken to fulfil its commitments with respect to authorizing visits to all camps in the Philippine Islands and in other Japanese-occupied territories, the Government of the United States would make arrangements for accredited representatives to inspect the camps and to report on the conditions under which Japanese nationals are held on Saipan, the Marshall Islands, and New Caledonia.

The Japanese offer announced on the February 2 radio broadcast from Japan refers to a counterproposal made by the Japanese Government in response to this proposal of the United States Government. The Japanese Government informed the United States Government that it was prepared, as a first step, to authorize representatives of the International Red Cross Committee to visit the Santo Tomás civilian internment camp at Manila, the prisoner-of-war hospital in Thailand, and the prisoner-of-war camp at Singapore. This proposal of the Japanese Government is contingent on the state of military operations and on the United States Government's offering complete reciprocity for visits to all places where Japanese nationals are held, in particular with respect to Saipan, New Caledonia, Guam, and Tinian.

The limited nature of the offer made by Japan so far as the United States is concerned is evident. The Japanese Government has not offered complete reciprocity for camp visits to all places where American nationals are held in custody by Japan. The Japanese Government is prepared to authorize visits only by representatives of the International Red Cross Committee and not by representatives of the protecting power. It did not offer to permit visits to prisoner-of-war camps in the Philippine Islands but only offered to authorize visits to the Santo Tomás civilian camp. It did not authorize visits to the other civilian camps in the Philippine Islands. In view of the fact that the American nationals held at Santo Tomás have now been liberated by American forces it is obvious that the Japanese Government's offer to permit visits to the Santo Tomás camp no longer has any value. With regard to the camps in Thailand, the Japanese Government has failed to authorize

visits to the prisoner-of-war camps but has restricted its authorization to visits to the prisoner-of-war hospital. The Japanese Government has authorized visits to the prisoner-of-war camp at Singapore, but so far as is known there are no American prisoners of war at Singapore. There are, however, at Singapore large numbers of British prisoners of war. American civilians are

interned at Singapore, but the Japanese Government has not offered to authorize visits to the civilian internment camps.

The proposal of the Japanese Government is receiving careful consideration by the United States Government, and a reply will be forwarded shortly to the Swiss Government for transmission to Japan.

## Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace

### AMERICAN DELEGATION

[Released to the press February 10]

On January 13, 1945 the Department of State made an announcement regarding the convening at Mexico City of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace and the designation of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State, as this Government's Delegate and Nelson A. Rockefeller, Assistant Secretary of State, as the Alternate Delegate.<sup>1</sup>

The Conference is now scheduled to open on February 21, 1945.

The Department of State on February 10 announced the personnel of the United States representation which will accompany the Delegate and the Alternate Delegate. The list includes representatives of Congress, labor, management, and agriculture, as well as technical specialists from Government agencies concerned with inter-American affairs. The broadly representative character of the Delegation reflects the importance attached by this country to the Mexico City conference and to the wide variety of war and peace problems which may come before it for consideration.

The list follows:

- Delegate*  
Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State
- Alternate Delegate*  
Nelson A. Rockefeller, Assistant Secretary of State
- Special Congressional Advisers*  
Tom Connally, United States Senate, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations  
Warren R. Austin, United States Senate, Member, Committee on Foreign Relations  
Sol Bloom, House of Representatives, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs
- Luther Johnson, House of Representatives, Member, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Alternate for Mr. Bloom  
Edith Nourse Rogers, House of Representatives, Member, Committee on Foreign Affairs
- Advisers*  
Samuel W. Anderson, Program Vice Chairman, War Production Board  
Adolf A. Berle, Jr., American Ambassador, Rio de Janeiro  
William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State  
Oscar Cox, Deputy Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration  
Maj. Gen. George C. Dunham, United States Army, President, Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs  
Lt. Gen. Stanley D. Embick, United States Army  
Green H. Hackworth, Legal Adviser, Department of State  
Albert S. Goss, Master, National Grange, Washington, D. C.  
Francis A. Jamieson, Assistant Coordinator, Press and Publications Department, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs  
Eric A. Johnston, President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States  
Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor  
Julius G. Lubrsen, Executive Secretary, Railway Labor Executives Association, Washington, D. C.  
David McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer, United Steel Workers, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.  
George S. Messersmith, American Ambassador, Mexico, D. F.  
Edward A. O'Neal, President, American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Ill.  
Leo Pasvolksy, Special Assistant for International Organization and Security Affairs, Department of State  
James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, Denver, Colo.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 14, 1945, p. 61.



Warren Lee Pierson, President and General Counsel,  
Export-Import Bank of Washington  
Wayne C. Taylor, Acting Secretary of Commerce  
Rear Admiral Harold C. Trull, United States Navy  
Avra M. Warren, Director, Office of American Republic  
Affairs, Department of State  
Leslie A. Wheeler, Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural  
Relations, Department of Agriculture  
Harry D. White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury  
Vice Admiral Russell Willson, United States Navy

*Special Assistants to the Delegate*

Robert J. Lynch, Special Assistant to the Secretary of  
State  
G. Hayden Raynor, Special Assistant to the Secretary  
of State

*Special Assistants to the Alternate Delegate*

Dudley B. Bonsal, Special Assistant to the Assistant  
Secretary for American Republic Affairs, Department  
of State  
John C. McClintock, Special Assistant to the Assistant  
Secretary for American Republic Affairs, Department  
of State

*Chief Technical Officer*

John E. Lockwood, Deputy Director, Office of American  
Republic Affairs, Department of State

*Chief Press Relations Officer*

Michael J. McDermott, Special Assistant to the Secre-  
tary of State

*Secretary General*

Warren Kelchner, Chief, Division of International Con-  
ferences, Department of State

## Liberation of Manila

### MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO PRESIDENT OSMEÑA

[Released to the press by the White House February 4]

The American people rejoice with me in the liberation of your Capital.

After long years of planning, our hearts have quickened at the magnificent strides toward freedom that have been made in the last months—at Leyte, Mindoro, Lingayen Gulf, and now Manila.

We are proud of the mighty blows struck by General MacArthur, our sailors, soldiers, and airmen; and in their comradeship-in-arms with your loyal and valiant people, who in the darkest days have not ceased to fight for their independence. You may be sure that this pride will strengthen our determination to drive the Jap invader from your Islands.

We will join you in that effort—with our armed forces, as rapidly and fully as our efforts against our enemies and our responsibilities to other liberated peoples permit. With God's help we will complete the fulfilment of the pledge we renewed when our men returned to Leyte.

Let the Japanese and other enemies of peaceful nations take warning from these great events in your country; their world of treachery, aggression, and enslavement cannot survive in the struggle against our world of freedom and peace.

### STATEMENT BY ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press February 5]

The liberation of Manila and the freeing of the residents of that area from Japanese bondage brings great joy to the American people as it must also to the people of the Philippines. The liberation of the Philippines has been an objective toward which this Government has been ceaselessly working since early 1942. It gives us all intense satisfaction that the objective has already been attained in large part. That the remainder of the enemy-occupied areas in the Philippines are certain to be soon liberated no one will doubt. In the meantime let us express our thanks to General MacArthur and the officers and men of the forces under his command for the courageous and effective manner in which the Philippine operations have been conducted. The fortitude, courage, and loyalty of the Filipino people in their sufferings and deprivation imposed upon them by the enemy have won the admiration of every American and of freedom-loving people everywhere.

## Proposed Lend-Lease And Reciprocal-Aid Agreements With France

[Released to the press February 8]

Proposed lend-lease and reciprocal-aid agreements were handed on February 8 to Jean Monnet, Special Envoy of the Provisional Government of France on lend-lease and shipping negotiations. M. Monnet is taking the documents to Paris for consideration by the French Government with a view to early conclusion of the arrangements. A full statement will be issued at the conclusion of the negotiations.

# The Inter-American Juridical Committee

## Résumé of Its Organization and Its Activities

By CHARLES G. FENWICK<sup>1</sup>

FOLLOWING the entrance of the United States into the war it was clear that the existing Inter-American Neutrality Committee, created at the Meeting of Foreign Ministers at Panamá in 1939, must be reorganized to meet the new conditions. Projects to that effect were presented by a number of the delegations to the Meeting of Foreign Ministers at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942. The Rio meeting thereupon adopted a resolution (XXVI) providing that the Neutrality Committee then existing should continue to function in its present form under the name of the Inter-American Juridical Committee. This made the Juridical Committee the legal successor of the Neutrality Committee, subject to the regulations governing the Neutrality Committee except so far as these might be modified by the provisions of later resolutions.

The Juridical Committee consists of seven members, designated respectively by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, Venezuela, and the United States. A provision of the Rio resolution requires that the members of the Committee must have no other duties than those pertaining to the Committee, so that members of the foreign service of a country are excluded if they are on active duty. On the other hand, the Committee is authorized to invite American jurists to take part in its deliberations upon special juridical matters, and it may also have recourse to the aid of technical experts when the occasion calls for their services.

The functions assigned to the Juridical Committee by the Rio Meeting of Foreign Ministers may be conveniently classified under four heads: (1) juridical problems arising out of the present war; (2) post-war problems; (3) the development and coordination of the work of the codification of international law; and (4) the coordination of the resolutions of consultative meetings of Foreign Ministers. In view of the wide diversity of

the problems thus assigned to the Committee and of the limited technical staff put at its disposition, the Committee has found it necessary to give its attention to problems which appeared to be more urgent and to subordinate research work to issues of more immediate practical importance.

A special resolution of the Rio meeting referred to the Committee a project of the Bolivian Delegation calling for an "Affirmation of the traditional theory of law in the presence of a deliberate repudiation of international justice and morality". The resolution was obviously directed against the false doctrines of the Axis powers and violations of international law accompanying the Nazi philosophy. Acting upon the resolution, the Juridical Committee drafted a statement under the title, "Reaffirmation of Fundamental Principles of International Law". The statement was submitted to the American governments through the Pan American Union on June 2, 1942. A number of governments indicated their willingness to sign the reaffirmation in the form presented; other governments suggested modifications. But the Government of Venezuela asked for changes in the text of the document, and these changes not being acceptable to other governments the reaffirmation was referred back to the Committee to be re-drafted in accordance with the changes proposed. The revised draft has been resubmitted to the American governments.

The Committee next proceeded to draft its Preliminary Recommendation on Post-War Problems. Part I of the recommendation deals with "Factors which contributed to the break-down of international law and order". It presents a survey of the limitations of international law before 1920, the defects of international organization after 1920, and the political, economic, and social factors responsible for the break-down of law and order in 1914 and in 1939. Part II of the recommendation, entitled "Conclusions", is drafted in the form of a series of principles which the Committee believed should constitute the basis of a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fenwick is the member appointed by the United States on the Inter-American Juridical Committee.

stable international system. The completed document was forwarded to the Pan American Union on September 4, 1942, to be submitted by the Union to the American governments for such use as they might desire to make of it. No action was called for; but the Committee requested observations and comments in order that it might be guided in making the more specific recommendations which it was called upon to make by the Rio resolution on post-war problems.

The function assigned to the Juridical Committee, "To develop and coordinate the work of codifying international law", is a broad one, calling not only for the determination of what might be said to be the existing rule of law but for a decision as to desirable modifications of the rule for the future. The Committee decided to confine its activities in the field of codification to recommendations in respect to the coordination of the

work of existing agencies of codification, indicating the lines along which codification might proceed without actually entering upon the codification of particular topics of international law. The Committee has prepared a report and resolution on this subject which will shortly be forwarded to the Pan American Union.

A separate resolution of the Rio Meeting of Foreign Ministers called upon the Juridical Committee to study and report upon the coordination of the resolutions, declarations, and other acts of previous meetings of Foreign Ministers. The Committee interpreted the word *coordination* as calling not merely for a logical classification of the various resolutions but for a critical examination of each separate resolution from the point of view of its relation to other resolutions of the same or of other meetings. In the course of its studies in this connection the Committee found it desirable to extend the work of coordination into

the field of the resolutions of inter-American conferences, where there is much duplication and much obsolete material; but in view of the magnitude of this task the first recommendation of the Committee will be confined to the resolutions of consultative meetings.

By special request of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, under date of May 7, 1943, the Juridical Committee undertook the study of the existing inter-American peace agreements with the object of consolidating them into a single agreement. As a result of its studies in this connection the Committee drafted two separate treaties, a draft treaty for the coordination of inter-American peace agreements, which brings together the existing treaties without alteration of their terms, and an alternative treaty containing the modifications which the Committee believed

it desirable to introduce into the existing peace machinery. The two drafts and accompanying report were submitted to the Pan American Union on June 15, 1944.

On June 17 the Committee forwarded to the Pan American Union a Recommendation for the Immediate Establishment of a Preliminary International Organization. The recommendation had for its primary purpose the extension of the circle of the United Nations so as to include, under the title Associated American States, those American states which, although not belligerents, had broken relations with the Axis powers and were fulfilling their pledges of continental solidarity. Its secondary purpose was to give an opportunity to the American states to take part in discussions with respect to the general international organization to be established after the war. To this end the recommendation proposed the immediate creation of a general assembly in which each member of the United Nations and of

## Inter-American Juridical Committee

### Chairman

Francisco Campos

### Members\*

Luis Podestá Costa

Francisco Campos

Félix Nieto del Río

Manuel Jiménez

Antonio Gomez Robledo

Charles G. Fenwick

Carlos Eduardo Stolk

\*The members of the Committee, although appointed by the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, United States of America, and Venezuela respectively, represent and act in the name of the 21 American republics.

the Associated American States would be entitled to representation. An executive committee of the assembly, consisting at first of the powers bearing the main burden of the war and later of other states selected by the general assembly, would be entrusted with the formulation of the policies and measures to be submitted to the assembly in matters relating to international reconstruction and reorganization. A general secretariat would act as a central administrative agency coordinating the work of the existing agencies of the United Nations and of agencies to be created in the future.

Upon receipt of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals relating to the establishment of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security, the Juridical Committee immediately undertook a careful study of the document with the object of making constructive suggestions in the light of inter-American traditions and experience. On December 8, 1944 the Committee approved a report entitled "The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals: Preliminary Comments and Recommendations". The report keeps strictly within the framework of the Proposals, seeking to clarify obscure points and to suggest supplementary provisions. It is described as "preliminary" because the Committee felt that it might be necessary to make additional comments and observations in the light of the individual replies of the separate American governments to the Proposals.

Looking at the activities of the Juridical Committee as a whole, perhaps the most important problem before the Committee is the coordination of inter-American and international relations. For two generations since the first inter-American conference at Washington in 1889, inter-American law has developed more or less independently of general international law. Within recent years inter-American institutions have grown more numerous and more highly organized. The time has now come to consider what modifications of inter-American organization and law will be necessary and desirable in consequence of the establishment of the international organization contemplated by the United Nations. At the same time the Juridical Committee is giving close attention to the reorganization of the inter-American system itself, with the object of improving the machinery of conferences and consultative meetings and promoting the efficiency of the existing administrative agencies.

## Exchange of American And German Nationals

[Released to the press February 5]

In the recent exchange of nationals between the United States and Germany, there were received in Switzerland from Germany 826 civilians including American nationals and their immediate relatives, nationals of the other American republics, and other persons claiming nationality of the countries of the Western Hemisphere. Four of the civilians exchanged died following arrival in Switzerland and others were too ill to travel onward from Switzerland. In addition to the persons delivered in Switzerland 34 Cuban nationals who had already been delivered by the Germans into Spain under a previous agreement are now released for travel to their native country.

Not all of the civilians released in the exchange can be accommodated on the *M. S. Gripsholm* because of the large number of seriously sick and wounded American and Canadian prisoners of war who are being given priority for accommodation on the vessel. The list of civilians received in Switzerland has been made public. A list showing which of the civilians will travel on the *M. S. Gripsholm* will be announced at a later date.

Plans are being made to provide transportation for the other civilians who in the meantime are being given appropriate care.

## The Proclaimed List

[Released to the press February 11]

The Acting 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 Deputy Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, issued on February 10 Cumulative Supplement No. 6 to Revision VIII of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated September 13, 1944.

Cumulative Supplement No. 6 to Revision VIII supersedes Cumulative Supplement No. 5 dated January 12, 1945.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement No. 6 contains 28 additional listings in the other American republics and 92 deletions; Part II contains 44 additional listings outside the American republics and 41 deletions.

## Exploratory Conversations on Double-Taxation Conventions With the United Kingdom

[Released to the press February 8]

Informal and exploratory conversations which have been in progress from time to time during the past year between representatives of the Government of the United States and representatives of the British Government in regard to the possible bases for the negotiation of conventions for the avoidance of double taxation have ended. Two draft conventions have been prepared in the course of the conversations, one relating to income taxes and the other relating to estate taxes. These draft conventions are being submitted by the representatives to their respective Governments for further consideration with a view to definitive negotiations.

The conversations were divided into three phases, the first of which took place in London, as announced by the Department on August 21, 1944.<sup>1</sup> The second phase of the conversations took place in Washington in November and December 1944 and was announced by the Department on December 5, 1944.<sup>2</sup> The final or drafting phase of the conversations also took place in Washington.

The following persons participated in the recent conversations in Washington:

For the United States: Mr. Eldon P. King, Special Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue; Mr. Roy Blough, Treasury Department; Mr. Frederick Livesey, Office of Financial and Development Policy, Department of State; Mr. Herbert P. Fales, Second Secretary and Vice Consul, American Embassy, London; Mr. William V. Whittington, Assistant Chief of the Treaty Section, Division of Research and Publication, Department of State; and Mr. P. J. Mitchell, Mr. Adelburt Christy, and Mr. Earl Ruth, Bureau of Internal Revenue.

For the United Kingdom: Sir Cornelius Gregg, Mr. S. P. Chambers, and Mr. J. R. Willis, British Board of Inland Revenue; and Mr. M. E. Bathurst, First Secretary of the British Embassy. Sir Cornelius and Mr. Chambers returned to London in December, at the conclusion of the second phase of the conversations.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Aug. 27, 1944, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 10, 1944, p. 732.

## Appointment of J. G. Bradshaw As Visiting Professor to Colombia

[Released to the press January 30]

J. G. Bradshaw, one of the group of professors and technical experts who have received travel grants from the Department of State for service in other American republics, will leave on January 31, 1945 for Bogotá, Colombia, where he has accepted the post of adviser to the director and visiting professor in the School of Business and Commerce of the Gimnasio Moderno. Mr. Bradshaw has done graduate work in the School of Business Administration of Harvard University and has had wide experience in the fields of both foreign trade and teaching since his graduation from the University of Washington. The School of Business and Commerce of the Gimnasio Moderno was established in the Colombian capital three years ago as a model institution of modern commercial methods and administration. It employs the case-method plan of teaching, which is used in only three other schools of business, at Harvard, Stanford, and Northwestern Universities.

Sixteen travel grants have been given by the Department of State to professors or technical experts under a program of cultural and scientific interchange between this country and the other American republics during the present fiscal year. This program, financed jointly by the Department and the receiving educational institutions, is administered by the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State.

## Parasitologist To Visit Mexico

[Released to the press February 6]

Dr. Clay G. Huff, professor of parasitology at the University of Chicago, has accepted an invitation from the Institute of Public Health and Tropical Diseases of Mexico City to visit that institution as guest investigator from March 1 to April 15, 1945. Dr. Huff's trip will be under auspices of the Department of State.

Dr. Huff was born in Indiana and received his academic training at Southwestern College (Kansas), Johns Hopkins University, and Harvard. He is a member of the American Society of

Parasitologists, the American Society of Tropical Medicine, and the American Society of Naturalists, and is vice president of the National Malaria Society. His published works include *A Manual of Medical Parasitology* and, in collaboration with Hegner, Root, and Augustine, *Parasitology*.

Dr. Huff's research has been largely in the field of malaria with special investigation of mosquito transmissions and life cycles. He has devoted considerable attention recently to malaria in lizards and the development of malarial sporozoites in the vertebrate host. His visit to Mexico will enlarge his opportunity for investigation along these lines.

## International Air Services Transit Agreement

[Released to the press February 10]

### Canada

His Excellency L. B. Pearson, Ambassador of Canada, on February 10 signed the International Air Services Transit Agreement (Two Freedoms) for Canada.<sup>1</sup>

The Canadian Ambassador informed the Secretary of State in a note dated February 10 that the signature affixed on behalf of the Canadian Government to the International Air Services Transit Agreement constitutes an acceptance by the Canadian Government.

Other Governments which have given notification of their acceptance of the International Air Services Transit Agreement are the Netherlands on January 11,<sup>2</sup> Norway on January 30,<sup>3</sup> and the United States on February 8.

The first paragraph of Article VI of the International Air Services Transit Agreement provides in part that

"the Government of the United States of America shall be informed at the earliest possible date by each of the governments on whose behalf the Agreement has been signed whether signature on its behalf shall constitute an acceptance of the Agreement by that government and an obligation binding upon it".

## Acceptance of Aviation Agreements

[Released to the press February 9]  
*United States*

The Department of State announced on February 9 that the United States Government had taken steps to accept the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation, the International Air Services Transit Agreement, and the International Air Transport Agreement signed at the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago on December 7, 1944. The Convention on International Civil Aviation will in due course be submitted to the United States Senate for its advice and consent.

There follows the text of the Department's telegram of February 8, 1945 instructing its diplomatic missions to notify the other governments which participated in the Chicago conference of this action:

"Please address the following note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the country to which you are accredited:

"I have the honor to refer to the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation, the International Air Services Transit Agreement and the International Air Transport Agreement signed at the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago on December 7, 1944.

"I am now instructed to notify the Government of . . . . . that the signatures of the Delegates of the United States of America on these agreements constitute acceptances by the Government of the United States of America and obligations binding upon it.

"These acceptances by the Government of the United States of America are given with the understanding that the provisions of Article II, Section 2, of the International Air Services Transit Agreement and the provisions of Article IV, Section 3, of the International Air Transport Agreement shall become operative as to the United States of America at such time as the Convention on International Civil Aviation, signed at the International Civil Aviation Conference, shall be ratified by the United States of America; and that the provisions of the second paragraph of Article V of the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation are, in respect of the United States

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 4, 1945, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 21, 1945, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 4, 1945, p. 169.

of America, subject to the requirements of its constitutional processes.”

The articles to which special reference is made in this telegram read as follows:

*International Air Services Transit Agreement*, article II, section 2: “If any disagreement between two or more contracting States relating to the interpretation or application of this Agreement cannot be settled by negotiation, the provisions of Chapter XVIII of the above-mentioned Convention shall be applicable in the same manner as provided therein with reference to any disagreement relating to the interpretation or application of the above-mentioned Convention.”

*International Air Transport Agreement*, article IV, section 3, is identical.

*Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation*, article V, second paragraph: “The expenses of the organization shall be borne by the member States in proportions to be decided by the Assembly. Funds shall be advanced by each member State to cover the initial expenses of the Organization.”

## Double-Taxation Convention With Canada

### EXCHANGE OF INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION

[Released to the press February 6]

On February 6, 1945 at 3 p.m. the Honorable Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, and His Excellency L. B. Pearson, O.B.E., Canadian Ambassador in Washington, formally exchanged the instruments of ratification of the 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 which was signed in Ottawa June 8, 1944.

Information with respect to the purposes and provisions of the convention was released by the Department on June 9, 1944.<sup>1</sup> A statement regarding the ratification of the convention on December 21, 1944 on the part of the United States was released by the Department on December 21.<sup>2</sup>

The exchange of the instruments of ratification brings the convention into effect. It is provided in article XIV that the convention shall be deemed to have come into effect on June 14, 1941. A proclamation of the convention will be issued by the President.

## Cooperative Rubber Investigations

### Haiti

In an exchange of notes dated December 29, 1944 and January 8, 1945 between the American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Port-au-Prince and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Haiti, there was effected a supplementary agreement to the agreement concluded in 1941 regarding a research and demonstration program for cooperative rubber investigations in Haiti. The supplementary agreement was concluded for the purpose of defining more clearly certain procedures affecting the sale of products grown on the lands used by the rubber experiment station and in order to facilitate the continued development of rubber investigations and demonstration plantings in Haiti. It provides, in effect, for a rotating fund for the improvement of the cooperative rubber station at Marfranc.

The supplementary agreement is to remain in force as though it were an integral part of the agreement which was effected by the signing of a letter dated January 24, 1941 by the Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry, United States Department of Agriculture, and the Secretary of State for Agriculture and Labor of the Republic of Haiti. The letter agreement provides for cooperation between the United States and Haiti in conducting investigations with respect to methods of rubber-cultivation, the development of superior strains of rubber, disease control, use of intercrops, and other matters, with a view to the establishment of a self-sustaining rubber-culture industry in Haiti. The agreement became effective on the date of signing and is to remain in force for an indefinite period.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of June 10, 1944, p. 543.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 24, 1944, p. 840.

## Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement

The American Legation at Addis Ababa has transmitted to the Department a copy of the text of the agreement between the United Kingdom and Ethiopia which was signed at Addis Ababa December 19, 1944 and was in force from that date. The agreement, which is in the English and Amharic languages, supersedes the agreement

and military convention signed at Addis Ababa January 31, 1942.

The agreement has been published by the British Government as Command Paper 6584.

The English text of the agreement and the accompanying documents is as follows:

### AGREEMENT BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Addis Ababa December 19th, 1944.

His Imperial Majesty The Emperor of Ethiopia, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God (hereinafter referred to as His Imperial Majesty the Emperor) and His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India (hereinafter referred to as His Majesty the King),

WHEREAS, on the 31st January, 1942, an Agreement and a Military Convention were signed at Addis Ababa between His Majesty the Emperor and the Government of His Majesty the King in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, with the provision that they should remain in force until replaced by a treaty for which His Imperial Majesty the Emperor might wish to make proposals;

Considering that circumstances have changed since the said Agreement and Convention were concluded, but that while the war continues it is not opportune to negotiate a permanent treaty;

Desiring, as members of the United Nations, to render mutual assistance to the cause of the United Nations and to conclude a new temporary Agreement for the regulation of their mutual relations:

Have accordingly appointed as their plenipotentiaries:—

His Imperial Majesty The Emperor: His Excellency, Bitweddad Makonnen Endalkachau, The Prime Minister.

His Majesty The King: For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: The Right Honourable, Earl De La Warr, a Member of the Privy Council.

who, having exchanged their full powers, found to be in due and proper form, have agreed as follows:—

#### *Article I.*

The Agreement and the Military Convention concluded on the 31st January, 1942, are superseded by the present Agreement.

#### *Article II.*

Diplomatic relations between the High Contracting Parties shall be conducted through an Ethiopian Minister Plenipotentiary in London accredited to His Majesty the King and a British Minister Plenipotentiary in Addis Ababa accredited to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor.

#### *Article III.*

1. The Imperial Ethiopian Government will retain or appoint British or other foreign persons of experience and special qualifications to be advisers or officers of their administration and judges as they find necessary.

2. The Government of the United Kingdom will assist The Imperial Ethiopian Government in finding suitable persons of British nationality whom they may desire to appoint.

#### *Article IV.*

1. Jurisdiction over British subjects, British Protected Persons and British Companies shall be exercised by the Ethiopian Courts constituted according to the Statute for the Administration of Justice issued by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor in 1942 and the Rules of Court issued in 1943,



provided (a) that in Article 4 of Section III of the Statute there shall be substituted for "judges of British nationality" the words "judges of proven judicial experience in other lands", and (b) that, in the hearing by the High Court of any matter, all persons shall have the right to demand that one of the judges sitting shall have had judicial experience in other lands.

2. British subjects and British Protected Persons shall be incarcerated only in prisons which are approved by an officer who has had experience in modern prison administration.

#### *Article V*

1. The Government of the United Kingdom will (a) relinquish the control and management of the section of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway which lies in Ethiopian territory within three months of receiving from the Imperial Ethiopian Government a formal assurance that satisfactory arrangements have been made for its continued efficient operation, and (b) transfer the control and management of the section of the Railway referred to in (a) above to the organisation specified in the formal assurance.

2. The Imperial Ethiopian Government recognise that the maintenance of the Railway in efficient operation is an essential part of the war effort, and also agree that any traffic for which priority is in future requested by the Middle East Supply Centre or by the British Military Authorities will receive that priority.

3. The Imperial Ethiopian Government, in making arrangements for the operation and management of the Railway, undertake that these arrangements will not be such as to prejudice the legal rights of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Company.

4. The Government of the United Kingdom will also, before the conclusion of the period specified in paragraph 1 above, withdraw from the cantonment of Diredawa and the area north-west of the Railway formerly included in the area defined in paragraph 1 of the Schedule to the Anglo-Ethiopian Military Convention, 1942.

#### *Article VI.*

1. The Government of the United Kingdom will make available to the Imperial Ethiopian Government a military mission which shall be a unit of the military forces of His Majesty the King under

the command of the Head of the Mission. It shall be called "The British Military Mission to Ethiopia".

2. The status and privileges of the members of the military mission will be governed by the terms of the annexure to the present Article.

3. The Head of the Mission shall be responsible to the Minister of War of the Imperial Ethiopian Government for the organisation, training and administration of the Ethiopian Army.

4. The policy governing such organisation, training and administration shall be laid down by the Minister of War of the Imperial Ethiopian Government in consultation with the Head of the Mission. The Minister shall have the right to satisfy himself that the policy so laid down is being executed.

5. The Minister of War of the Imperial Ethiopian Government, and the Head of the British Military Mission to Ethiopia shall agree as to the general disposition and movement of the members of the mission, as well as the strength of the mission.

6. The British Military Mission shall be withdrawn during the currency of this agreement if, after consultation between the High Contracting Parties, either of them so desires and gives notice to the other to this effect. If any such notice is given the Mission shall be withdrawn three months after the date of receipt of notice.

#### *Article VII.*

In order as an Ally to contribute to the effective prosecution of the war, and without prejudice to their underlying sovereignty, the Imperial Ethiopian Government hereby agree that, for the duration of this Agreement, the territories designated as the Reserved Area and the Ogaden, as set forth in the attached schedule, shall be under British Military Administration.

#### *Article VIII.*

All installations, constructions, works or enterprises already constructed in whole or in part by virtue of the provisions of Article 8(c) and 9(b) of the Military Convention of 31st January, 1942, in the areas referred to in Article V 4. shall from the date of withdrawal provided for in that paragraph belong in full title to the Imperial Ethiopian Government.

*Article IX.*

1. The Government of the United Kingdom will accord to civil aircraft duly registered in Ethiopia freedom of passage to, in and over territories under their jurisdiction or authority provided that the regulations governing air navigation in force within these territories are observed. Similarly the Imperial Ethiopian Government will accord to civil aircraft duly registered in any of the territories under the sovereignty, suzerainty, protection or authority of His Majesty the King freedom of passage to, in and over Ethiopia, provided that the Ethiopian regulations governing air navigation in force are observed.

2. The Imperial Ethiopian Government will permit a British Air Transport organisation or organisations, to be designated by the Government of the United Kingdom, to operate regular air services to, in and over Ethiopia for the carriage of passengers, mails and freight provided that such regulations governing Air navigation as may be in force in Ethiopia are observed. For this purpose the Imperial Ethiopian Government will secure, as far as possible, the constant maintenance of, and provide guards for, adequate landing grounds in Ethiopian territory. They will consult with the Government of the United Kingdom with regard to the construction of additional landing grounds or the extension of existing landing grounds, as experience may show to be necessary. The said organisations shall be permitted to use such landing grounds, together with ground equipment and facilities, and to provide such further facilities as may be required.

3. If the obligations of either High Contracting Party under paragraph 1 or 2 of this Article should be in conflict with his obligations under a future general international agreement or convention relating to civil aviation, the provisions of these paragraphs shall be deemed to be modified so far as is necessary to avoid such conflict.

4. The Imperial Ethiopian Government will accord freedom of navigation in and over Ethiopia to the Air Forces of His Majesty the King as well as to Allied Air Forces, and will, as far as possible, secure the constant maintenance of adequate landing grounds in Ethiopian territory. They will consult with the Government of the United Kingdom for the construction of additional landing grounds, or the extension of existing landing grounds, as the latter Government

may request. The Imperial Ethiopian Government will give all necessary orders for the passage of the personnel of the British Air Forces, aircraft and stores to and from the said landing grounds.

*Article X.*

The High Contracting Parties, on receipt of proof that any enemy aliens or ex-enemy aliens are dangerous to the security of Ethiopia or of any of the adjoining territories under the sovereignty or jurisdiction of His Majesty the King, undertake to collaborate in arrangements for their internment or expulsion.

*Article XI.*

The High Contracting Parties undertake to carry out all reasonable steps to search for, apprehend and hand over any member of the British or Ethiopian forces who is claimed as a deserter or absentee without leave, upon request made in writing by the competent military authorities of the forces from which he has deserted or absented himself, and transmitted through the diplomatic channel.

*Article XII.*

The present Agreement shall enter into force as from today's date.

*Article XIII.*

The present Agreement shall remain in force until replaced by a treaty between the two High Contracting Parties; provided, however, that, at any time after the expiry of two years from the coming into force of this Agreement, either of the High Contracting Parties may give notice to the other of his desire to terminate it. If such notice is given the Agreement shall terminate three months after the date on which this notice is given.

In witness whereof the undersigned have subscribed their signatures to the present Agreement and thereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Addis Ababa, this 19th day of December, 1944.

in duplicate in the English and Amharic languages, both of which shall be equally authoritative, except in case of doubt when the English text shall prevail.

MAKONNEN ENDALKACHAU. DE LA WARR.

*Prime Minister.*

## ANNEXURE TO ARTICLE VI.

*Status and privileges of the British Military Mission to Ethiopia.*

1. In this Annexure the expression "Member of the Mission" means:—

(a) Every person subject to the disciplinary laws in force for any of the armed forces of His Majesty the King, who is serving on the strength of the British Military Mission to Ethiopia (hereinafter referred to as "The Mission") or who, with the consent of the Ethiopian Minister of War, is attached to the Mission, or performing any duties in connection therewith.

(b) Every other person of British Nationality who is (1) accompanying or serving with the persons referred to in (a) above, (2) on the staff of the Expeditionary Forces Institute serving with or attached to the Mission.

2. The expression "Head of the Mission" means the General or other Officer for the time being Commanding the Mission. A certificate under the hand of the Head of the Mission shall be conclusive that any person named therein, is a person falling within one of the classes described in paragraph 1. above.

3. The Imperial Ethiopian Government will provide adequate accommodation, lands; and buildings (hereinafter referred to as "the accommodation") for the Mission to enable it to perform its functions adequately.

4. The Imperial Ethiopian Government consent to the enjoyment by the Mission of:—

(a) The right to erect at the expense of the Government of the United Kingdom temporary buildings and or structures upon, or make alterations to, the accommodation, as may be considered necessary by the Head of the Mission, and to remove and dispose of buildings or structures which they have so erected.

(b) The right of entry into, and departure from, Ethiopia of members of the Mission without let or hindrance subject to the provision of Article VI 5 above.

(c) The right to establish and carry on the normal Army Postal services without restriction for the handling and conveyance of all correspondence of the Mission, and the sole right of censorship over such correspondence.

5. (a) Save as hereinafter provided, no member of the Mission shall be subject to the criminal jurisdiction of the Courts of Ethiopia.

(b) No member of the Mission shall be subject to the civil jurisdiction of the Courts of Ethiopia, in respect of any matter arising out of his official duties. A statement in writing to the Ethiopian Courts by the Diplomatic Representative of His Majesty the King, that civil proceedings in respect of any member of the Mission arise out of his official duties, shall be taken as conclusive evidence by the Courts of that fact.

(c) No member of the Mission shall be committed to prison in default of satisfaction of any civil judgment, or order of any Ethiopian Court or tribunal, until the sanction in writing of the Head of the Mission has been obtained.

6. Any claims in respect of reparation for damage or injury caused, or alleged to have been caused, by any member of the Mission, in any matter arising out of his or their official duties, shall be referred in the first instance to the Head of the Mission. Any difference of opinion shall be referred to a Joint Claims Commission, to be set up in case of need by the Head of the Mission and the Ethiopian Minister of Justice. Any claim, in respect of which the Joint Claims Commission fails to reach agreement, shall be settled through the diplomatic channel.

7. (a) The appropriate Ethiopian Authority shall have the right to arrest and detain any member of the Mission, when such arrest is immediately necessary for the preservation of law and order, including the protection of person or property. If any member is arrested under this sub-paragraph, the Head of the Mission shall be immediately informed of the name and particulars of the person arrested, and the reason for his arrest.

(b) The appropriate Ethiopian Authority will, on the request of the Head of the Mission, take all possible steps to arrest and detain any member of the Mission, who is a deserter or absent without leave, or who is required to answer any other charge against him before an appropriate tribunal of the Mission.

(c) Except as provided in (a) and (b) above, no member of the Mission shall be arrested or detained by the Ethiopian Authorities.

(d) Every member of the Mission who is arrested by the Ethiopian Authorities shall be handed over at once to the Mission at the nearest

suitable place indicated by the Head of the Mission.

8. (a) When the Ethiopian Authorities consider that a member of the Mission has committed an offence against Ethiopian law for which he should be prosecuted (whether or not he has been arrested under paragraph 7(a)), particulars of such alleged offence, together with the statements of any witnesses, will be sent with all convenient speed to the Head of the Mission.

(b) If the evidence obtained with regard to an alleged offence appears sufficient to substantiate a charge, the Head of the Mission will cause such member to be tried by an appropriate tribunal of the Mission, and shall in due course arrange for the appropriate Ethiopian Authority to be informed, through the Diplomatic Representative of His Majesty the King, of the result of the trial. Where, however, the Head of the Mission receives representations from the Minister of Justice of the Imperial Ethiopian Government, that it is desirable for a member of the Mission to be tried for a criminal offence by an Ethiopian Court, and in any other case where the Head of the Mission considers this desirable, the Head of the Mission may give a certificate in writing to that effect, and thereupon such court shall have jurisdiction, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 5.

9. (a) The appropriate Ethiopian Authority shall, at the request in writing of the Head of the Mission, take all reasonable steps to secure the attendance of persons amenable to its jurisdiction, required as witnesses before any tribunal of the Mission convened and assembled by the Head of the Mission.

(b) The Head of the Mission shall, at the request in writing by an authorised official of the Ministry of Justice, or the President of the Tribunal concerned, take all reasonable steps to secure the attendance of any member of the Mission required as a witness in any proceedings before any Ethiopian tribunal.

10. The Imperial Ethiopian Government agree that where any person not being a member of the Mission has been ordered to attend a tribunal of the Mission under paragraph 9(a) fails to attend or commits any offence against such tribunal, such person will be prosecuted before the appropriate Ethiopian Court; similarly, the Head of the Mission will take disciplinary action against any member of the Mission in like default.

11. (a) Members of the Mission who are owners by Ethiopian Law of real property in Ethiopia shall pay the same taxes, registration and transfer fees as Ethiopian subjects, in respect of such property and its produce.

(b) Members of the Mission shall pay any taxes or registration fees, for the time being in force for any private owners of vehicles used on any public roads in Ethiopia which are paid by Ethiopian subjects.

(c) Members of the Mission shall pay import or export duties on goods (other than goods for their personal use or consumption) imported into or exported from Ethiopia by them.

(d) Except as provided in (a), (b) and (c) above no tax or duty registration fee, or similar charge, shall be levied on any member of the Mission.

(e) No tax, duty, registration fee or similar charge shall be levied on the Mission, Expeditionary Forces Institutes, save as expressly provided to the contrary elsewhere in this Agreement.

(f) The Mission, the Expeditionary Forces Institutes and all other official canteens of the Mission, shall pay at the most favoured rates for all services rendered by the Imperial Ethiopian Government, or any municipal or local authority.

12. The Government of the United Kingdom will assume all expenses of the Mission, except as provided in paragraph 3 above.

#### SCHEDULE.

##### 1. RESERVED AREA

A continuous belt of Ethiopian territory bounded by a line starting at the point where the French Somaliland and British Somaliland boundaries meet, thence in a westerly direction along the French Somaliland boundary to the point where it cuts the Franco-Ethiopian Railway, thence along the eastern limit of the railway zone in a south westerly direction as far as the railway bridge at Haraua, thence in a south easterly direction to the gorge of the Hullo river, thence following the Hullo river bed to a point at Haramakale where it is crossed by the Dire-dawa-Jibuti motor road at km 45 from Diredawa, thence in a south easterly direction to the summit of Burta Amare, thence to the south western summit of Gara Okhaya, thence to the north eastern summit of Dagale, thence to the summit of Gara

Digli, thence in a direct line to the summit of Mt. Goreis, thence along the crest of the Goreis range to the top of the Marda Pass, thence following along the crest of the Goreis range over the following summits: Burfik, Boledit, Burkulul, Dibba, Hagogani, Nig Niga, Kabalkabat, Dandi, Karabedi, Konya and Adadi, until it intercepts the ninth parallel of latitude at a point approximately three miles south of Burta Adadi, thence due eastwards along the ninth parallel of latitude to the point where it meets the British Somaliland boundary, thence following the British Somaliland boundary in a north westerly direction to the starting point.

NOTE: Map reference:— *East African 1:500,000*. (EAF No. 552)

## 2. OGADEN

The area of Ethiopia which is at present being administered by the British Military Administration of Somalia.

### ENCLOSURE.

Letters which passed between His Excellency the Ethiopian Prime Minister and The Right Honourable Earl De La Warr and which it has been agreed should be attached to the Agreement.

Letter No. 1. Letter from The Right Honourable Earl De La Warr to His Excellency the Ethiopian Prime Minister, dated 7th December 1944, giving certain undertakings with regard to Article VII.

Letter No. 2. Letter from His Excellency the Ethiopian Prime Minister to The Right Honourable Earl De La Warr, dated 7th December 1944, giving certain undertakings with regard to Article VII.

Letter No. 3. Letter from His Excellency the Ethiopian Prime Minister to The Right Honourable Earl De La Warr dated 7th December 1944 confirming Letter No. 1.

Letter No. 4. Letter from The Right Honourable Earl De La Warr to His Excellency the Ethiopian Prime Minister dated 7th December 1944 confirming Letter No. 2.

Letter No. 5. Letter from His Excellency the Ethiopian Prime Minister to The Right Honourable Earl De La Warr dated 7th December 1944 confirming that the Ethiopian Government accept full responsibility for enemy private property entrusted to them.

Letter No. 1.

BRITISH LEGATION,  
ADDIS ABABA, 7th December, 1944.

*Your Excellency,*

During the discussion on the terms of Article VII of the new Agreement to replace the 1942 Agreement certain points were raised by Your Excellency, and I, on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom, gave certain undertakings on the understanding that Article VII, in all other respects, gives full administrative, including judicial, powers to the Government of the United Kingdom. These undertakings, which I now confirm, are set forth below:—

(1) Any existing customs posts at Jigjiga or elsewhere shall continue on exactly the same basis as at present.

(2) The Ethiopian postal system shall continue as at present at Jigjiga.

(3) The Ethiopian Court shall continue at Jigjiga and the Ethiopian judges shall be appointed by the Ethiopian Government. This Court must however be under the authority of the British Military Administration.

(4) Wherever in the Reserved Area and the Ogaden the British flag is flown by the British Military Administration the Ethiopian flag will be flown beside it under the same conditions. Wherever in the Reserved Area and the Ogaden the Ethiopian flag is flown on Ethiopian Government offices the British flag will be flown beside it under the same conditions.

(5) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom recognise that all mineral and sub-soil (excluding water) rights in the said territories belong to the Imperial Ethiopian Government, and agree that the British Military Administration in these areas shall not prevent the full exercise of the proprietary rights of the Imperial Ethiopian Government in the sub-soil and mineral rights of those territories.

(6) The status quo shall be maintained in regard to all schools in the said territories.

(7) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom recognise and assure the right of free and unhampered movement and passage for all Ethiopian troops, government officials, nationals and vehicles along the roads Diredawa-Aisha and Diredawa-Jigjiga-Goggjar.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my high consideration.

DE LA WARR.

His Excellency

BITWEDAD MAKONNEN ENDALKACHAU,  
President of the Council of Ministers,  
Addis Ababa.

Letter No. 2.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER  
OF THE IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT.

7th December, 1944.

*My Lord,*

I have the honour to acknowledge Your Lordship's note of even date and to inform Your Lordship, on behalf of the Imperial Ethiopian Government, that the undertakings contained therein are noted and agreed.

On my part I desire to inform Your Lordship that in connexion with Article VII my Government are prepared to give the following undertakings:—

(1) The Ethiopian Courts in Aisha will not hear cases in which either of the parties is normally resident in the Reserved Area, save when the cause of action has arisen solely in the town of Aisha.

(2) Mixed cases between residents east and west of the Railway, will be settled jointly between the Ethiopian Authorities and the British Military Administration under detailed arrangements to be mutually agreed.

(3) If a person normally resident in the Reserved Area wishes to institute proceedings in the Ethiopian Courts in Aisha against another person or persons also normally resident in the Reserved Area such person shall be informed by the Ethiopian Authorities that his case can not be heard in the Ethiopian Court and that he should institute proceedings in the appropriate British Military Administration Court.

(4) The Imperial Ethiopian Government agree that the appropriate British Military Administration authority may from time to time hold Courts in Aisha in the settlement of cases between persons normally resident in the Reserved Area other than in respect of actions arising in the town of Aisha itself.

(5) The Imperial Ethiopian Government agree to grant free access to, and use of, the market facilities of Aisha to any person normally resident in the Reserved Area.

(6) The Imperial Ethiopian Government agree to grant the right of free and unhampered movement and passage to transport of the British Army and accompanying escorts along the road Jiggiga to Diredawa, for the purpose of removing Army supplies which have been conveyed to Diredawa by the Franco-Ethiopian Railway.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Lordship the assurance of my high consideration.

MAKONNEN ENDALKACHAU.

*Prime Minister.*

The Right Honourable The Earl DE LA WARR,  
British Legation, Addis Ababa.

Letter No. 3.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER  
OF THE IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT.

7th December, 1944.

*My Lord,*

During the discussion on the terms of Article VII of the new Agreement between our two Governments certain points were raised by the Imperial Ethiopian Delegation and Your Lordship, on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom, gave certain undertakings on the understanding that Article VII in all other respects, including judicial powers, places the Reserved Area and the Ogaden under British Military Administration. These undertakings contained in Your Lordship's note of even date I now confirm as set forth below:—

(1) Any existing customs posts at Jiggiga or elsewhere shall continue on exactly the same basis as at present.

(2) The Ethiopian postal system shall continue as at present at Jiggiga.

(3) The Ethiopian Court shall continue at Jiggiga and the Ethiopian judges shall be appointed by the Ethiopian Government. This Court must however be under the authority of the British Military Administration.

(4) Wherever in the Reserved Area and the Ogaden the British flag is flown by the British Military Administration the Ethiopian flag will be flown beside it under the same conditions.

Wherever in the Reserved Area and the Ogaden the Ethiopian flag in flown on Ethiopian Government offices the British flag will be flown beside it under the same conditions.

(5) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom recognise that all mineral and sub-soil (excluding water) rights in the said territories belong to the Imperial Ethiopian Government and agree that the British Military Administration in those areas shall not prevent the full exercise of the proprietary rights of the Imperial Ethiopian Government in the sub-soil and mineral rights of those territories.

(6) The status quo shall be maintained in regard to all schools in the said territories.

(7) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom recognise and assure the right of free and unhampered movement and passage for all Ethiopian troops, government officials, nationals and vehicles along the roads Diredawa-Aisha and Diredawa-Jigjiga-Goggjar.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Lordship the assurance of my high consideration.

MAKONNEN ENDALKACHAU,

*Prime Minister.*

The Right Honourable The Earl DE LA WARR,  
British Legation, Addis Ababa.

Letter No. 4.

BRITISH LEGATION,

ADDIS ABABA, 7th December, 1944.

*Your Excellency,*

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of to-day's date in which on behalf of the Imperial Ethiopian Government, you give certain undertakings in connection with Article VII of the new Agreement to replace the 1942 Agreement.

I have noted and agreed these undertakings which are set forth below:—

(1) The Ethiopian Court in Aisha will not hear cases in which either of the parties is normally resident in the Reserved Area save when the cause of action has arisen solely in the town of Aisha.

(2) Mixed cases between residents east and west of the Railway will be settled jointly between the Ethiopian Authorities and the British Military Administration under detailed arrangements to be mutually agreed.

(3) If a person normally resident in the Reserved Area wishes to institute proceedings in the Ethiopian Court in Aisha against another person or persons also normally resident in the Reserved Area such person shall be informed by the Ethiopian Authorities that his case cannot be heard in the Ethiopian Court and that he should institute proceedings in the appropriate British Military Administration Court.

(4) The Imperial Ethiopian Government agree that the appropriate British Military Administration authority may from time to time hold Courts in Aisha for the settlement of cases between persons normally resident in the Reserved Area other than in respect of actions arising in the town of Aisha itself.

(5) The Imperial Ethiopian Government agree to grant free access to, and use of, the market facilities of Aisha to any person normally resident in the Reserved Area.

(6) The Imperial Ethiopian Government agree to grant the right of free and unhampered movement and passage to transport of the British Army and accompanying escorts along the road Jigjiga to Diredawa for the purpose of removing Army supplies which have been conveyed to Diredawa by the Franco-Ethiopian Railway.

I avail myself of the opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my high consideration.

DE LA WARR.

His Excellency

BITWEDAD MAKONNEN ENDALKACHAU,

President of the Council of Ministers,  
Addis Ababa.

Letter No. 5

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER  
OF THE IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT.

7th December, 1944.

*My Lord,*

We have given further consideration to our discussion on Saturday morning, October 14th, on the draft Article VI of the new Agreement. At that meeting we said that we did not think this article necessary; we wish to point out that we have already issued the Ethiopian Enemy property Proclamation of 1942, as amended by Proclamation No. 64 of 1944 and we now confirm that the Ethiopian Government accept full responsibility for the enemy private property entrusted to them

in accordance with international law. We trust therefore in view of the action we have already taken in this connection that you agree with us that the point in question is covered and that the draft article is unnecessary.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Lordship the assurance of my high consideration.

MAKONNEN ENDALKACHAU,  
*Prime Minister.*

The Right Honourable The Earl DE LA WARR,  
British Legation, Addis Ababa.

*NOTE: This draft article was accordingly omitted from the Agreement.*

## Ashes of Late Soviet Diplomat To Be Transported to Moscow

[Released to the press February 10]

The President of the United States has offered to Marshal Stalin the use of a United States Army plane to transport to Moscow the ashes of the late Constantine Oumansky, Soviet Ambassador to Mexico and former Ambassador to the United States, his wife, and the three Secretaries of the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City who were killed in the recent tragic airplane accident in Mexico. The Soviet Embassy in Washington has informed the Department of State of Marshal Stalin's acceptance of the President's offer and the Department is now making the appropriate arrangements with the Soviet Embassy and the United States military authorities.

Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew has appointed the Honorable Addison E. Southard as his Special Representative at the arrival in San Francisco of the Mexican Army plane bearing the ashes from Mexico City.

## Mathematician Accepts Visiting Professorship to Brazil

[Released to the press February 6]

Dr. O. Zariski, professor of mathematics at Johns Hopkins University, will leave soon for

Brazil under the auspices of the Department of State to fill a one-year visiting professorship at the University of São Paulo, where he will train advanced students in geometry.

Dr. Zariski, whose special field is algebraic geometry, last year was awarded the Cole Prize in Algebra for 1939-1944. This award is made every five years by the American Mathematical Society for the best papers published in the field of algebra during the five-year period. Dr. Zariski is a member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and many other national and international learned societies. His recent monographs include *Reduction of the Singularities of an Algebraic Surface*, *Local Uniformization on Algebraic Varieties*, *Some Results on the Arithmetic Theory of Algebraic Varieties*. His most recent book is *Algebraic Surfaces*.

Dr. Zariski expects to arrive at his new post before March 1. He will be accompanied by Mrs. Zariski and their daughter.

## Geologist Accepts Visiting Professorship to Costa Rica

[Released to the press February 9]

Hobart E. Stocking, formerly geologist for District One of the Petroleum Administration for War, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has accepted a visiting professorship of geology at the University of Costa Rica, San José, Costa Rica. Mr. Stocking, who is in Washington conferring with officers of the Department of State, is one of the group of professors and technical experts who have recently been awarded travel grants by the Department for service in other American republics.

After graduating from the University of Texas Mr. Stocking did graduate work at Johns Hopkins and the University of Chicago. His professional experience has included work as topographic engineer and field assistant in the United States Geological Survey and field work as geologist in Maine, Texas, New Mexico, and Portuguese West Africa. He taught geology at the University of West Virginia for three years before accepting the post at Pittsburgh, which he has held since 1942.



Mr. Stocking expects to remain for one year in Costa Rica, where he will teach geology in the colleges of engineering and agriculture of the national university and serve as geological adviser to the Costa Rican Government.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Appointment of Officers

Robert W. Hartley as an Executive Assistant to the Special Assistant to the Secretary, Mr. Pasvolsky, effective December 21, 1944.

Harry M. Kurth as Deputy Director of the Office of Departmental Administration in addition to his responsibilities as Chief of the Division of Budget and Finance and Budget Officer of the Department, effective February 1, 1945.

Edward T. Wailes as Special Assistant to the Director, Office of European Affairs, effective February 5, 1945.

## THE CONGRESS

Amendment to Constitution Relative to the Making of Treaties: Hearings before Subcommittee No. 3 of the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H.J. Res. 6, H.J. Res. 31, H.J. Res. 64, H.J. Res. 238, H.J. Res. 246, H.J. Res. 264, and H.J. Res. 320, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the making of treaties; March 8, November 29 and 30, December 1 and 2, 1944, Serial No. 21. iv, 147 pp.

Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on S. 1385, a bill to provide for the improvement of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin in the interest of national defense, and for other purposes; November 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, and 30, 1944. iii, 308 pp. [Department of State, pp. 8-69; 71-99.]

Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives. By Clarence Cannon, A.M., LL.B., LL.D., 4th ed., 78th Cong., H.Doc. 675.

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States. Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Seventy-sixth Congress, third session, on H.Res. 282, to investigate (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the prin-

ciple of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation. Vol. 1, Executive Hearings, September 20, October 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, November 9, 10, 17, 18, and 20, 1939. iii, 474 pp. Vol. 2, Executive Hearings, March 9, 11, 21, June 3, July 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 1940. iii, 507 pp. Vol. 3, Executive Hearings, July 17, 18, 19, 22, 26, August 5, 6, 16, 17, 19, and 20, 1940. iii, 519 pp. Vol. 4, Executive Hearings, October 2 and 3, 1939, August 23, 24, 26, 27, October 1, 2, 17, November 6, 8, 1940. iv, 549 pp. Vol. 5 (77th Cong., 2d sess.), Executive Hearings, November 2, 18, December 11, 20, 21, 22, 1940, March 4, August 5, 7, 8, December 18, 19, 1941. iii, 439 pp. Vol. 6 (78th Cong., 1st sess.), Executive Hearings, October 30, 1941, January 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, March 26, April 17, 1942. iii, 485 pp. Vol. 7, Executive Hearings, March 23, 29, 30, 31, April 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 19, 1943. iii, 607 pp.

Foreign Service Buildings and Grounds. H.Rept. 49, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 685. 5 pp.

Continuing The Special Silver Committee Appointed Pursuant to Senate Resolution 187, Seventy-fourth Congress, as Amended and Supplemented. S.Rept. 33, 79th Cong., to accompany S.Res. 20. 2 pp. [Favorable report.]

Relief of Certain Officers and Employees of the Foreign Service of the United States. H.Rept. 50, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 687. 23 pp. [Favorable report.]

Foreign Service of the United States. H.Rept. 51, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 689. 7 pp. [Favorable report.]

Supplemental Estimates of Appropriations and a Draft of a Proposed Provision Pertaining to an Appropriation for the Department of State. Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1945, amounting to \$6,310,000, and a draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an appropriation, for the Department of State. H.Doc. 47, 79th Cong. 4 pp.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Confirmations

On February 8, 1945 the Senate confirmed the following nominations:

Ely E. Palmer as American Ambassador to Afghanistan

Joseph F. McGurk as American Ambassador to the Dominican Republic

Edwin Jackson Kyle as American Ambassador to Guatemala

R. Henry Norweb as American Ambassador to Panama

Herman B. Baruch as American Ambassador to Portugal

## Regulations, Orders, and Instructions Relating to the Foreign Service

[Released to the press by the White House January 19]

The President by statute authority vested in him signed on January 18 Executive Order 9514<sup>1</sup> amending Executive Order 9452<sup>2</sup> authorizing the Secretary of State to prescribe regulations and issue orders and instructions relating to the Foreign Service of the United States as follows:

"1. The Secretary of State is authorized to prescribe such regulations and issue such orders and instructions, not inconsistent with the Constitution, any law of the United States, or any Executive order or proclamation, 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 any law other than section 1752 of the Revised Statutes (22 U. S. C. 132), to prescribe regulations with respect to a particular subject."

### PUBLICATIONS

#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Establishment of Agricultural Commission: Agreement Between the United States of America and Mexico—

Effected by exchange of notes signed at Mexico January 6 and 27, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 421. Publication 2246. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agricultural Experiment Station in Guatemala: Agreement and Exchange of Notes Between the United States of America and Guatemala—Agreement signed at Guatemala July 15, 1944; effective July 15, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 422. Publication 2240. 8 pp. 5¢.

Publications of the Department of State (a list cumulative from October 1, 1929). January 1, 1945. Publication 2245. iii, 32 pp. Free.

The Administration and Structure of Japanese Government. By Hugh Borton, Division of Territorial Studies, Department of State. Far Eastern Series 8. Publication 2244. 19 pp. 10¢.

Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation With the American Republics, December 1, 1944. Inter-American Series 25. Publication 2248. ii, 18 pp. 10¢.

Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Uruguay—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington October 1 and November 1, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 423. Publication 2251. 5 pp. 5¢.

Temporary Raising of Level of Lake St. Francis During Low-Water Periods: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada Continuing in Effect the Agreement of November 10, 1941—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington August 31 and September 7, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 424. Publication 2252. 4 pp. 5¢.

Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Haiti—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington April 7, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 425. Publication 2254. 5 pp. 5¢.

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 6, February 9, 1945, to Revision VIII of September 13, 1944. Publication 2258. 80 pp. Free.

<sup>1</sup> 10 *Federal Register* 771.

<sup>2</sup> 9 *Federal Register* 7183.





# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 295

FEBRUARY 18, 1945

## *In this issue*

THE CRIMEA CONFERENCE

PIONEERING THE PEACE

*Address by Acting Secretary Grew*

THE AMERICAN CERTAINTY

*Address by Assistant Secretary MacLeish*

THE SUBSTANCE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

*By Pierre de L. Boal*

FOOD FOR THE FAMILY OF NATIONS:

THE PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE OF THE PROPOSED  
FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS

*By Howard R. Tolley and Leroy D. Stinebower*

*For complete contents  
see inside cover*



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# Contents

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## BULLETIN

VOL. XII • No. 295



PUBLICATION 2269

February 18, 1945

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Affairs, 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 \$3.50 a year; a single copy is 10 cents.

	Page
<b>AFRICA</b>	
Visit of Secretary of State to Liberia . . . . .	219
Statement by the Secretary of State to the President of Liberia . . . . .	219
<b>AMERICAN REPUBLICS</b>	
Death of Maximino Avila Camacho:	
Message From President Roosevelt to the President of Mexico . . . . .	252
Message From Acting Secretary Grew to the Mexican Secretary for Foreign Relations . . . . .	252
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Transportation of Civilian-Relief Supplies. Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	219
Relocation of Prisoner-of-War Camps in Germany . . . . .	237
Inquiries on American Citizens in Bulgaria . . . . .	252
Inquiries on American Citizens in the Cherbourg Consular District . . . . .	268
<b>FAR EAST</b>	
The Japanese War-Machine: Its Strength and Weaknesses. Address by Erle R. Dickover . . . . .	240
<b>CULTURAL COOPERATION</b>	
Second Peruvian-United States Cooperative Fellowship Program . . . . .	218
Meeting of the Art Advisory Committee of the State Department . . . . .	259
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
The Bretton Woods Proposals: International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Message of the President to the Congress . . . . .	220
<b>GENERAL</b>	
Radio Programs To Be Sponsored by the Department of State: Announcement of Topics and Dates . . . . .	237
The American Certainty. Address by Assistant Secretary MacLeish . . . . .	238
Exchange of American and German Nationals . . . . .	252
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
The Crimea Conference:	
Report of the Conference . . . . .	213
Message to Cordell Hull . . . . .	216
Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	217
United Nations Conference:	
United States Delegation . . . . .	217
Exchange of Messages Between Acting Secretary Grew and Governor Warren of California . . . . .	217
Exchange of Messages Between Acting Secretary Grew and the Mayor of San Francisco . . . . .	218
Preliminary Arrangements To Be Made by William D. Wright . . . . .	218
Pioneering the Peace. Address by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	223

(Continued on back cover)

# The Crimea Conference

## REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE

[Released to the press by the White House February 12]

For the past eight days, Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, and Marshal J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, have met with the Foreign Secretaries, Chiefs of Staff, and other advisors in the Crimea.

In addition to the three heads of government, the following took part in the conference:

### For the United States of America:

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State  
Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, U.S.N., Chief of Staff to the President  
Harry L. Hopkins, Special Assistant to the President  
Justice James F. Byrnes, Director, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion  
General of the Army George C. Marshall, U.S.A., Chief of Staff, U. S. Army  
Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, U.S.N., Chief of Naval Operations and Commander in Chief, U. S. Fleet  
Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General, Army Service Forces  
Vice Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Administrator  
Major General L. S. Kuter, U.S.A., Staff of Commanding General, U. S. Army Air Forces  
W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador to the U. S. S. R.  
H. Freeman Matthews, Director, Office of European Affairs, State Department  
Alger Hiss, Deputy Director, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State  
Charles E. Bohlen, Assistant to the Secretary of State together with political, military, and technical advisors.

### For the United Kingdom:

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs  
Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport  
Sir A. Clark Kerr, H. M. Ambassador at Moscow  
Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs  
Sir Edward Bridges, Secretary of the War Cabinet  
Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff

Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Charles Portal, Chief of the Air Staff  
Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham, First Sea Lord  
General Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defense  
together with

Field Marshal Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theatre  
Field Marshal Wilson, Head of the British Joint Staff Mission at Washington  
Admiral Somerville, Joint Staff Mission at Washington together with military and diplomatic advisors.

### For the Soviet Union:

V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.  
Admiral Kuznetsov, People's Commissar for the Navy  
Army General Antonov, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Red Army  
A. Y. Vyshinski, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.  
I. M. Maiski, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.  
Marshal of Aviation Khudyakov  
F. T. Gusev, Ambassador in Great Britain  
A. A. Gromyko, Ambassador in U.S.A.

The following statement is made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of the United States of America, and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the results of the Crimean Conference:

### THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY

We have considered and determined the military plans of the three allied powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. The military staffs of the three allied nations have met in daily meetings throughout the Conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer coordination of the military effort of the three allies than ever be-

fore. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope and coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the East, West, North and South have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we believe that the very close working partnership among the three staffs attained at this Conference will result in shortening the War. Meetings of the three staffs will continue in the future whenever the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to themselves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

#### THE OCCUPATION AND CONTROL OF GERMANY

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished. Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control has been provided for under the plan through a central control commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire, to take over a zone of occupation, and to participate as a fourth member of the control commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four governments concerned through their representatives on the European Advisory Commission.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruc-

tion wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations.

#### REPARATION BY GERMANY

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the allied nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commission will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow.

#### UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present Conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Government of China and the Provisional Government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the conference jointly with the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As soon as the con-



sultation with China and France has been completed, the text of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

#### DECLARATION ON LIBERATED EUROPE

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require (A) to establish conditions of internal peace; (B) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples; (C) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (D) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three governments, conditions in any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such

action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the declaration by the United Nations, and our determination to build in cooperation with other peace-loving nations world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

#### POLAND

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish provisional government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of Western Poland. The provisional government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present provisional government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the government of the U.S.S.R., which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present provisional government of Poland, and the government of the United Kingdom and the government of the U.S.A. will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and

will exchange ambassadors by whose reports the respective governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three heads of government consider that the Eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometres in favour of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.

#### YUGOSLAVIA

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasic that the agreement between them should be put into effect immediately, and that a new government should be formed on the basis of that agreement.

We also recommend that as soon as the new government has been formed it should declare that:

(1) The anti-Fascist assembly of National Liberation (Avnoj) should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament (Skupschina) who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament; and,

(2) Legislative acts passed by the anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a constituent assembly.

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

#### MEETINGS OF FOREIGN SECRETARIES

Throughout the Conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of governments and the Foreign Secretaries, separate meetings of the three Foreign Secretaries, and their advisors have also been held daily.

These meetings have proved of the utmost value and the Conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These

meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London, after the United Nations Conference on World Organization.

#### UNITY FOR PEACE AS FOR WAR

Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.

Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, “afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.”

Victory in this war and establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

Signed: WINSTON S. CHURCHILL  
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
J. STALIN

*February 11, 1945.*

#### MESSAGE TO CORDELL HULL

[Released to the press February 13]

The Secretary of State sent the following cable to the Honorable Cordell Hull:

*YALTA, February 11, 1945*

I have been instructed to transmit the following message to you on behalf of the undersigned who were guests of the Prime Minister this evening at dinner:

“We have missed you at this conference and send to you our affectionate greetings. We wish for you a speedy recovery in order that all of us may have the benefit of association with you again.

“ROOSEVELT      MOLOTOV  
STALIN            EDEN  
CHURCHILL      STETTINIUS”

Mr. Hull has replied as follows:

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1945

I am in receipt of your cable of February 11 transmitting a most cordial message of greeting from President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Church-

ill, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Eden, Mr. Molotov, and yourself. Please convey my grateful appreciation to each of them, together with my fervent wish for the fullest measure of success in their immense undertaking now and in the future.

## STATEMENT BY ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press February 13]

The report issuing from the meeting in the Crimea represents one of the greatest steps forward on the road to victory and to the establishment of enduring peace that have yet been taken in this war.

The great constructive achievements of the meeting have immeasurably strengthened the unity of purpose and action of the participants and may well gladden the hearts of peace-loving people everywhere.

Among its many important provisions we may well find special gratification in its reaffirmation of our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The setting of a definite date for the calling of a United Nations conference for the establishment with our Allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security is likewise profoundly encouraging, while other provisions in the statement are equally significant.

# United Nations Conference

## UNITED STATES DELEGATION

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

The President announced on February 13 that he will invite the following to be the members of the United States Delegation to the United Nations Conference on April 25, 1945 at San Francisco: Secretary of State Stettinius, Chairman; the Honorable Cordell Hull; Senator Connally; Senator Vandenberg; Representative Bloom; Representative Eaton; Commander Harold Stassen; Dean Virginia Gildersleeve.

Mr. Hull also will serve as senior adviser to the United States Delegation.

## EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES BETWEEN ACTING SECRETARY GREW AND GOVERNOR WARREN OF CALIFORNIA

[Released to the press February 15]

It is my great pleasure to inform you that San Francisco has been selected as the site of the United Nations Conference to take place beginning about April 25, 1945, for the purpose of preparing a charter for a United Nations organization for the

maintenance of international peace and security. I have just informed the Mayor of San Francisco that representatives of the Department of State will get in touch with him in a day or so in order to confer with him with regard to the necessary arrangements for the conference.

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State*

We were happy to learn that representatives of the United Nations are to meet in San Francisco. It is California's desire to be of assistance in all moves which advance tolerance and understanding between peoples and between Nations and we are proud to have been designated as the State in which the charter for the United Nations organization to maintain international peace and security will be drafted.

You may count upon the cooperation of the State of California in furthering your plans for the session.

EARL WARREN  
*Governor*

**EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES BETWEEN ACTING  
SECRETARY GREW AND THE MAYOR  
OF SAN FRANCISCO**

[Released to the press February 12]

It is my great pleasure to inform you that San Francisco has been selected as the site of the United Nations Conference to take place beginning about April 25, 1945, for the purpose of preparing a charter for a United Nations organization for the maintenance of international peace and security. Representatives of the Department of State will get in touch with you in a day or so in order to confer with you with regard to the necessary arrangements for the conference.

**JOSEPH C. GREW**  
*Acting Secretary of State*

Have received your message and I am very happy that San Francisco has been honored as the site of the United Nations Conference beginning about April 25. I can assure you the Mayor and

the City will welcome the representatives to the Conference and will place at its disposal all the assistance and cooperation that we can. Will look forward to meeting your representatives whenever they are ready to confer with me. Best regards.

MAYOR ROGER D. LAPHAM

**PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS TO BE MADE  
BY WILLIAM D. WRIGHT**

[Released to the press February 16]

Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew has instructed William D. Wright, Associate Chief of the Division of Central Services, Department of State, to proceed to San Francisco in order to consult with Mayor Lapham and other officials of San Francisco with regard to preliminary arrangements for convening the forthcoming United Nations conference in that city on April 25, 1945. The Department of State has applied for an air priority for Mr. Wright to proceed to San Francisco where he will establish temporary headquarters.

**Second Peruvian-United States Cooperative Fellowship Program**

[Released to the press February 13]

The Department of State announces that a Second Peruvian - United States Cooperative Fellowship Program will be undertaken as the result of an exchange of notes<sup>1</sup> whereby the Government of Peru and the Government of the United States have agreed to continue the program for the training of Peruvian students in the United States, in view of the excellent results of the first program which took place during the 1943-44 academic year.

In accordance with this arrangement, the Government of Peru has agreed to pay the travel expenses from the residence in Peru to the place of study in the United States and return, for 15 selected students at the graduate level. The Peruvian Government will also cover the cost of tuition for orientation courses in the language and customs of the United States which will be undertaken by the students upon their arrival. In addition, the Peruvian Government will pay tuition expenses if necessary to place a student in

a field of study specified by the Peruvian Government for which no fellowship is available.

The Institute of International Education has agreed to obtain tuition fellowships for each candidate so far as possible and is responsible for the placement and supervision of candidates at appropriate institutions of higher learning in the United States.

The United States Government will provide maintenance expenses for 12 months at the places of study, including orientation periods. Terms of study will be one year, to be extended in special cases to two years.

Candidates will be selected by the Peruvian-American Fellowship and Scholarship Committee in Lima, Peru, and applications will be received up to March 15, 1945. It is expected that successful candidates will undertake their studies in the early summer of this year.

<sup>1</sup>The exchange of notes was signed at Washington on Dec. 21, 1944 and Jan. 4, 1945 and will continue the program begun pursuant to the exchange of notes between the United States and Peru signed at Washington on Aug. 4 and 24, 1942 (Executive Agreement Series 298).

# Visit of Secretary of State to Liberia

[Released to the press February 17]

During his return from the Crimea Conference Secretary Stettinius on February 16 visited Liberia. The Secretary's visit gives renewed em-

phasis to the importance which Liberia has in the eyes of the American people and gives further evidence of the friendship between the United States and its good neighbor Liberia.

## STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA

[Released to the press February 18]

The Secretary of State made the following statement on the occasion of his reception by the President of Liberia at Monrovia on February 16, 1945:

"Two years ago, in January 1943, President Roosevelt came to Liberia from the important conference at Casablanca. Today, almost exactly two years later, I come to Liberia from the epoch-making Crimea Conference concluded just four days ago.

"I feel that the conjunction of these visits is significant. It is significant not only of the close and friendly relations that have always existed between the United States and Liberia since this Republic was first founded by American Negroes in 1847. It is also significant of the fact that winning the war and establishing the peace is a matter not only for the great nations but for all peace-loving nations, large and small. It is significant of our common determination to build a world in which the democratic rights of all people may be made secure regardless of race, color, or creed.

"I am proud to pay this official visit to Liberia, the only free native republic in Africa.

"Liberia has taken an honorable part in this war as an ally of the United States. She is a member of the United Nations and has contributed much to the United Nations cause. She has granted rights to air bases which have proved invaluable in flying the great air supply route to the Near East, to India, and to China. She has concluded a defense agreement with the United States which provides for strengthening the defenses of Liberia and, therefore, because of her strategic position on the south Atlantic, for strengthening the defenses of the United States as well. She has increased greatly her production of crude rubber so essential to United Nations war production.

"The United States in turn has provided lend-lease aid to Liberia. We have agreed to build a

new port at Monrovia; we have sent missions to assist Liberia to develop her economic resources and to meet her problems of transportation, health, and sanitation.

"I hope and believe that this friendly and mutually advantageous cooperation will continue to grow more effective in the coming months and years.

"I bring to President Tubman and to ex-President Barclay, both of whom visited the White House in 1943, the personal greetings of President Roosevelt.

"I wish that my visit here could be longer, but I look forward to welcoming the delegation of Liberia at the United Nations conference in San Francisco on April 25, scarcely more than two months from now.

"There I am sure that we shall work effectively together—and with the other United Nations—to establish a world organization to maintain the peace for generations and to make all nations, large and small, secure from aggression."

## Transportation of Civilian-Relief Supplies

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press February 13]

Plans have been made in cooperation with the shipping authorities for the release of a limited amount of shipping to be turned over to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration for the transportation of civilian-relief supplies for Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. It is probable that some actual shipments will be commenced before the end of this month.

# The Bretton Woods Proposals

## International Monetary Fund and International Bank For Reconstruction and Development

### MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS

[Released to the press by the White House February 12]

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES: In my budget message of January 9 I called attention to the need for immediate action on the Bretton Woods proposals for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is my purpose in this message to indicate the importance of these international organizations in our plans for a peaceful and prosperous world.

As we dedicate our total efforts to the task of winning this war we must never lose sight of the fact that victory is not only an end in itself but, in a large sense, victory offers us the means of achieving the goal of lasting peace and a better way of life. Victory does not insure the achievement of these larger goals—it merely offers us the opportunity—the chance—to seek their attainment. Whether we will have the courage and vision to avail ourselves of this tremendous opportunity—purchased at so great a cost—is yet to be determined. On our shoulders rests the heavy responsibility for making this momentous decision. I have said before, and I repeat again: This generation has a rendezvous with destiny.

If we are to measure up to the task of peace with the same stature as we have measured up to the task of war, we must see that the institutions of peace rest firmly on the solid foundations of international political and economic cooperation. The cornerstone for international political cooperation is the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for a permanent United Nations. International political relations will be friendly and constructive, however, only if solutions are found to the difficult economic problems we face today. The cornerstone for international economic cooperation is the Bretton Woods proposal for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

These proposals for an International Fund and International Bank are concrete evidence that the economic objectives of the United States agree

with those of the United Nations. They illustrate our unity of purpose and interest in the economic field. What we need and what they need correspond—expanded production, employment, exchange, and consumption—in other words, more goods produced, more jobs, more trade, and a higher standard of living for us all. To the people of the United States this means real peacetime employment for those who will be returning from the war and for those at home whose wartime work has ended. It also means orders and profits to our industries and fair prices to our farmers. We shall need prosperous markets in the world to insure our own prosperity, and we shall need the goods the world can sell us. For all these purposes, as well as for a peace that will endure, we need the partnership of the United Nations.

The first problem in time which we must cope with is that of saving life, and getting resources and people back into production. In many of the liberated countries economic life has all but stopped. Transportation systems are in ruins, and therefore coal and raw materials cannot be brought to factories. Many factories themselves are shattered, power plants smashed, transmission systems broken, bridges blown up or bombed, ports clogged with sunken wrecks, and great rich areas of farm land inundated by the sea. People are tired and sick and hungry. But they are eager to go to work again, and to create again with their own hands and under their own leaders the necessary physical basis of their lives.

Emergency relief is under way behind the armies under the authority of local governments, backed up first by the Allied military command and after that by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Our participation in the UNRRA has been approved by Congress. But neither UNRRA nor the armies are designed for the construction or reconstruction of large-scale public works or factories or power plants or transportation systems. That job must be done otherwise, and it must be started soon.

The main job of restoration is not one of relief. It is one of reconstruction which must largely be done by local people and their governments. They will provide the labor, the local money, and most of the materials. The same is true for all the many plans for the improvement of transportation, agriculture, industry, and housing, that are essential to the development of the economically backward areas of the world. But some of the things required for all these projects, both of reconstruction and development, will have to come from overseas. It is at this point that our highly developed economy can play a role important to the rest of the world and very profitable to the United States. Inquiries for numerous materials and for all kinds of equipment and machinery in connection with such projects are already being directed to our industries, and many more will come. This business will be welcome just as soon as the more urgent production for the war itself ends.

The main problem will be for these countries to obtain the means of payment. In the long run we can be paid for what we sell abroad chiefly in goods and services. But at the moment many of the countries who want to be our customers are prostrate. Other countries have devoted their economies so completely to the war that they do not have the resources for reconstruction and development. Unless a means of financing is found, such countries will be unable to restore their economies and, in desperation, will be forced to carry forward and intensify existing systems of discriminatory trade practices, restrictive exchange controls, competitive depreciation of currencies, and other forms of economic warfare. That would destroy all our good hopes. We must move promptly to prevent its happening, and we must move on several fronts, including finance and trade.

The United States should act promptly upon the plan for the International Bank, which will make or guarantee sound loans for the foreign currency requirements of important reconstruction and development projects in member countries. One of its most important functions will be to facilitate and make secure wide private participation in such loans. The articles of agreement constituting the charter of the Bank have been worked out with great care by an international conference of experts and give adequate protection to all interests. I recommend to the Congress

that we accept the plan, subscribe the capital allotted to us, and participate whole-heartedly in the Bank's work.

This measure, with others I shall later suggest, should go far to take care of our part of the lending requirements of the post-war years. They should help the countries concerned to get production started, to get over the first crisis of disorganization and fear, to begin the work of reconstruction and development; and they should help our farmers and our industries to get over the crisis of reconversion by making a large volume of export business possible in the post-war years. As confidence returns private investors will participate more and more in foreign lending and investment without any Government assistance. But to get over the first crisis, in the situation that confronts us, loans and guaranties by agencies of Government will be essential.

We all know, however, that a prosperous world economy must be built on more than foreign investment. Exchange rates must be stabilized, and the channels of trade opened up throughout the world. A large foreign trade after victory will generate production and therefore wealth. It will also make possible the servicing of foreign investments.

Almost no one in the modern world produces what he eats and wears and lives in. It is only by the division of labor among people and among geographic areas with all their varied resources, and by the increased all-around production which specialization makes possible, that any modern country can sustain its present population. It is through exchange and trade that efficient production in large units becomes possible. To expand the trading circle, to make it richer, more competitive, more varied, is a fundamental contribution to everybody's wealth and welfare.

It is time for the United States to take the lead in establishing the principle of economic cooperation as the foundation for expanded world trade. We propose to do this not by setting up a super-government but by international negotiation and agreement, directed to the improvement of the monetary institutions of the world and of the laws that govern trade. We have done a good deal in those directions in the last ten years under the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 and through the stabilization fund operated by our Treasury. But our present enemies were powerful in those years too, and they devoted all their efforts not to inter-

national collaboration but to autarchy and economic warfare. When victory is won we must be ready to go forward rapidly on a wide front. We all know very well that this will be a long and complicated business.

A good start has been made. The United Nations Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods has taken a long step forward on a matter of great practical importance to us all. The Conference submitted a plan to create an International Monetary Fund which will put an end to monetary chaos. The Fund is a financial institution to preserve stability and order in the exchange rates between different moneys. It does not create a single money for the world; neither we nor anyone else is ready to do that. There will still be a different money in each country, but with the Fund in operation the value of each currency in international trade will remain comparatively stable. Changes in the value of foreign currencies will be made only after careful consideration by the Fund of the factors involved. Furthermore, and equally important, the Fund agreement establishes a code of agreed principles for the conduct of exchange and currency affairs. In a nutshell the Fund agreement spells the difference between a world caught again in the maelstrom of panic and economic warfare culminating in war—as in the 1930's—or a world in which the members strive for a better life through mutual trust, co-operation, and assistance. The choice is ours.

I therefore recommend prompt action by the Congress to provide the subscription of the United States to the International Monetary Fund and the legislation necessary for our membership in the Fund.

The International Fund and Bank together represent one of the most sound and useful proposals for international collaboration now before us. On the other hand, I do not want to leave with you the impression that these proposals for the Fund and Bank are perfect in every detail. It may well be that the experience of future years will show us how they can be improved. I do wish to make it clear, however, that these articles of agreement are the product of the best minds that 44 nations could muster. These men, who represented nations from all parts of the globe, nations in all stages of economic development, nations with different political and economic philosophies, have reached an accord which is presented to you for

your consideration and approval. It would be a tragedy if differences of opinion on minor details should lead us to sacrifice the basic agreement achieved on the major problems.

Nor do I want to leave with you the impression that the Fund and the Bank are all that we will need to solve the economic problems which will face the United Nations when the war is over. There are other problems which we will be called upon to solve. It is my expectation that other proposals will shortly be ready to submit to you for your consideration. These will include the establishment of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, broadening and strengthening of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, international agreement for the reduction of trade barriers, the control of cartels and the orderly marketing of world surpluses of certain commodities, a revision of the Export-Import Bank, and an international oil agreement, as well as proposals in the field of civil aviation, shipping, and radio and wire communications. It will also be necessary, of course, to repeal the Johnson act.

In this message I have recommended for your consideration the immediate adoption of the Bretton Woods agreements and suggested other measures which will have to be dealt with in the near future. They are all parts of a consistent whole. That whole is our hope for a secure and fruitful world, a world in which plain people in all countries can work at tasks which they do well, exchange in peace the products of their labor, and work out their several destinies in security and peace; a world in which governments, as their major contribution to the common welfare, are highly and effectively resolved to work together in practical affairs and to guide all their actions by the knowledge that any policy or act that has effects abroad must be considered in the light of those effects.

The point in history at which we stand is full of promise and of danger. The world will either move toward unity and widely shared prosperity or it will move apart into necessarily competing economic blocs. We have a chance, we citizens of the United States, to use our influence in favor of a more united and cooperating world. Whether we do so will determine, as far as it is in our power, the kind of lives our grandchildren can live.

THE WHITE HOUSE

February 12, 1945.



# Pioneering the Peace

Address by ACTING SECRETARY GREW<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 17]

The American people have, among other characteristics, two great qualities which fortunately tend to counterbalance and to reinforce each other. We are by nature optimists, and at the same time we are realists. Without both these qualities surely our pioneers, since the earliest days of their settlements on the then inhospitable shores of New England, and later through the back-breaking and heart-breaking experiences of the winning of the West, could never have achieved the miracles of success that blessed their prodigious efforts. The faint-hearted never made good pioneers.

Today we are pioneers in a still greater venture, the establishment of world security and peace. But now we are not alone, for our fellow pioneers cover the globe. With the grim record of history as a background, immersed today in the appalling realities of modern war, and with the certain knowledge of the dreadful form in which, with the constant acceleration of developments in military, electrical, and chemical science, a third world war would be waged, people everywhere are crying out for the everlasting abolishment of war.

In this momentous effort we, as a people, need as never before to put to practical use those two great qualities of ours, optimism and realism. Without optimism—or let us call it faith—supported by unwavering determination, we shall founder at the beginning of the difficult voyage. Without a sense of realities, we shall lose ourselves in a maze of wishful thinking and impractical perfectionism. We must shape our world peace structure, as best we may, with the tools at hand, inflexibly determined that whatever its original imperfections, *it must be made to work*. That was the vision and the spirit that, in spite of all the disheartening obstacles and set-backs they encountered, brought ultimate success to our American pioneers. Given that vision and that determination, the people, everywhere, hungering for permanent security and peace, can and will succeed in encompassing their great objective.

One point, and only one point, can I bring out in the brief time at my disposal this afternoon, yet unless our people, and the people everywhere, ac-

cept that point as axiomatic, we shall be engulfed by profitless defeatism at the very start of our voyage. My point is that we must seek what is desirable within the realm of the attainable. The peace plan which will emerge from the coming United Nations conference will be the work of human beings and it *cannot possibly satisfy everybody*. It must be fashioned, through mutual adjustment, by many minds and by many nations. It will not be, to everyone, a perfect instrument. Yet if we condemn and discard that plan simply because we do not regard it as perfect, the alternative will assuredly be another eventual world war.

In speaking of the great problem that faces us, I have frequently drawn the parallel—and I know that it would be helpful if our people would refresh their memories on our own history—of the almost insuperable difficulties and controversies attendant upon the framing and adoption of our own Constitution. John Quincy Adams said that the Constitution was extorted “from the grinding necessity of a reluctant nation”. Many of the leaders of that time violently opposed its adoption. Some of those who had been delegates to the Constitutional Convention refused to sign the proposal adopted, and several prominent men even went so far as to refuse to be members of the Convention at all. No less outstanding a person than Patrick Henry, one of the most famous friends of liberty of all times, was among those who refused to be a delegate because, as he put it, he “smelled a rat.”

Let us remember too that the sessions of the Convention were secret, and when on September 17, 1787 the proposed plan was published, a storm of violent debate swept over the country. The opposition was strong, and in the case of Rhode Island the people of the State actually voted by a large majority against the adoption of the Constitution when it was submitted to them. There was perhaps some truth in the characterization of the Convention as a “bundle of compromises”, but eventually Washington’s opinion that it was about as good as could be expected and that the people

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast from Washington on the Metropolitan Opera Rally on Feb. 17, 1945.

ought to adopt it prevailed, and they did adopt it, leaving to the future the making of corrections by amendment. Thus the Constitution became the foundation of our Government.

Let us remember that this great charter of ours has gradually grown and matured. It has stood us well for 156 years, and it is still today capable of continual development to meet the developing needs of the times.

Today in the international field we face a problem not unlike the problem which confronted our forefathers in 1789. We are not engaged in drafting a constitution. The thought of a superstate is totally repugnant to our people and our Government. We are faced nevertheless, as our forefathers were faced, with the necessity of creating an effective organization for the maintenance of peace. It will be a difficult labor. It will have its disappointments as well as its achievements. Let us be prepared, as earlier Americans were prepared, to give the difficult labor of creation every possible chance to succeed.

We have today one immensely important factor of hope and encouragement. The Charter of a new world order is being worked out in a framework of public discussion on a scale never known before. At every stage the ideas formulated by experts have been tested in the fire of study and debate by the peoples of the world.

The Proposals which emerged from the Dumbarton Oaks conference were made public immediately upon the conclusion of that meeting. They have been and are being studied and debated in this country and in all countries. We are going into the San Francisco conference of the United Nations armed with the results of that great debate. That is democracy at its best.

One thing we must realize is that perfection will not come overnight. The first step is a common basic understanding. From that basic understanding durable peace can be born, born in labor and pain, but born and ready to mature.

We have every reason to hope that the San Francisco conference will mark one of the really great steps in mankind's efforts to create for itself a world of law and order. We are entitled to look forward to the work of this conference with solid confidence, but we will only grasp the true measure of its importance if we realize that this conference and the other conferences through which we shall build the peace are merely the tangible

and outward expression of common understanding and acceptance of the same basic principles.

The music to which we have been listening this afternoon perhaps offers one of the very best examples of what men can do when they agree on basic principles. The world of our music has agreed to accept one simple principle on which music is founded. That simple principle, that basic platform, is the scale. There are 13 notes in the scale, the same 13 notes for all people. Musicians everywhere, all people who understand and love music, can meet on this principle. Yet no nation or people is unduly constrained by it.

Under this universal understanding full leeway is given to the individual, to each instrument, to each tradition of folk song or national music. Full individualism is permitted. But, at the same time, isolationism is unknown. There are no barriers to music. The good music of each nation is the property of the music lovers of all nations. It fills the air everywhere and is understood, appreciated, and loved everywhere. This universality of music has enriched the world and made it happier. The application of that principle to international affairs will enrich the world further, and further increase its happiness, leading ultimately to the development of one mighty orchestra in which cooperation and harmony shall prevail.

We and the other peace-loving nations have it in our power to create concordance in permanent world peace. We and the other peace-loving nations also have it in our power to prolong the pattern of recurrent wars. Which shall we choose?

### Air Services Transit Agreement

#### *Newfoundland*

The Government of Newfoundland has requested that the signature of the International Air Services Transit Agreement in respect of the United Kingdom should be regarded as covering Newfoundland, the Acting Secretary of State was informed by the British Ambassador in a note dated February 7. Viscount Swinton, chairman of the British Delegation at the International Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago, signed the transit agreement on December 7, 1944 with the following reservation: "I declare that, failing later notification of inclusion, my signature to this Agreement does not cover Newfoundland".

# Food for the Family of Nations

## The Purpose and Structure of the Proposed Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

By HOWARD R. TOLLEY and LEROY D. STINEBOWER<sup>1</sup>

THE UNITED NATIONS Conference on Food and Agriculture, which met at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May 1943, has been called the first of the peace conferences for World War II. It probably fully deserves that title.

It was called, at the invitation of President Roosevelt, while the war was still far from over, to consider ways of removing one of the basic causes of war—perennial want of food. It had no authority to consider *termini* of peace—and thus in an exact sense it was no peace conference at all—but it did have full authority to explore one of the underlying *conditions*, freedom from hunger, which predispose nations to peace. Its purpose thus was not to seek to end war but to explore what could be done by united action in the field of food and agriculture to help lay the foundations for economic improvement and stability, without which the prospects for peace cannot remain secure.

The working committees at the Conference were composed of experts in agriculture and nutrition. Almost unanimously they had two outstanding convictions, if one is to judge by the recommendations and resolutions adopted by the Conference: (1) with recent progress in the science of agricultural production and of nutrition, there is no longer any real excuse for mankind's indifferent success in the age-long struggle for adequate food; and (2) the time is at hand for the peace-loving nations of the earth to better the conditions of rural populations everywhere by cooperative action to secure increased efficiency in the production and distribution of agricultural products.

Shortly after the Hot Springs conference the Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture was established in Washington to formulate "A specific plan for a permanent organization in the field of food and agriculture", including forestry and fisheries. Delegates to the Interim Commission were designated by the governments of all the United and Associated Nations, and the Commission was convened in Washington on July 15, 1943.<sup>2</sup> A little over a year later—in August

1944—the Interim Commission made its first official report to the governments it represented.<sup>3</sup>

It had completed its major task—the formulation of a "specific plan for a permanent organization". It was ready to dissolve as soon as the constitution which it had prepared for the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) had been accepted by 20 of the nations, as required by the constitution, and the first FAO conference had been convened. Meanwhile, the Commission would continue its "preliminary statistical investigations and research into the problems with which the permanent organization will deal", as required by the resolution of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture which had called it into being.

The Interim Commission recommended that FAO be established as soon as possible and that "Governments in a position to do so should make every contribution in their power, by releasing suitable personnel and otherwise, towards making it"—even in its beginning stages—"an effective and authoritative nucleus for dealing with both immediate and long-term problems of adjustment in food and agriculture". The Commission had carefully weighed the considerations which favored deferring establishment of FAO until after the war—such as the difficulties of recruiting qualified personnel and the preoccupation of many of the governments and other bodies with other matters—but believed that the considerations which favored immediate action were more important. Immediately after the war many serious problems in nutrition, food, and agriculture would be calling urgently for solution, and the fluid political, economic, and social conditions then obtaining "would

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Tolley, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, is the U.S. representative on the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture; Mr. Stinebower, Deputy Director, Office of Commercial Policy, Department of State, is the alternate U.S. representative on the Interim Commission.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of July 17, 1943, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Aug. 27, 1944, p. 207.

be particularly favorable to the adoption of sound and thorough-going measures to meet these problems". Unless FAO were actually in existence at that time to give the international advice and influence which it is designed to provide, effective dealing with these problems might be delayed for many years.

"The sooner it is established", the Commission concluded, "the sooner will it be able to bring to bear upon post-war problems of reconstruction the disinterested, international, and instructed advice and influence the provision of which is the essential purpose of the Organization." To insure the broadest possible continuing influence for the Organization, provision was made in its constitution to enable it to take its proper place in any general organization for world security which might be established at a later date.

As of early February 1945, 17 governments had indicated their intention to accept the constitution. In his message to the Congress of February 12, 1945, President Roosevelt indicated his expectation that the proposed constitution would shortly be submitted to the Congress. It would appear probable that the first conference of FAO could be convened within a few months after favorable action by the Congress and that the Organization could then begin its work of building a secure and lasting peace on the solid foundation of the "things that make for peace."

### The Purpose of the Organization

Although twice as many people are engaged in agriculture as in all other occupations combined, two thirds of the people of the world have never had enough of the right kinds of food. The purpose of FAO is to work toward correcting that situation, for which there is no longer any excuse.

There was a time, before the modern industrial era, when it seemed impossible to relieve the pressure of a constantly increasing world population on the world's supply of food. The gloomy predictions of Malthus seemed inescapable. Malthus would have been incredulous had he been told that in the United States in the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century the major concern of farm leaders would center on the so-called problem of surplus agricultural production. Knowing as he did the unrelieved poverty and perennial hunger of millions of people in his day, and knowing also that the malnutrition and disease associated with such hunger and poverty were the

primary checks against vast increases in population, Malthus would have found it impossible to believe that any great nation could actually be concerned about producing too much food and would actually take steps to restrict its production.

Malthus, however, could not foresee the tremendous increases in agricultural production which modern science was to make possible. In fact, most of us even today do not fully realize what potentialities still lie ahead. In Malthus' time—and even now in many areas of the world—from 7 to 9 out of every 10 persons capable of work were engaged in agriculture. A century or more ago it required that many people merely to maintain the extremely low level of subsistence which to Malthus seemed to be the inescapable fate of the great mass of the world's people throughout time.

Today in the United States less than one person out of five is working in agriculture. Because of the manpower requirements of war, many of those now working in agriculture are too old or too young to be viewed as fully able-bodied. Yet on the average our civilian population, after more than two years of war, actually ate last year more food and nutritionally better food than at any other time in our history. Civilian per-capita consumption of food was 9 percent greater than in the years just before the war (1935-39), even though we were devoting almost a quarter of our total food production to military and lend-lease uses. Such an achievement—and it is truly amazing—was possible only because of the remarkable increases in agricultural production per acre and per hour of labor which technological improvements have brought about.

This is not to argue, of course, that Malthus' fears were unwarranted. They are warranted even today. The world's population still presses against the world's food supply and will probably continue to press against it for decades to come. We do know, however, that the techniques of agricultural production, transportation, and food preservation now employed by the more developed countries of the world are capable of relieving this pressure not only for their own peoples but also—if extended to other areas through education and trade—for other peoples throughout the world. In actuality, the pressure has been fully relieved nowhere. Even in the United States, better nourished on the whole last year than in any year in the past, millions of people subsisted on diets which were inadequate for proper health and well-being.

For many areas of the world the pressure of population on the available supply of food has not been eased at all since Malthus' time. This vast difference between what we have achieved in the production and distribution of food and what we now know we can achieve if we want to is the impelling—and appalling—circumstance which has called FAO into being.

In the language of the preamble to the proposed constitution, the nations "accepting this Constitution" and thereby establishing the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations are "determined to promote the common welfare by furthering separate and collective action on their part for the purposes of

- "(1) raising levels of nutrition and standards of living of the peoples under their respective jurisdictions,
- "(2) securing improvements in the efficiency of the production and distribution of all food and agricultural products.
- "(3) bettering the condition of rural populations,
- "(4) and thus contributing toward an expanding world economy."

#### Specific Functions of FAO

These broad objectives set forth in the preamble to the constitution are immediately followed by a list of specific functions of the Organization. This list (art. I) together with article XI and the "purposes" quoted above from the preamble constitute the essential working program of FAO. The other 24 articles deal principally with the structure of the Organization, which will be discussed later in this paper, and sundry operating procedures and relations which are a necessary legal concomitant of all constitutions but are important chiefly from the standpoint of administration.

Two very brief articles, however, are of special interest to the people of the United States. The first of these (art. XVI) specifies that the term *agriculture* as used in the constitution includes fisheries, marine products, forestry, and forestry products; and the second (art. XXIV) states that the "temporary seat of the Organization shall be at Washington unless the Conference should otherwise determine."

The Conference referred to here, and in later pages, is the policy-making body of FAO. It is composed of one representative from each of the

member nations. Except for such powers as it may delegate to an executive committee, it is the sole governing body of the Organization.

Articles I and XI are given in full below:

#### ARTICLE I (Functions of the Organization)

1. The Organization shall collect, analyze, interpret, and disseminate information relating to nutrition, food and agriculture.

2. The Organization shall promote and, where appropriate, shall recommend national and international action with respect to

(a) scientific, technological, social, and economic research relating to nutrition, food and agriculture;

(b) the improvement of education and administration relating to nutrition, food and agriculture, and the spread of public knowledge of nutritional and agricultural science and practice;

(c) the conservation of natural resources and the adoption of improved methods of agricultural production;

(d) the improvement of the processing, marketing, and distribution of food and agricultural products;

(e) the adoption of policies for the provision of adequate agricultural credit, national and international;

(f) the adoption of international policies with respect to agricultural commodity arrangements.

3. It shall also be the function of the Organization

(a) to furnish such technical assistance as governments may request;

(b) to organize, in cooperation with the governments concerned, such missions as may be needed to assist them to fulfill the obligations arising from their acceptance of the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture; and

(c) generally to take all necessary and appropriate action to implement the purposes of the Organization as set forth in the Preamble.

#### ARTICLE XI (Reports by Members)

1. Each Member nation shall communicate periodically to the Organization reports on the progress made toward achieving the purpose of the Organization set forth in the Preamble and on the action taken on the basis of recommendations made and conventions submitted by the Conference.

2. These reports shall be made at such times and in such form and shall contain such particulars as the Conference may request.

3. The Director-General shall submit these reports, together with analyses thereof, to the Conference and shall publish such reports and analyses as may be approved for publication by the Conference together with any reports relating thereto adopted by the Conference.

4. The Director-General may request any Member nation to submit information relating to the purpose of the Organization.

5. Each Member nation shall, on request, communicate to the Organization, on publication, all laws and regulations and official reports and statistics concerning nutrition, food and agriculture.

Two things become clear from a study of this list of functions: (1) The Organization is intended to serve primarily as an expert advisory center which member nations can use to help them achieve better levels of living for themselves; (2) it has no coercive power, except that which it can bring to bear on the *conscience* of each nation by requiring it to report periodically on the progress it has made toward achieving what it agreed to try to achieve when it joined the Organization.

Both these points are extremely important, for between them they insure that the Organization shall not, on the one hand, assume any authority which a sovereign nation rightfully reserves to itself, nor shall it, on the other hand, forego any influence for greater national welfare which it can properly bring to bear on a nation as a result of its findings and recommendations in the field of food and agriculture. FAO is quite properly viewed as a research and statistical clearinghouse in the field of food and agriculture, with expert advisory functions, but it is not solely that; it is, in addition, a perpetual international reminder that facts and statistics and advice must find ultimate expression in human betterment. Or, to look at FAO in another way, the Organization agrees to gather facts, to advise, and to help member nations in the field of food and agriculture; the member nations, in turn, agree to keep the Organization informed as to the extent to which they have used the facts, the advice, and the help the Organization has provided.

Because of the emphasis the Hot Springs conference rightly placed on better nutrition, there has been some tendency to view the proposed Or-

ganization as being primarily concerned with the consumer of agricultural products. An analysis of the provisions of article I of the constitution does not substantiate this view. The misinterpretation probably arises from a confusion of the means used with the end sought.

The farmer himself is the world's greatest consumer of food—two thirds of the world's people are farmers—and hence he himself gains directly from any efforts to raise levels of nutrition. Moreover, he also profits indirectly through the expansion in markets resulting from better nutrition among non-farm consumers. Better food for the entire family of nations, from any angle one looks at it, means better living conditions for the farm families or fisher-folk who must produce that food.

FAO, with its dual emphasis on food and agriculture, promises to approach the basic problem of freedom from want of food from the standpoint of both consumer and producer. This is apparent throughout article I, where the agricultural emphasis dominates but nutrition is stressed equally with agriculture in each of the first three provisions. The reason for this is to be found in the varied specific problems the Organization will have to face. The facilities of FAO will be available to all member nations, but the nature of the service it can render most appropriately will vary with the most pressing needs of each country. For many undeveloped nations, where expanding populations continue to press unrelentingly on the food supply, its primary service will be to aid them in adopting the technical improvements—including both scientific research and educational and extension activities—which have been of such outstanding help in developing the agriculture of the more advanced nations. Such aid will enable them not only to provide more adequate food for themselves but also to contribute their share to the universal benefits arising from an expanding world economy, in which a more efficient agriculture must be matched by greater industrial production and greater buying power among farm and industrial producers alike.

For the already highly developed nations, FAO's primary service will be in the statistical and technical aid it can give in adapting agricultural production as equitably and as efficiently as possible to changing world needs. By seeing the world situation as a whole, FAO will be in a position to grapple with international problems in food and

agriculture as they arise and to suggest solutions which can forestall serious national and international difficulties.

Although today less than one person in five in the United States is engaged in agriculture, the perennial peacetime farm problem in this country has been one of how to keep a constantly expanding production from pressing against the available market outlets without disastrous declines in farm income and prices. FAO offers invaluable aid in solving this problem. Its world-wide statistical and economic services will provide a greatly improved basis for planning production and marketing programs. The conferences it is empowered to convene will provide means for working out early and equitable answers to international commodity problems that tend to grow more vexatious the longer they are postponed.

The unhappy experience of United States farmers in the period between the two world wars demonstrated conclusively that the farm problem cannot be solved by divorcing our markets from those of the rest of the world. The world has become too small for that. In the even smaller world which will be our home after the war because of recent advances in transport and communication, the family of nations will find it necessary more than ever before to plan its living, including its food supply, together.

This is not to propose, in any sense at all, that the FAO should seek to provide through international charity the basic food needs of ill-nourished peoples; it is simply to point out that in a world so small as ours has become any help that can be given to enable these peoples to produce better food for themselves means better food and better living for us. A full-employment economy for the United States, through which every American child can have the food he needs for vigorous growth and through which every American farmer can be assured of the living conditions he deserves, is not attainable unless we can trade with other than hungry and impoverished peoples in other parts of the world. The broad purpose of FAO, as revealed by the specific functions set forth in article I of its constitution, is to provide the framework by which a start can be made toward seeing clearly the world's needs in food and agriculture and toward making available to any nation which desires it the technical help or advice it may require to adapt its agricultural economy to those needs.

### FAO's Relation to Other International Organizations

At the time the first report was prepared by the Interim Commission, the Dumbarton Oaks conference on international security had not been held, but provision was made in the proposed constitution to permit FAO to fit into any general world organization which may be established.

As envisaged, FAO will be coordinate in function with the International Labor Office, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (both proposed at Bretton Woods), and such other international bodies in allied social and economic fields as may eventually be established. All these agencies would be under the high coordination of the Economic and Social Council, which would be responsible to the General Assembly. Under such arrangements FAO would be autonomous in its fields of endeavor but would yet function in such a way as to collaborate with its coordinate organizations in attaining the over-all objectives of world security.

Close working relations with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) have already been established by the Interim Commission. Although UNRRA is a temporary organization designed only to meet the immediate relief and rehabilitation needs occasioned by the war, its rehabilitation work must be guided so far as possible by the longer term objectives of FAO if the difficulties of post-war transition are to be minimized. This cooperative working relation will necessarily be continued by the permanent Organization.

The constitution provides for similar cooperation by FAO with other public international organizations with related responsibilities. Part of the work proposed for FAO has been pioneered by existing international organizations, such as the International Institute of Agriculture and related agencies in the fields of forestry and fisheries. FAO will work out arrangements for utilizing fully the experience of these predecessor agencies.

### Structure of the Organization

The specific functions of FAO have made possible a relatively simple operating structure. Lacking authority to carry out its recommendations—which, indeed, can be carried out only by the nations concerned—it will not need the elaborate structure or the huge sums of money required

by even a national "action" agency. Moreover, the Organization proposes to utilize to the fullest extent possible the facilities and resources of other organizations, both national and international, which are already established or may be established. Thus its own staff of technical experts need not be large.

The budget for the first year has been fixed at \$2,500,000, toward which the United States would contribute \$625,000. The annual budget for the next five years has been estimated at about double the amount set for the first year. On this basis the cost of membership to the people of the United States would be about \$1,250,000 a year.

Original membership in the Organization is limited to the 44 nations represented at the Hot Springs conference, but other nations may be admitted to membership later by a two-thirds majority vote of all the member nations. Initial membership is for a period of not less than five years. At the end of an initial four-year period any member nation may withdraw upon a year's notice.

In addition to making the periodic reports required under article XI, member nations in accepting the constitution assume only three specific obligations to the Organization: (1) to contribute to its expenses, (2) to accord appropriate diplomatic privileges to the Organization and its staff, and (3) to respect the international character of the staff's responsibilities. The last provision is designed to safeguard the Organization against any strictly national influence or pressure which might otherwise be exerted against nationals of any country on its staff.

The Conference will meet at least once a year, and each member nation will have one representative and one vote. The Conference will appoint the Director General, who will direct the work of the Organization subject to the general supervision of the Conference and the Executive Committee. The latter will be composed of from 9 to 15 members—appointed by the Conference from among its members or alternates or associates and their advisers—with each nation again limited to one member.

Broad policy-making control of the Organization thus rests with the member nations on a democratic and representative, one nation, one vote basis. The carrying out of the Conference's policies rests with the Director General, appointed by the Conference and subject to its supervision through the Executive Committee. In addition,

the Director General will be informed and advised by technical and regional standing committees which the Conference is authorized by the constitution to establish as well as by special conferences of representatives of interested groups or organizations which the Conference is authorized to convene. These standing committees and special conferences will enable the organization to keep in close touch at all times with expert thought and public opinion. They will also help to enlist the public support through which alone the recommendations of the Organization can be carried out in any given country.

The very nature of the Organization, which is primarily advisory in character, requires that it achieve its ends almost exclusively through the excellence of its work and the resulting influence and prestige it is able to build up among the member nations. As a consequence its success or failure as an international body will be determined almost entirely by the competence of its working staff. The Interim Commission was well aware of this, and in article VIII of the constitution it bound the Director General—who will appoint the staff "in accordance with such procedure as may be determined by rules made by the Conference" and to whom the staff is responsible—to select his staff on as wide a geographic basis as possible but "subject to the paramount importance of securing the highest standards of efficiency and of technical competence."

This excellent provision is strengthened by an injunction to further caution which is contained in the explanatory first report. There the Interim Commission advises that in making initial appointments "due regard should be had to the importance of retaining freedom of action to enable the Organization to include in its staff, at a later date, personnel from areas not yet liberated from enemy occupation" and urges that the Organization "make a number of temporary appointments at the outset while taking ample time to choose the permanent staff carefully and awaiting the release from war service of persons of the ability and training needed for its work."

A staff of this caliber, dedicated to the work outlined in the proposed constitution, should assure producers of food everywhere of the firm voice in international councils to which they are entitled. Backed by the authority of knowledge, FAO should be able to point the way to unyielding progress toward freedom from want.



# Adherence by Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Peru To the Declaration by United Nations

EXCHANGES OF MESSAGES WITH ACTING SECRETARY GREW

## *Ambassador of Chile*

[Released to the press February 14]

FEBRUARY 12, 1945.

### EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that on this date His Excellency the President of the Republic of Chile, with the concurrence of all the members of his cabinet, has approved the following official declaration:

"When the breach of diplomatic and consular relations between Chile and the Axis countries occurred on January 20, 1943, the Government of Japan stated that it considered the said breach as a state of belligerency and as a declaration of war.

"Since that time the Government of Chile has maintained, in view of this situation of fact, a position of absolute identity of aims and action with the United Nations.

"Important reasons of an international character lead the President of the Republic, with the concurrence of the Council of Ministers, to comply with the necessary formalities and to sign the Declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, to the end that our country may occupy with respect to the said United Nations the position belonging to it.

"In accordance with what has been set forth and under the constitutional rules, the President of the Republic recognizes the belligerency existing in fact between Chile and Japan. The corresponding bill is being drafted, to be sent to the National Congress."

By express direction of my Government, I have the honor to communicate to Your Excellency the foregoing official declaration and to add that I have been authorized to sign, in the name of the Republic of Chile, the Declaration by the United Nations.

For this purpose, I take the liberty of requesting Your Excellency to be good enough to communicate to me the date on which and the circumstances under which I may sign the docu-

ment mentioned, in the name of the Republic of Chile.

I avail [etc.]

MARCIAL MORA  
*Ambassador of Chile*

His Excellency

The Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.

FEBRUARY 14, 1945.

### EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of February 12, 1945, in which it is stated that the President of the Republic of Chile recognizes the belligerency existing in fact between Chile and Japan; that Chile desires to sign the Declaration by United Nations; and that you have been authorized to sign the Declaration in the name of the Republic of Chile.

The Government of the United States, as depository for the Declaration, is gratified to welcome Chile formally into the ranks of the United Nations. Arrangements are being made for you to sign the Declaration on this date.

Accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State.*

His Excellency

Señor DON MARCIAL MORA,  
*Ambassador of Chile.*

*Ambassador of Ecuador*

[Released to the press February 13]

FEBRUARY 7, 1945.

### MR. SECRETARY:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that my Government declared on February 2, 1945, that between Ecuador and Japan there has existed and does exist a state of war starting on December 7, 1941, on which date Japanese forces attacked the United States, an act considered as an aggression against all the American States which had previously declared their solidarity and since when Ecuador, by means of the establishment of bases

in her territory, the expulsion of Axis nationals, and the development of strategic products, has participated actively in the war effort.

This being the case, the Government of Ecuador has decided to adhere to the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, and I have been instructed to sign this Declaration in the name of Ecuador.

Bringing the foregoing to Your Excellency's knowledge, and requesting you to be good enough to transmit it to the other signatory governments, I wish to repeat that the Government and the people of Ecuador will continue to render with unshakeable firmness their support to the war effort of the United Nations, being impelled by their faith in the principles of liberty and justice contained in the Atlantic Charter and reaffirmed in the Declaration mentioned, principles which constitute the fundamental basis of the system of universal security for which we are all fighting.

I avail [etc.]

GALO PLAZA

His Excellency

Mr. EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, Jr.,

*Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.*

FEBRUARY 13, 1945.

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of February 7, 1945, stating that your Government declared on February 2, 1945 that between Ecuador and Japan there has existed and does exist a state of war starting on December 7, 1941; that the Government of Ecuador has decided to adhere to the Declaration by United Nations; and that you have been instructed to sign this Declaration in the name of Ecuador.

The Government of the United States, as depository of the Declaration, is gratified to welcome Ecuador formally into the ranks of the United Nations. In response to your request, this Government will notify the other signatories of Ecuador's action.

Arrangements are being made for you to sign the Declaration on behalf of Ecuador, on February 14, 1945.

Accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW

*Acting Secretary of State*

His Excellency

Señor GALO PLAZA,

*Ambassador of Ecuador,*

### *Ambassador of Paraguay*

[Released to the press February 13]

FEBRUARY 12, 1945.

EXCELLENCY:

Now that my Government has declared a state of war with the Axis powers, in a desire to increase still further its aid and to express more categorically its absolute adherence to the cause for which its sister republics unjustly attacked are fighting against the Axis powers in defense of the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of the United Nations and with the object of strengthening the ties which identify it with those nations, I have received instructions to sign in the name of the Republic of Paraguay the Declaration by United Nations.

I have the honor to inform you that in accordance with instructions received from my Government, Paraguay formally adheres, by means of this communication, to the Declaration of United Nations, dated January 1, 1942.

I take [etc.]

CELSO R. VELÁZQUEZ

The Honorable Secretary of State

*Department of State*

*Washington, D. C.*

FEBRUARY 13, 1945.

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your note of February 12, 1945, stating that your Government has declared a state of war with the Axis powers; that Paraguay formally adheres to the Declaration by United Nations; and that you have received instructions to sign in the name of the Republic of Paraguay.

The Government of the United States, as depository for the Declaration, is gratified to welcome Paraguay formally into the ranks of the United Nations. Arrangements are being made for you to sign the Declaration on February 14, 1945.

Accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW

*Acting Secretary of State*

His Excellency

Señor Dr. Don CELSO R. VELÁZQUEZ,

*Ambassador of Paraguay,*

*Chargé d'Affaires Ad Interim of Peru*

[Released to the press February 13]

FEBRUARY 11, 1945.

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the Government of Peru has made the following declaration:

"When the present war began the President of the Republic, in a public act, independently of any agreement or any preestablished obligation, declared that, in the presence of the spirit of conquest in the name of race privileges and governmental systems, Peru adhered to the cause of the States which were fighting to maintain, together with their independence, the integrity of the principles of the democracies, thus leaving definitively established, since that time, the international position of Peru.

"When the aggression of Japan against the United States occurred with the attack at Pearl Harbor, the Government condemned the attitude of that country and immediately dictated measures to restrict the activities of Japanese subjects in order to prevent them from rounding to the harm of the country and the cause of the United Nations to whose policy Peru had already adhered. When there occurred the attack upon and the sinking of vessels which were sailing under the flag of American nations, Peru, in each case, formulated her protest and expressed her sentiment of continental solidarity condemning those aggressions of Germany against the sovereignty of the American countries.

"At the time of the Rio de Janeiro meeting of Foreign Ministers the Chief of State made public declaration that Peru, continuing faithfully in her unswerving attitude, was resolved to break off relations with the Axis Powers and that this would be expressed at the opportune moment by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the said meeting, for which reason, when subsequently the recommendation for the breaking off of diplomatic relations was approved on that very day Peru was the first American country which notified the meeting of the immediate execution of the said recommendation.

"Peru passed laws of an economic and financial character amplifying and defining the prior emergency measures; she prohibited trade with Germany and Japan and their nationals; she

granted accommodations of a military character to the armed forces of the United Nations; she has collaborated and is collaborating with her natural products to the war effort; the Army has watched and is watching places on the coast which the Allied merchant marine and navies need to use; and the vessels of the Navy and planes of the Air Force have patrolled and are patrolling the seas along the coast, thus cooperating with the armed forces of the United Nations in the defense of the continent.

"On the other hand, Germany and Japan in addition to the acts of belligerency which they have practiced against the sovereignty of the American nations and against the safety of their communications, accorded Peruvian citizens and diplomats the treatment of prisoners of war.

"The President of the Republic, with the vote of approval of the Council of Ministers, recognizes that as a consequence of all the facts that have been set forth a state of effective belligerency has been produced between Peru on the one side and Germany and Japan on the other, and has resolved upon the adherence of Peru to the Declaration by United Nations, signed at Washington, January 1, 1942.

"To this end the Diplomatic Representative of Peru in the United States of America has been authorized to sign the said international instrument.

"Lima, February 11, 1945."

I comply with the request of my Government in communicating to Your Excellency that I have been authorized to sign in behalf of Peru the Declaration by United Nations and, consequently, I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will be good enough to notify me when I can sign, in behalf of Peru, the above-mentioned document.

I avail [etc.]

EDUARDO GARLAND  
*Minister Counselor*

His Excellency  
JOSEPH C. GREW,  
*Acting Secretary of State,  
State Department, Washington, D. C.*

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FEBRUARY 13, 1945.

SIR:

I acknowledge the receipt of your note of February 11, 1945, in which you quote a declaration of

the Government of Peru stating that it recognizes a state of effective belligerency between Peru on the one side and Germany and Japan on the other; that it has resolved upon the adherence of Peru to the Declaration by United Nations; and that you have been authorized to sign in the name of Peru.

The Government of the United States, as depository for the Declaration, is gratified to welcome Peru formally into the ranks of the United

Nations. Arrangements are being made for you to sign the Declaration on February 14, 1945.

Accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW,  
*Acting Secretary of State*

The Honorable

SEÑOR DR. EDUARDO GARLAND,  
*Minister Counselor,*  
*Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Peru.*

### CEREMONY ON THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION

#### *List of Representatives of the United Nations in Attendance*

[Released to the press February 14]

#### AUSTRALIA

The Honorable Sir Frederic Eggleston, *Minister of Australia*

#### BELGIUM

His Excellency Baron Robert Silvercruys, *Appointed Belgian Ambassador*

#### BOLIVIA

His Excellency Señor Don Victor Andrade, *Ambassador of Bolivia*

#### BRAZIL

His Excellency Carlos Martins, *Ambassador of Brazil*

#### CANADA

His Excellency L. B. Pearson, O.B.E., *Ambassador of Canada*

#### CHINA

His Excellency Dr. Wei Tao-ming, *Chinese Ambassador*

#### COLOMBIA

Señor Don Alberto Vargas Narfño, *Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Colombia*

#### COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Honorable Jaime Hernandez, *Secretary of Finance in charge of Commonwealth Government Affairs*

#### COSTA RICA

His Excellency Señor Don Francisco de P. Gutierrez, *Ambassador of Costa Rica*

#### CUBA

His Excellency Señor Don Guillermo Belt, *Ambassador of Cuba*

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

His Excellency Vladimír Hurban, *Ambassador of Czechoslovakia*

#### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

His Excellency Señor Don Emilio García Godoy, *Ambassador of the Dominican Republic*

#### ETHIOPIA

The Honorable Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, *Minister of Ethiopia*

#### FRANCE

His Excellency Henri Bonnet, *Ambassador of the French Republic*

#### GREECE

Mr. Phylon A. Phylon, *Counselor, Embassy of Greece*

#### GUATEMALA

His Excellency Señor Don Eugenio Silva Peña, *Ambassador of Guatemala*

#### HAITI

His Excellency André Liautaud, *Ambassador of Haiti*

#### HONDURAS

His Excellency Señor Dr. Don Julian R. Caceres, *Ambassador of Honduras*

#### INDIA

The Honorable Sir Ghrja Shankar Bajpal, *Agent General for India*

#### IRAN

The Honorable Mohammed Shayesteh, *Minister of Iran*

#### IRAQ

The Honorable Ali Jawdat, *Minister of Iraq*

#### LUXEMBOURG

The Honorable Hugues Le Gallais, *Minister of Luxembourg*

#### MEXICO

Señor Don Vicente Sánchez Gavito, *Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Mexico*

#### NETHERLANDS

Jonkbeer O. Reuchlin, *Counselor of Embassy*

#### NEW ZEALAND

The Honorable C. A. Berendsen, C.M.G., *Minister of New Zealand*

#### NICARAGUA

His Excellency Señor Dr. Don Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, *Ambassador of Nicaragua*

#### NORWAY

His Excellency Wilhelm Munthe de Morgenstjerne, *Ambassador of Norway*

#### PANAMA

Señor Dr. Don Ricardo A. Morales, *Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Panama*

#### POLAND

His Excellency Jan Ciechanowski, *Ambassador of Poland*

#### UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. J. R. Jordaan, *Secretary, Legation of the Union of South Africa*

#### UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Honorable Nikolai V. Novikov, *Minister Counselor, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND  
Mr. Robert Henry Hadow, M.C., *Counselor, British Embassy*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
The Honorable Joseph C. Grew, *Acting Secretary of State*

YUGOSLAVIA  
Dr. Ivan Frangeš, *Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Yugoslavia*

### *Remarks by Acting Secretary Grew*

[Released to the press February 14]

Representatives of the United Nations are gathered here today to mark the formal entrance into our ranks of Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, and Chile.

When this great coalition was formed on January 1, 1942, representatives of 26 governments signed the United Nations Declaration. Since that day other nations, faithful to the principles we defend, have united with us. These 4 American republics now make a total of 40 nations from all parts of the world that have become parties to the Declaration.

We are happy to welcome these nations formally into our fold. Convinced of the justice of our cause, each of them long ago took its firm stand on the side of the United Nations by breaking relations with the Axis powers, by suppressing subversive activities aimed against this hemisphere, and by mobilizing its human and economic resources in support of the war effort.

It is heartening to have them formally and fully joined with the other nations which in the United Nations Declaration have pledged their full resources in the common war effort. While we of the United Nations are making great strides toward victory in the East and in the West, we all know that it may be a long time before the last of the Axis forces have laid down their arms. It gives us new courage for the battles ahead to have these governments and peoples join in our compact.

Since the aims of the United Nations transcend the winning of the war and contemplate the building for future peace and security, we welcome these nations as full partners in constructing an international peace and security organization. We need the best thought of all governments and peoples who believe in this noble enterprise.

### *Remarks by the Ambassador of Chile*

[Released to the press February 14]

The Republic of Chile today adheres to and signs the Declaration of the United Nations, following the calm and firm path which since the beginning of this second World War has been blazed for our country by the profound democratic feeling of her people and her Government.

In this decisive fight for democracy, the President of Chile, His Excellency Juan Antonio Ríos, from the beginning of his administration, has placed in the balance for the victory of the United Nations a resolute cooperation, which culminated in the severance of relations with the Axis powers on January 20, 1943.

Since that date, Chile has been in a state of belligerency, and the entire nation has redoubled her efforts to contribute with all the resources at her command to the conquest of a better world.

By express direction of President Ríos, I have the honor to represent the Republic of Chile at this moment of transcendental importance for the future of my country, and I am proud and deeply moved to sign a document which not only means an engagement to fight the common enemy but also constitutes the cornerstone of the structure, in the very near future, of a just and everlasting peace.

### *Remarks by the Ambassador of Ecuador*

[Released to the press February 14]

Without hesitation and immediately following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor Ecuador came to the support of the United States and gave it its full cooperation.

The surprise attack by the Japanese fleet on the morning of December the seventh, 1941 was considered by my country as an act of aggression against all the American republics which had previously declared their solidarity, not only as an idealistic gesture but also in a realistic appreciation that a threat to one of us would result in danger to all.

Furthermore, this is a war to defend the principles of democracy; our goal is a world of law and order, of security and freedom, for the general well-being of all mankind.

These are the reasons why this war is as much our war as it is yours, because we are an American nation and because we are a truly democratic people under the leadership today of a truly democratic Government.

Our geographical situation has made our contribution to the war effort a particularly important and significant one, because our Galápagos Islands, located on the Pacific approach to the Panama Canal, constitute a perfect bastion of defense. A crippling attack on the Canal, during the early days of the war, would have certainly changed the course of events in the Pacific; Ecuador's quick decision in making available its territory for the establishment of bases made it possible for the United States to ward off the enemies' sinister designs. We have also participated actively by expelling Axis nationals, by strictly controlling their activities and resources, and by developing strategic products, placed exclusively at the disposal of the United Nations.

We have not been mere spectators in the great conflict; we have been participants from the very beginning and to the limit of our resources and possibilities. Now we are only taking a logical step that is in accordance with our previous international attitude since the seventh of December 1941. We are legalizing our belligerency.

Today as I sign the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, on behalf of my Government, I wish to repeat that the Government and the people of Ecuador will continue to lend with unshakable firmness their support to the war effort of the United Nations, being impelled by their faith in the principles of liberty and justice contained in the Atlantic Charter and reaffirmed in the Declaration mentioned, principles which constitute the fundamental basis of the system of universal security for which we are all fighting.

### *Remarks by the Ambassador of Paraguay*

[Released to the press February 14]

Paraguay was one of the first countries of this continent to terminate its political, economic, and commercial relations with the Axis powers, on January 28, 1942, in consequence of the treacherous attack by Japan at Pearl Harbor, thus fulfilling the recommendation adopted in the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Rio de Janeiro, even before the close of that meeting itself.

In execution of that resolution Paraguay has taken a number of steps which have translated into fact my country's unequivocal and consistent international position, in the most fearful struggle which darkens the world.

Animated by the desire to increase the measure of its assistance to the United Nations, and to identify itself with them in the common effort, Paraguay has officially declared a state of war to exist with the Axis powers.

Carrying out the specific instructions of my Government, I have had conferred upon me the high honor of manifesting the formal adherence of Paraguay, by signing on its behalf the Declaration of the United Nations, which have been struggling heroically in defense of the freedom, independence, justice, and other sacred and inalienable rights of mankind, in its life and social organization, against the powers which have presumed to rule the world.

Faithful to its history and foreign policy, Paraguay thus once more has reaffirmed its unity of purpose with the other republics and its determination to cooperate with them, to the fullest extent of all its resources, for the protection of the common interest and in harmony with the principles of international morality.

### *Remarks by the Chargé d'Affaires Ad Interim of Peru*

[Released to the press February 14]

With patriotic pride I now sign, in the name of Peru, the United Nations Declaration, whereby my country reaffirms its constant devotion to the cause of liberty and human dignity. The Peruvian people are closely identified with this cause, since its underlying principles were engraved in their minds by the liberators of their fatherland and since they consecrated to them, as did our brothers in America, the irreplaceable treasure of their blood.

This amply explains our adherence to this historic document. But this action, also, is the natural consequence of the political course that the President of Peru, Dr. Manuel Prado, has consistently followed since the beginning of Nazi aggression. The Peruvian Government has condemned aggression and has adhered to the cause of the nations that have been fighting to defend the sacred rights of the peoples and the principle of equality of all nations. A few hours after the Pearl Harbor attack, it condemned the action of Japan and enforced severe restrictive measures against the subjects of that country. At the Rio conference, it was the first American country that notified the assembly it had put into effect the recommendation to sever diplomatic relations with

the totalitarian powers, a move which the head of the Peruvian Government had previously announced was ready to take as soon as it was resolved by the American Foreign Ministers. Later, it enlarged the scope of its collaboration toward the defense of the continent by placing at the disposal of the United Nations its strategic products and by granting them full military facilities. It also directed the Peruvian armed forces to extend cooperation to the United States in order to help in the protection of the Pacific Coast corresponding to Peru.

Now, when the might of the Allied forces makes it appear imminent that victory will crown the efforts of those who have earned it by their heroic sacrifices, our cooperation is identical to that which, without fear or hesitation, we offered when the Axis powers were at the peak of their strength and it seemed that they were about to subjugate the democratic nations and destroy the foundations of our present civilization.

Our solidarity will remain unchanged when the interdependence of nations will urge us to adapt to future requirements of international relations, the complicated problem of world reorganization, which will soon be needed so urgently.

Disunity has taught us a bitter lesson. Nobody today is willing to admit that the United Nations will fail to procure—as the main objective of their policy—the pressing necessity for all peace-loving peoples to live together as good neighbors, thus reaping the rewards of the good-neighbor policy initiated by President Roosevelt which, striking down prejudices and suspicions, has ushered in an era of understanding, sincerity, and confidence among the American nations.

## Relocation of Prisoner-of-War Camps in Germany

[Released to the press February 13]

The War Department and the Department of State jointly announce that official information has now been received with respect to the evacuation westward of American prisoners of war formerly detained in camps in eastern Germany.

All the camps in East Prussia, Poland, and that part of Pomerania east of the Oder River are being moved westward. This includes among others Stalag Luft IV, Stalag II A, and Stalag II B. Similarly, Stalag III B and III C are

being moved westward. Stalag Luft III is being evacuated to the southwest. Prisoners of war in the northern part of Silesia are being moved northwest, and those in southern Silesia, particularly at Stalag VIII B and Stalag 344, are being moved southwest across Bohemia. It is understood that the officers from Oflag 64 are being sent to Stalag III A at Luckenwalde, between Berlin and Leipzig. The destination of the other prisoners has not been confirmed.

Information concerning the relocation of prisoner-of-war camps is constantly being received. This information will be made public as soon as it is possible to confirm these relocations. Pending a notification through the usual official sources, next of kin are urged to continue to address communications to individual prisoners of war to their last known addresses.

## Radio Programs To Be Sponsored by the Department Of State

### ANNOUNCEMENT OF TOPICS AND DATES

[Released to the press February 14]

The following are the topics and dates of seven broadcasts, under the title "Building the Peace," over the network of the National Broadcasting Company, in which, as announced on January 18, 1945, officers of the Department of State will participate:<sup>1</sup>

America's Foreign Policy	Saturday, February 24
Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks	Saturday, March 3
World Trade and World Peace	Saturday, March 10
What About the Liberated Areas?	Saturday, March 17
What About the Enemy Countries?	Saturday, March 24
America's Good Neighbors	Saturday, March 31
It's Your State Department	Saturday, April 7

All programs will be heard at 7 p.m., E. W. T.

The Secretary of State will open the series by participating in the February 24 broadcast from Mexico City. Others on the first program will be Assistant Secretaries of State Dean Acheson and Archibald MacLeish.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 21, 1945, p. 82.

# The American Certainty

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY MACLEISH<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 18]

I take a very considerable personal satisfaction in addressing a committee of independent citizens who not only admit their attachment to the arts, the sciences, and the professions, but announce it. There are those who do not believe that men and women who practise the arts or serve the sciences or labor at the professions should participate as full citizens in the life of the Republic. It is a gratification to a considerable number of your fellow Americans, I can assure you, that you do not share that view. There has always been work—public work, citizens' work—for those who love the arts and sciences to do. That work was never more necessary, never more essential, than it is today.

For one thing, there is the work of keeping the public pictures true, of keeping the public meanings precise and intelligible. Any society lives by images of itself, by accounts of its doings. Unless the images are true, unless the accounts are precise, unless the findings are accurate, a nation loses understanding of itself and of its destiny. It is not enough to "keep the record straight," as they say in the political campaigns; it is necessary to give the record meaning and to keep its meaning true. The Gettysburg Address, because it gave the American people a true and believable image of themselves, has meant more to our history than all the dates and facts and numbers ever written down.

What has been happening in these last few months is a blurring, a distortion, of the American image of America. There is a curious doctrine abroad in this country in these days—a doctrine of inward confusion, of spiritual defeat—the doctrine that we Americans do not know what we want in this war or after this war—that others know but we do not know. The notion seems to be that the American people, unlike other peoples, unlike our Allies, unlike our enemies even, have no clear understanding of our minds or of our purpose—that our Armies are ignorant why they

are fighting—that our Government has no policy, no intention—that we, we alone among the nations, have lost our way in the thickets of history and wander there in confusion and ignorance while the rest of the world goes past on the hard highway.

Obviously, this picture of the contemporary American position is a composite picture put together by many men with many motives of many kinds. Some of those who contribute to it are undertaking to report the facts as they see them—a conversation with a shipyard worker, a soldier, a housewife. Some are expressing a personal concern, a citizen's anxiety: The words of purpose they had hoped to hear have not been spoken; the actions appear, to their eyes, ambiguous. Some are laying the foundations for criticism, friendly or unfriendly, of the Administration as a whole, or of some department of the Administration—the Department of State in particular. Some are laying the foundations for a different and less open criticism—a criticism of our Allies in the war—a criticism which will be more effective from the point of view of the critics if the American people can be brought to believe that they have no will of their own in these matters: that they are the dupes, the victims, of others cleverer and more devious than themselves.

But whatever the motives, the composite portrait which results is a curious portrait of the American people, a curious image of the American mind. It is an image which would have been curious at any moment of our history as a nation. At this particular moment, it is curious indeed. We are, it is true, an obliging people by nature. We incline to agree as much with those who speak ill of us as with those who speak well. We have accepted for generations the attributes assigned to us by travelers from foreign countries. We have not resented the characteristics with which our own novelists, even the most perverse, have endowed us. But we have never, in all our literary and journalistic generations, carried our amiability farther than in our acceptance of a picture of ourselves which presents us, at the moment of our boldest decision, of our greatest

<sup>1</sup>Delivered before the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions at New York, N. Y., on Feb. 18, 1945.



power, as a nation which does not know its mind. If there ever was a time when the American people as a people had demonstrated the force of their convictions, it would seem to be the time we live in. If there was ever a moment in American history when the American people knew what they wanted, it would seem to be now.

Any man who doubts the force of the American determination to win a final and absolute victory in this war has little understanding of the American character. Any man who questions the strength of the American purpose to *make* peace, and *keep* peace, and *enforce* peace, when this war is over, has missed the inflection of the American tongue.

And there are other things than the purpose to win this war and to make peace which are certain also. It is a mistake to believe that the certainties of a self-governing nation can be judged like the certainties of the ruler of a one-man state. One can say of a Hitler or a Stuart king that he knows what he wants from one day to the next and for every situation—that unless he knows this he does not know his mind. Of a self-governing people, of a free people, one says instead that they know what they believe. Their beliefs are their purposes.

There was never a time when the American people had more reason to know what they believe than this. Those who ask if we know what we are fighting for have missed the meaning of their question. It is not what we fight for but what fights for us that matters. It is not the things we hope to gain but the conviction that our arms will gain them. This nation was confident and vigorous at the beginning of its history when it believed that certain truths were self-evident: that a certain proposition had been demonstrated. It will be vigorous and confident again when it is assured that the proposition has been demonstrated again—that the truths have been made self-evident again.

And the proposition has been demonstrated. The truths have been made evident in the years we live in. Never before in the history of the United States, or of the Revolution which produced it, has the basic idea of that Revolution, the creative idea of that history, dominated the world as it does today. Wendell Willkie, whose birthday this is, told us two years ago in a memorable phrase that the people were on the march

throughout the world. He meant, I think, that the idea of the people—the idea of the liberty and value of the people—was on the march throughout the world. He meant that the idea of the people will be the final victor when this war is done.

But the idea of the liberty and value of the people is precisely the American idea. And the American people, who know very well how the war has put that truth in issue, know where our victory in the war will leave it. They know indeed where the war has left it even now.

Four years ago there were men in Germany and Italy who wished the world to believe—who wished the people of this country to believe—that the faith on which this Republic was founded was a foolish faith, a decadent faith; that self-government was a discredited experiment; that liberty was an outworn and corrupt delusion; that the American Revolution was a Revolution which had outlived its time and which was dead or dying; that the idea of the people—of the dignity and value of the people—was a bankrupt idea which had neither the courage nor the means to defend itself against the vigor of a new dynamic despotism.

Four years ago there were men in our own country who listened to these counsels of despair—who told us we had taken a wrong turn in history—who urged us to face back and make the past our future.

Now we are fighting the greatest war in the history of the world. Our Armies stand on the Rhine and in the mountains of northern Italy and beyond the city of Manila. Our fleets have mastered the greater part of the open waters of the earth. Our planes strike at the hearts of our enemies in Germany and Japan. Self-government which our enemies wished us to believe was old and corrupt and senile has produced the greatest machinery of war the world has ever seen. Liberty which they said was dead and should be buried has put courageous armies, vigorously led, upon the battlefields of Africa and Asia and of Europe and the far Pacific and won there victories which the tongues of defamation cannot take away.

If ever, in any nation's history, a people's faith was proved in action, it is now, in ours. We will win this war, not because the weapons we and our Allies have produced are more numerous than those our enemies have made. Our enemies were well armed also. At the beginning they were better armed than we, and they struck when they, not we, were ready. We will win, not because our

armies are larger. The armies of our enemies were larger than ours for many months, even for years, and yet they did not win. We will win this war for one reason and for one reason only—because the things in which we believe have proved to be more powerful than the things in which our enemies believe.

It is not by arms alone but by our wills we have outfought them. We knew from the beginning—the people knew from the beginning—the peoples of all the nations that loved freedom knew—that the thing we believed in was good, and the thing they believed in was evil. Knowing this we were stronger than they, however great their strength.

They could not defeat the people of Britain though they crushed them in their burning cities when their arms had been struck down.

They could not defeat the people of Russia though they murdered them on the winter plains.

They could not defeat us though they struck us by treachery.

The vitality and resolution of the idea of the people has been demonstrated in actions in which our arms have played their part, on every continent of the earth and on the seas and in the islands. The boldness and confidence of the idea of the people has been declared in a great Charter

of human faith and human hope which draws its strength and its authority from the whole experience of human freedom of which our experience is part. The idea of the people has laid hold upon the future in men's minds and, with it, we ourselves have hold upon the future.

Those who say we do not know what we want must make their peace with that circumstance. There are men now as there were men in earlier generations who do not trust the idea of the people. There are men who fear the idea of the people even now—who speak of it now, as before, in terms of terror and of hatred. There are men who do not wish this nation to understand its past or the meaning of the principles in which its founders put their confidence. The American people do not share that wish. They do not fear the future. They do not mistrust the foundation principle of their existence. In the sense in which they knew at the beginning what they wanted, they know now. In the sense in which they knew their minds before, they know their minds today. They look with hope upon a world in which the American proposition has again been proved—in which the American truths are self-evident. They mean to live in that world as natives and as citizens: as men.

## The Japanese War-Machine: Its Strength and Weaknesses

[Released to the press February 14]

Let us see how the spiritual preparation of the Japanese people influences their thinking. They believe that their social and political institutions were derived from the gods and are therefore divine, and are vastly superior to the institutions of other countries. Being superior, these institutions should be propagated throughout the world—which is the philosophy behind "Hakkoichiu" or "eight corners under one roof". Unfortunately, however, other nations of the world obstinately and stupidly insist upon retaining their own in-

Address by ERLE R. DICKOVER<sup>1</sup>

stitutions, and therefore Japan must use force in conducting its missionary work. That is why the Japanese call the present war a "holy war". This might suggest that the Japanese people must be a very naive people to swallow such a doctrine as this. That is the trouble. They are a very simple, naive people, trained by centuries of obedience to believe anything told them.

Of course, not all Japanese accepted the absurd doctrine of Japan's divine institutions. There were many liberals in high places in Japan, in the Government and out, who did not agree with the plans and objectives of the fanatical militarists or with the doctrines which they taught. Those liberals were often eliminated by force. You all remember the assassinations in the 1920's and '30's. Those assassinations of liberal statesmen and businessmen are popularly supposed to have been instigated by extremists groups in the army.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from an address delivered before the Engineers Club of Baltimore at Baltimore, Md., on Feb. 14, 1945. For a further discussion by Mr. Dickover on the development of the Japanese war-machine see BULLETIN of Dec. 10, 1944, p. 72S. Mr. Dickover is Chief of the Division of Japanese Affairs, Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State.

But no war-machine can be of value to a country unless it can be supplied with the essentials of warfare from home production; otherwise a blockade would quickly render the machine useless. Before the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, Japan was an agricultural, fishing, and handicrafts nation, with no large-scale manufacturing industries. The necessity of supplying the war-machine with its requirements led Japan to borrow from western nations modern methods of large-scale production, distribution, and finance. It has often been said that the Japanese have never produced any great invention, but it should not be understood that they slavishly copy ideas borrowed from the West. Rather, they have shown great energy and ingenuity in profiting by the knowledge and experience of others without, at the same time, losing their own peculiar culture. Western nations soon discovered that the Japanese were anxious to industrialize the country and began competing with each other in the profitable business of selling them designs, patents, formulae, machinery, and whole plants for making everything from tooth-brushes to high-octane gasoline. In addition, many foreign corporations established branch plants in Japan. They were welcomed at first, but in due course, after the Japanese had acquired the necessary "know how", the foreigners were quietly eased out. In their industrialization the Japanese were assisted by the natural aptitude of the people for industrial work. They are diligent and manually dextrous, and have a simple standard of living which permits them to work at wages unbelievably low in comparison with ours. And the Japanese Government financially supported all useful industrial enterprises.

As a result of these factors, Japan has become a highly industrialized nation—not highly industrialized perhaps in comparison with the United States, England, or Germany, but certainly very highly industrialized in comparison with other Oriental countries.

Let us look for a moment at what they have accomplished. Japan is a mountainous country with a fairly heavy rainfall—an ideal country for the development of hydroelectric power. The Japanese have developed this resource to a point where, I am informed, Japan is the most highly electrified country in the world, with the exceptions of the United States and Sweden. Without large resources of iron ore and coking coal within their

own islands, they have built up in Japan proper and in Korea, Manchuria, and North China an iron and steel industry producing nine or ten million tons of iron and steel a year. Similar progress has been made with the production of non-ferrous metals. As the country needs vast quantities of chemical fertilizers in order to maintain production of rice, the Japanese have developed a large industry for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen—a very useful industry in time of war. Having only very small natural resources of petroleum, they have turned to the recovery of oil from shale in Manchuria and have built several large plants for the production of synthetic oil by the liquefaction of coal, and they have the refineries for processing large quantities of oil into high-octane gasoline, lubricating oils, and fuel oils. In order to build and maintain naval and commercial vessels, they developed a ship-building and dry-dock industry capable of building anything from a tugboat to a 45,000-ton battleship. Before the present war they were considerably ahead of the United States in the development of fast, economical, diesel-powered freighters. The development of the textile industry is perhaps too well known to require mention. That industry was so efficiently managed that they could buy American cotton, transport it to Japan, convert it into cotton cloth, transport the cloth to the United States, jump our tariff barriers, and still sell the cloth at prices considerably under our prices. The same was true of rayon fabrics, made from Canadian, Scandinavian, and American wood pulp.

I am often asked the question, "Will Japan crack when faced with inevitable defeat?" Frankly, I do not know, and I know of no person familiar with Japan, the Japanese people, and Japanese characteristics who will venture a categorical answer. We have absolutely nothing in the way of precedent to guide us. Japan has never before been defeated in war; never before have her cities and industries been bombed and destroyed; a foreign invader has never yet set foot upon her soil. We can only guess how the Japanese will react when fully faced with such catastrophes. But there are certain weaknesses in the Japanese political and military structure which may possibly lead to a crack-up. I shall tell you about some of them and let you make your own guesses.

In the first place, the Japanese militarists, particularly those of the Army, are abysmally ignorant of everything outside of military tactics and their own code of loyalty and patriotism. They are particularly ignorant of the principles of economics and of the psychology of peoples. As anyone with an elementary knowledge of economics realized, the Japanese Co-prosperity Sphere could not possibly succeed without access to outside markets. It is true that within the so-called Co-prosperity Sphere there lie most of the world's resources of rubber, tin, cinchona, kapok, Manila hemp, and various other raw materials, but the people of Asia cannot eat or wear these things. Consequently, the Co-prosperity Sphere has turned out to be a "co-poverty sphere" with a ragged, hungry population hating their conquerors. For this, and other reasons, Japan did not obtain the degree of cooperation and assistance from the peoples of the Co-prosperity Sphere which was necessary for the success of the first part of the warlords' program of aggression. For another example, the treacherous Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor disclosed a lack of knowledge of the psychology of peoples. It may be argued that Pearl Harbor was a highly successful stroke from Japan's viewpoint, and it is a fact that it was a serious blow to our Pacific Fleet, leaving the Japanese Army and Navy almost free for months to complete the conquest of East Asia. But it was also an enormous psychological and strategic blunder. The Japanese military did not realize how their treachery would sweep away the very pacifism and division of opinion of the American people upon which they had placed much reliance in pitting themselves against our potentially overwhelming strength.

Another very important weakness in the Japanese war-machine lies in the evident antagonism between the Army and the Navy. In every country there is a perfectly natural and healthy rivalry between branches of the armed services for prestige and glory. But, as has been demonstrated on many occasions, when called upon to do so, our Army and Navy can and do operate as a unit, with perfect timing and coordination and without friction. But in Japan the ancient conflict between the Satsuma and Choshu clans, and the more recent competition for political power within Japan, has intensified the rivalry between the two arms of the services. Many indications

are coming to us from various sources that considerable friction has developed between the Japanese Army and Navy, which are now blaming each other for their reverses in the Pacific.

Another weakness in the Japanese war-structure lies in the down-trodden condition of the peasants, who compose the largest single class in Japan. Many of these are tenant farmers, unable to extract from the soil they rent enough to give them a bare living even by Oriental standards. Nearly all of them, land-owning as well as tenant, were heavily in debt before the outbreak of the present war, and, what with requisitioning, price controls, and heavy taxes, we can only guess at their condition now. The presence in the Japanese state structure of a large class which has been oppressed and exploited in the past, whose condition is growing worse with the progress of the war, and which is experiencing disillusionment piled upon misery, cannot but constitute a weakness and a source of danger to the Japan of the warlords.

Yet another weakness lies in the fact that the military leaders of Japan have indoctrinated the people with the idea that victory for Japanese arms is certain because of the divinity and invincibility of the Japanese race. The inevitable mental and emotional confusion of a superstitious people so indoctrinated, as they learn of successive defeats and see the effects of mounting aerial bombardment, must be taken into consideration in connection with the question of a crack-up in Japan.

Another weakness is concerned with technology. As I pointed out before, up to some five or six years ago Japan was more or less keeping up with western nations in technological matters, through constant contact with laboratories, scientists, and industrial concerns abroad. Since then, Japan has been cut off from this contact, except with Germany, with which country Japan has maintained rather tenuous communications. As you all know, much better than I do, under the stimulus of war the western nations have made tremendous technological advances. The Japanese have been unable to borrow the new technological ideas and formulae for adaptation to their own uses, while their own progress has not been equal to ours. They have some top-flight technical men, but where they have two or three good men in some particular line, we have fifty or a hundred. In their conceit the Japanese thought that they were equal to, or

*(Continued on page 260)*

# The Substance of Foreign Relations

By PIERRE DE L. BOAL<sup>1</sup>

FOREIGN RELATIONS, if they are to mean anything, must be relations between peoples; conferences, agreements, and treaties are arranged between the spokesmen of those peoples as a practical matter. The form of foreign relations is between governments, but the substance is between the peoples themselves.

Peoples' misunderstanding or understanding—fear or confidence—of one another are the real measure of their ability to work together for any purpose.

A means should be found by which not only the immediate security and welfare of the United States may be protected but also by which conditions favorable to the maintenance of peace on a long-range basis may assure us that it may never again be necessary to participate in a war.

War is a part of foreign relations as bankruptcy is a part of finance. Could a firm prevent bankruptcy by disregarding finance?

Our national defense depends on our foreign relations. Our foreign relations depend on the attitudes of other peoples toward us and ours toward them. Thus, our foreign relations are our first line of defense. Its bulwarks are far beyond our shores in the minds and hearts of other peoples. Its arsenals are in our own.

## Methods for the Prevention of War

In international relations orderly methods must be developed for prevention of war. At the Dumbarton Oaks meeting a practical attempt, based on the present degree of understanding between the peoples with which we are not at war, was begun to bring about the prevention of war.

What has been achieved at Dumbarton Oaks should be accepted, nailed down, as a foundation for as great an achievement as experience and the development of understanding make possible. To develop what was done at this meeting through experience, governments must have the support of the wider and more realistic and tolerant understanding between peoples. The common object of those peoples must be to erect a framework of world order which all peace-loving peoples, after this long war is over, will find both strong and enduring.

Our Secretary of State in an article published in the February issue of the *Reader's Digest* outlines what the Dumbarton Oaks peace plan means.<sup>2</sup> He says there are four corners to the plan proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. The outstanding features of these four corners appear to me to be the following:

First, the peace-loving nations of the world are equal. Each has equal supreme authority over its own territory even though they are not equal in their individual power to prevent war. To prevent war the peace-loving nations must stand together, for no one nation can achieve this objective alone, yet each has a responsibility.

Second, the peace-loving nations thus banded together, agreeing not to make war on one another as a practical matter, envisage a security council. They envisage this Security Council as having the power to take steps to prevent breaches of the peace and, if these steps fail, to turn to forceful means for the prevention or suppression of war.

Third, the peace-loving nations recognize that lasting peace has to be built up continuously and in detail by building up the mental and material relations between peoples. To this end they envisage a permanent economic and social council to work continuously in the name of all. They also contemplate an international court of justice to assist in the juridical settlement of international disputes.

Fourth, the peace-loving nations envisage having a general assembly. They propose having their General Assembly "consider the general principles . . . governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments". The Security Council is to go further. In order to achieve "the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armament," the Council is to formulate "plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments" and is to submit those plans to all members of the new International Organization.

Obviously "the nations of the world will give up guns only in so far as they make the new Organi-

<sup>1</sup> Ambassador Boal is in the Office of American Republic Affairs, Department of State.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 28, 1945, p. 115.

zation work, as they gradually build up a living body of international law, as they create and operate effective joint instrumentalities to keep the peace, and as they develop strong and sure means of economic and social cooperation to their mutual benefit".

Thus the fourth corner of the peace plan, dealing with disarmament and the regulation of armaments, is dependent upon the other three.

The peoples of the American republics have been drawn closer to one another by positive efforts. Through the operation of the inter-American system many causes of war, such as boundary disputes, have been prevented from resulting in war. Some of the settlements have left resentments. These need to be tempered through a development of understanding between the peoples concerned.

Treaties and other relations between peoples cannot remain static without danger to peace. If conditions become intolerable, all human relations must reflect a dynamic willingness to adjust to change in order to remedy those conditions. Internationally, adjustments have been made through development of mutual understanding and the resulting willingness of both parties concerned. Indifference toward other peoples' welfare is one of the great causes of war. A determined interest in other peoples by replacing that indifference will produce compatibility, without which international relations are an armaments race.

#### Causes of War

Some students of the causes of war reach the conclusion that the causes are so numerous, varied, and changeable that they cannot be identified for practical treatment. The practice of foreign relations necessarily negates this concept. In particular instances the statesmen of the world are daily engaged in identifying some particular causes leading toward some particular verge of war. If these sources were not checked statesmanship would be passive and war prevention would rest solely upon military preparation. Military preparation alone may postpone war, but eventually, when engaged in by several nations, is apt to precipitate it as the less prepared improve their position through economic habilitation and thus threaten a dominant power. Relying on military recourse alone for the maintenance of peace would be somewhat like relying on surgery alone for the maintenance of public health.

Until prolonged experience demonstrates the end of any danger from one or more nations attempting to obtain by force what cannot be gotten otherwise, we are going to have to keep military force promptly available.

The size and cost of our military establishment will depend, from decade to decade, on the attitudes of the world's peoples toward each other.

The world grows ever smaller and events move ever faster. To keep pace with possible dangers, our own awareness of the conditions of our foreign relations must be attained and maintained much farther in advance of critical moments than heretofore; furthermore, the basic understanding between the peoples of the world which is essential to peace must be developed long before it is put to the test of a sudden strain.

Let us for a moment examine some of the more general causes of the origin of war advanced by students. As a matter of convenience they may be grouped as psychological, evolutionary, and material. Subjects put under these headings, of course, are closely interwoven: So-called "social problems" are at the same time psychological, evolutionary, and material.

In a general way the psychological causes are those arising from sentiment rather than from direct reasoning—they are more apt to stem from the many things we take for granted rather than from the few things we really think of objectively.

Psychologically, causes of conflict spring from human nature, conditioned as it is by thousands of years of past experience. Leaders and peoples—like individual private citizens—seek social recognition, prestige, glory, excitement, dominance, satisfaction of prejudice, revenge, or reinstatement of their own self-esteem. They easily act desperately when they are afraid. Human nature also provides what John Foster Dulles calls "ethical" forces—charity, tolerance, generosity, and the desire for knowledge and improvement. These serve to counteract the more selfish impulses. We need to take advantage of the "ethical" forces throughout the world in order to combat the forces which cause conflicts between nations.

Some peoples have inferiority complexes which cause them to seek to assert themselves. Fear sometimes breeds a desire to dominate as a means of protection. Some have superiority complexes, leading to militarism and the ideology of force. They too seek dominance. It is perhaps no acci-

dent that the word "danger" is derived from *dominiarium*, the Latin word for domination. Any foreign attitude which threatens the loss of national freedom of choice is entitled preferentially to be called "danger".

Personal liberty and equality of opportunity for all are possessions inherent to our democracy. Like other peoples who have them we must be ever vigilant to keep them and to improve them. We are one in heart with those who crave them and seek them. We should make the results of our experience with them available to all the peoples of the world that they may all understand the values by which we live. This is the road to true understanding between peoples.

Peoples tend to personify one another, attributing to a whole people the faults and qualities of an individual; we say they are "good" or "bad", "shiftless" or "industrious", "kind" or "cruel", "progressive" or "reactionary". The less people know each other, the less compatible they are with each other, the more likely they are to make those personifications.

It is interesting to note that people, like individuals, usually consider themselves, as compared to other peoples, as heroic and virtuous.

When two peoples get to know each other very well and at the same time develop a strong compatibility by working together, strong personification tends to disappear. Thus, we attribute no characteristics to the Canadian people which we do not attribute to ourselves. We have a reasonably good understanding of their problems. We are not afraid of them nor they of us, and there is no danger of war.

We might call some causes of war evolutionary. Many conditions, including climate and geography, have resulted in differences in the evolution of civilizations. The ways of life of different peoples, therefore, vary both mentally and materially. The peoples of Europe and of North America were very different before the discovery of America. But the Indians were protected by lack of contact. When contact came unaccompanied by understanding they were practically wiped out.

Unless understanding and tolerance of differences can lead toward compatibility—can be made to keep pace with closing contact—we must expect more and bigger wars. Differences in basic values and lack of compatibility when they occur together can produce a tension which will break

the peace. The further evolution of political ideologies along divergent lines in different parts of the world may lead to violent conflict unless some degree of compatibility can be developed between the peoples supporting them. Such ideological evolutions, of course, extend into both the psychological and the material fields, and when they cause tensions between peoples international political consequences are entailed.

Acquisitiveness is a basic human trait. Peoples seek possessions, not only to further their own welfare but also, if they are afraid, to provide adequate resources for their armed forces. We are all beginning to learn, however, that material welfare is *interdependent* in the modern world. When we are indifferent to the welfare of other peoples we eventually endanger our own. The world seems to have been given in trust to the whole human race, not just to any *part* of it.

Material causes of conflict and war are very important even if they are not all-important. They include acquisitiveness on the part of leaders, classes, or people. This material cause extends to all forms of property, to territory, and to opportunity, such as control of markets, communications, and raw materials.

Peoples usually try to protect their domestic standards of living for fear that their standards will be lowered by the influence of other economically less developed peoples. Closed economies, tariff barriers, financial and economic controls are all devised to support and to improve existing living standards within a nation, frequently without timely or adequate acceptance of the increasing interdependence between their peoples.

As peoples get to know more about each other in a world shrunk by new facilities of communication, they aspire to share each other's opportunities. The economies of peace must be reciprocal; otherwise they are apt to become the economies of war.

These psychological, evolutionary, and material causes of conflict, when combined, become the causes of political action and political policies. A policy is an effect issuing from causes, which is developed into a purpose leading toward some ultimate result—war or war prevention as the case may be. The policy of the governing elements of a nation for instance may be to direct popular attention to a real or imagined foreign danger because domestic economy and social conditions produce a

likelihood of revolution. A diversion may appear necessary as a solution. Political effects thus may lead to war, but they are effects and not basic causes. If it is possible to correct the causes which produce these political effects, they will not take place, and therefore they will not lead to war.

It must be evident from this enumeration that the causes of future wars are growing about us daily and that they cannot be met by any general formula. There is no royal road to elimination of the causes of war.

There are vast differences between the level and type of development of the peoples of the world. Considerable differences will exist throughout the foreseeable future. However, as Professor Kluckhohn, an anthropologist, says: "The world must be made safe for differences. Knowledge of the problems of others and of alien ways of life must become sufficiently general so that positive toleration becomes possible. Certain inequalities of opportunity between peoples must be leveled out to some degree even if at some apparent sacrifice on the part of nations now more fortunate. A secure and happy world can be built only from secure and happy individuals. The roots of individual and of social disorganization are identical."

There is no general panacea for the prevention of war. There was once a great and general ill in the world—slavery. It was reduced throughout the world not so much by armed conflicts, although there were such conflicts, as by the development of a general state of mind which rejected slavery as a method of attaining national welfare. On the basis of that state of mind its reduction took place. It can be the same with war. A part of the world has gone on developing the old ideology of force, of might makes right, while another part, which includes this country, has sought new concepts based on the rights of the individual, protected by a system of justice. Much in the sense of President Lincoln's words, world peace cannot endure if the peoples of the world continue to live "half slave and half free".

#### Compatibility Through Education and Professional Exchange

Up to the beginning of this war, the development of our compatibility with the other American republics, achieved largely through the development of the inter-American system, roughly corresponded to the gradual increase of contact between our people and the people of those coun-

tries. When the war came it intensified some of our contacts with Latin America and discouraged others. We became almost the only buyers of the produce of some of the countries. We became almost the only source of machinery and equipment. The flow of tourists to and from Latin America dropped off sharply. Because there were no world markets to set prices, because of war limitations, we had to do most of the refusing and the Latin Americans most of the asking. That deterred compatibility. To put it briefly, contact has outstripped compatibility.

Women can help increase international compatibility. They have direct opportunities in many fields. All kinds of businesses, as well as the educational field, are open to them. The idea that a woman cannot work in a business in Latin America is partially a fable. If she has the experience and can adapt herself to different conditions, if she possesses perceptiveness and energy, of course she can work there. There is a great field in importation; in sale and use of drugs, medicines, hospital and surgical equipment; in making of various kinds of clothing and footwear; in the development and marketing of foods; and in breeding animals such as the vicuña, the alpaca, and the llama for wool. A whole food industry connected with the Brazil-nut trade must be developed. There are opportunities in journalism and architecture. Opportunities exist for lumbering and for prefabricating houses made of woods found in the tropics which are insect-resistant and are suitable for use in that area. There are opportunities for hotels and inns to be developed and for tourist-travel work.

One of the most effective ways of creating compatibility between two individuals or two countries is to bring them together for an objective purpose such as the acquisition of knowledge or training.

Exchange of students, teachers, and other people engaged in professions and businesses should be multiplied manifold as quickly as possible if we are to achieve better people-to-people understanding broadly enough and soon enough to forestall dangerous conflicts, we have no time to lose.

Steps that can be made on a practical basis to develop exchange of persons lay the foundation for world peace. Plans that have been developed in our own communities for schools and colleges, for newspapers and hospitals, and for other mat-



ters such as architecture and city planning may be applied on a broader world-wide basis. Positive steps for the maintenance of peace may be achieved through the granting of fellowships for people from Latin America and other parts of the world for such specialized activities and professions.

Many of the larger communities in the United States might find it helpful to bring Latin Americans to teach Spanish or Portuguese in their schools or colleges and to send teachers from the United States to a Latin American institution to teach a course in English.

A woman from Latin America, for example, might work for a year on one of our newspapers on matters of particular interest to women. An architectural student might work in an architect's office or a city-planning office. There might be a place for a student nurse who could train at one of our hospitals. A newspaper woman might be interested in going to Latin America, after getting a basic knowledge of Spanish, to work on a newspaper.

Fellowships which provide only for free tuition are probably not too effective. A scholarship or a grant for professional or business work must carry with it a sufficient amount of money to provide living expenses and the cost of travel to the United States and back to the country of origin or vice versa. Thus, a two-year fellowship at the postgraduate level, which is usually the most productive level, amounts to about \$2,400 for living expenses and an average of about \$800 to cover traveling expenses. The total cost of a two-year fellowship to cover everything, including incidentals, figures about \$3,200. A grant for a teacher requires from \$4,200 to \$4,400 and for a professor, about \$5,500.

The cost of sending trained people to Latin America on a similar basis is about the same, but it will vary somewhat according to the salary at which they go. Costs for journalists, architects, and other professionals would be around the \$4,200 to \$4,400 level, and costs for student nurses to become nurses would be around the \$3,200 level.

These sums may seem large, but the amount is little compared with the cost for training and equipping one of our men to participate as a soldier in a third world war, if such an emergency some years hence arose through a lack of understanding.

Could not a program be sponsored by municipal institutions, banks, businesses, and charitable organizations from month to month to buy and set aside war bonds for a community fund to be used to bring a student or teacher to that community or to send one abroad?

The community would not have to meet the whole cost of such a program. Some funds are available from many of the American republics for these exchanges; and, if a substantial amount of the cost is raised, the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State might work out with municipal organizations a plan for sharing the expense.

The Division of Cultural Cooperation would also help in the matter of the organization and the selection of the appropriate persons in Latin America. The investment becomes a two-purpose one: War bonds devoted to such a fund would help win this war, and, when used for promoting international understanding, they are preventing another war.

Several State Federations of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, through such a cooperative plan recently arranged through the Institute of International Education in New York, and the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the State Department, for about ten all-expense fellowships for Latin American graduate students to come to the United States.

#### Vocational and Cultural Aspect for Developing Compatibility

Another very important element for the development of understanding between peoples is the exchange of books and periodicals. Until the language barrier is fully overcome, and that is bound to be many years hence, translations of American books and periodicals and translations of the books and periodicals of other countries are necessary as a means of piercing that barrier.

One of the most effective means of achieving this result has been found to be the creation of library-cultural centers both in this country and abroad. Such libraries in Mexico and Nicaragua have been eminently successful.

Those libraries consist of small collections of books and periodicals in both English and Spanish. Space is usually provided for motion pictures and for art and other exhibits. A qualified librarian sent from the United States operates the library as a lending library on a deposit basis.

The librarian conducts English classes, arranges exhibits and courses on particular subjects, such as architecture or city planning. International Correspondence School courses are available. The library offers courses in library procedure, thus not only training its own assistants but also developing librarians for the founding of national libraries. The students of the local university crowd the library all the time. Professional men and women consult our professional books and periodicals. As a knowledge of English develops, more and more students and professional people are able to use more and more of our books. Doctors studying English are able to use the medical reference library. Nurses, dentists, engineers, farmers—all visit and use these facilities. It is difficult to think of any investment producing greater dividends than this one.

The library cultural centers are operated under the sponsorship of a local committee. They constitute an entirely mutual effort, largely participated in and directed by the people of the country.

We could cooperate more fully with other countries in supplying vocational teachers and in helping to develop vocational schools where they are needed. It does no good to arrive with a set of preconceived ideas and try to impose what is to be learned. A vocational teacher needs to go prepared for a long stay—five years at least. He should begin by perfecting himself in the language, perhaps by taking a course in a normal school and thereby getting to know the opportunities and the obstacles of the country. He should go with the idea of training other teachers of that country. Our participation therefore in normal-school work for training in the vocational field, health training and subjects such as agriculture, nutrition, and domestic science, might be one of our first concerns.

At a mine in Bolivia, there is a small public school which is big enough to accommodate only about a third of the children who should be taught. The rest are doomed to grow up illiterate. Reading and writing and arithmetic are taught in the school, but there is not a class in hygiene or, for the girls, in household methods, sewing, knitting, and the care of children. The teacher at this school had the initiative to have a class for adults in the evening. One of the interesting observations is that most of the adult students are women.

How useful it would be to have women teachers, either from the United States or more likely, a na-

tive teacher who was taught here, to give instructions in these subjects, including prenatal care. The women are anxious to learn. Typhus and other diseases would be greatly reduced if they would learn these practical subjects. Yet they have little opportunity.

The business and professional women of this country can do a great deal to develop understanding with other peoples if they will further an effort to have women who can teach these subjects sent abroad for the purpose. The most effective way may be to have them teach in normal schools so that the teachers themselves will go forth equipped. The exact method will vary somewhat with circumstances in each country. But a basic impulsion is necessary.

A teacher has to be trained realistically for work in the conditions of his own country, and therefore it seems important that the person bringing experience and knowledge from the United States to another country should learn about the different conditions in that country as a framework for the instruction he imparts. Under certain circumstances it will be very useful to have Latin American normal-school graduates visit the United States for further training. But the conditions they will find here will be so different from those of their own countries that much that they learn here and that is applicable here may not readily be used in their own countries.

The same remark applies when it comes to our students learning from Latin American teachers. Our students are conditioned to meet the problems of our own country, and it is better for a Latin American teacher to come here, familiarize himself with the environment, and then teach his subject—Spanish, Portuguese, Portuguese and Spanish literature—with due regard to our environment than to take our student at the undergraduate level to the Latin American country.

There has been some reluctance in Latin America among the children of the educated classes to learn to make things with their hands. This attitude towards craftsmanship is changing. It would change more rapidly if, even in the few American schools now existing in Latin America, the children were led into carpentry, for instance, by making objects of prestige such as airplane and ship models. It would be a great help to their outlook if they were given some instruction in the planning of houses and were taught to make model dwellings.

Developing the use of the hands through crafts develops the use of the mind. The man or woman who learns to make something well with his hands has advanced a great step in the direction of participation in the national life of his country. He becomes interested in reading material regarding the kinds of things he makes. He learns to read plans and to translate measurements into effective workmanship. Furthermore, the more he learns to make the more he develops his needs.

When a craftsman is created, a consumer of tools, of housing and housing equipment, of transportation and communications, is created also.

#### Our Personal Responsibility in Foreign Relations

Our export and import trade, therefore, tie in closely with cooperation in educational fields. They tie in with the other forms of cooperation exemplified by the activities of the Export-Import Bank of Washington through the *fomento* or development organizations in South America. The funds of the *fomentos* are provided by the local governments or jointly by the governments and the Export-Import Bank. One of the principal functions of these organizations is to diversify industry and to improve agriculture. An intelligent appreciation of the economic problems facing our neighboring countries will in turn foster a more sympathetic understanding between peoples.

The adjustment to be made in post-war trade is one of the world's problems which will have to be handled with skill, honesty, and sympathy. War-time exports and imports will have to attain a reciprocal expansion in order to stabilize the world economies. Some of the countries in Latin America, for instance, will find that post-war trade adjustments will have to be based on developing domestic production and consumption; if these countries can establish a domestic market, that market in turn will diversify labor and its products, raise living standards, and create new demands. With a broadening of their needs, trade will be stimulated with their neighbors.

The object should be to achieve a high degree of understanding between peoples whether it be between neighbors, the Bolivians, Peruvians, Chileans, Brazilians, Paraguayans, and the Argentineans for instance, or between nations at some distance from each other geographically, such as

Bolivia and the United States. If another world war is to be prevented two lines of action suggest themselves. One is the development of relations between peoples with the objective of making them as safe as the existing relation between the peoples of Canada and the United States. That relation is a sort of yardstick by which we can measure achievement as we progress, and it is also an encouragement, for the fact that the kind of relation which we have with Canada has been developed between the peoples themselves shows that such an international relation is possible. The second line of action consists of international measures to prevent war. Until people-to-people relations in themselves become broad enough to leave no room for the development of causes of war, when need be, war must be prevented by force.

Let us hope that full national support will be given to those who have worked on developing sustained interest in our foreign relations—such organizations as Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Foreign Policy Association, the Council for Foreign Relations, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Institute for International Education, and the many learned and professional societies.

Our national security, our national defense, our foreign relations are intimate safeguards of our homes. They will not stand, and our children will not live unless these defenses are successful. The State Department, the Foreign Service, the Government agencies dealing with foreign problems, the armed forces, for last resort, and the President and the Congress, which direct them all, are not things removed and abstract, secret, and mysterious. They are the electoral booth, the law court and the policeman at the corner, the whole envelop of safety within which we are able to live and which has been broken into now and will be broken into even more seriously and dangerously again if we do not strengthen it. Our foreign relations, our State Department, our agencies are an integral part of our daily welfare. They are not automatic and independent organisms. They can only be what we make them and what we want them to be. They cannot be competent without the people and their help. Without such an interest they will become inanimate and useless. The source of their will is in our wills and the source of their strength is in our interest in what they are to do.

# Telecommunications Tomorrow

Address by FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 17]

In the one hundred years since the invention of the telegraph by Samuel Morse, we have established a network of international cables which has increased from 21,000 nautical miles in 1879 to 360,000 nautical miles in 1930.

Then came telephony: Here again we witness a phenomenal growth. In 1887 there were 2,600 telephones in the United States; in 1928, over 19,000,000.

On December 12, 1901 wireless conquered the Atlantic, thus bringing about a revolutionary change in the means of trans-Atlantic communications.

This new means of transmitting intelligence was indeed revolutionary. Never before the invention of the hertzian waves had messages been transmitted beyond the horizon to persons whose position was unknown or changing continuously. Hence, radio—as we prefer to call it—has no rival in communicating with ships, planes, trains, and automobiles. What radio in its infancy did for safety of life at sea, it is now doing for aviation in the air. Furthermore, radio can spread its waves equally in all directions and thus we get broadcasting, television, telecasts.

The international regulation of radio has also come a long way since the first radio conference held in Berlin in 1903, but the rules established then still are at the basis of international radio regulations. These rules include the requirement that coastal stations are obliged to exchange telegrams with ship stations without regard to the system employed, that rates are generally divided on a 50-50 basis, that distress (SOS) calls have priority, that services must be organized in such a way as to avoid interference with other stations, and that military and naval services are exempt from the provisions of the regulations except with regard to distress calls and interference.

We are now at the threshold—we hope—of a new world, and where better than in an assembly such

as this can we say that the sky is the limit? Although perhaps it isn't! How do we envisage this future radio world of ours?

We have been favored recently with some previews of things to come in the report of the Federal Communications Commission on proposals for the future table of allocations from 25 to 30,000 megacycles. Here frequency modulation, television, walkie-talkie are all allocated tentative frequencies. We soon expect to receive from the Commission its tentative plans for the radio spectrum from 0 to 25 megacycles. Industry and Government will then go into a huddle to formulate the view of the United States to be presented at the next international telecommunications conference. The last one was at Cairo in 1938, and we are now operating under the regulations which were there adopted.

What do we expect to accomplish at that next conference? In the first place, we shall be confronted with a revolutionary expansion of aviation. Before the war it was international; now it is global. Air and weather services will expect a place in the spectrum commensurate with their new importance. Point-to-point telegraphy and telephony are increasing steadily in importance. A chart of point-to-point radiotelegraph and radiotelephone circuits from this country to foreign countries looks rather like the spray from a water hose; it leaves few places of importance unreached. And we shall have to take care of short-wave broadcasting and television and the new safety services. Under no circumstances must we let our imaginations be confined, for radio is the negation of confinement. International lawyers may not be able to agree as to whether the air should be free for the passage of hertzian waves over the national territory, but the engineers know the practical answer to that question, and the question has never been raised at international radio conferences. I feel free to say this as I am an international lawyer myself. In all humility, we who are instrumental in the drafting of international radio regulations have nothing to be ashamed of. John D. Tomlinson, the author of an excellent work on *The International Control of Radiocommunications*, concludes his study with

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the twentieth anniversary dinner of the Veteran Wireless Operators Association in New York, N. Y., on Feb. 17, 1945. Mr. de Wolf is Chief of the Telecommunications Division, Office of Transportation and Communications, Department of State.

a quotation from the annual report for 1937 of the Bureau of the International Telecommunications Union at Bern:

"After reviewing the ratifications and adhesions to the Telecommunication Convention and the Regulations annexed to it, the report goes on to state: 'In sum, the regulations laid down by the International Telecommunication Union are almost universally observed by the administrations and private companies for telegraph, telephone, and radio services throughout the entire world.' In a world in which international obligations are more honored in the breach than in the observance, this statement marks a bright spot on a dark horizon."

Well, then, let our imagination run for a little while, and let us look at a picture of this future radio world of ours. What may we expect? In the first place, a minimum of interference brought about by an expanded spectrum with radio transmitters and receivers built with a maximum of precision and accuracy; the use of land lines and cables as secondary means of communications to relieve the congestion in certain parts of the spectrum; the establishment of an international frequency board which will, in advance, point out the possibility of interference in any suggested registration (this step does not appear so bold when you consider what the Federal Communications Commission does for the continental United States); the establishment of relay stations to permit 24-hour service on long-distance circuits or to avoid a path too close to the magnetic pole; radio trunk lines which will systematize our whole network of point-to-point circuits and thus save our precious frequencies; the use of many channels, possibly six to eight on one frequency; a world system of short-wave broadcasting stations on the pattern of the Lucerne plan and the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement to eliminate wasteful duplication and further avoid interference; the establishment in the American region of a hemisphere telecommunication union which, within the framework of the International Union, will accomplish for our part of the world what the International Union does for the whole world; the centralization and unification of aviation radio services by Government agencies such as the Civil Aeronautics Administration and private cooperatives such as Aeronautical Radio, Inc.; the increase of the services at present per-

formed by Press Wireless so that our newspapers and great news agencies may place before the American public the greatest possible volume of news at the least possible cost. Which brings me to the question of rates.

The telecommunication industry will undoubtedly be confronted in the post-war world with competition from fast airmails, and it is essential that it should bring its rate structure into a position where it may compete with a new and improved airmail service. We should envisage the possibility of a uniform telecommunication rate, somewhere between 25 and 15 cents per word, with a simplified and unified rate structure.

So much for tomorrow, but how about the day after tomorrow? We shall come to the day when the transmission of intelligence word by word will be as obsolete as the transportation of goods on the back of a mule. In this war the necessity of conserving space has brought about the transportation of foods in a dehydrated condition. V-mail has reduced the bulk of correspondence several fold. In our future world, written messages will be sent by facsimile and charges will be based on square inches or preferably square millimeters. Under such a system we shall avoid all possibility of errors in transmission and have the satisfaction of receiving the messages as originally sent out. We anticipate the day when, at our breakfast table, every man will find his favorite newspaper, whether it be from New York, London, Paris, or Rio. The sending of telegrams will consist of placing an original message in an automatic machine in which there will be dropped a quarter and having it reproduced by facsimile in a matter of a few seconds at a distance of hundreds or thousands of miles. We may also come to the day when one universal telecommunication company, with subsidiaries in every country of the world, will operate all telecommunications services with standardized equipment and standardized procedures. Its competition will come again from the airmail which will eliminate all telecommunication services other than urgent. We may also see the building of a co-axial cable from Washington and New York overland through Alaska and the Aleutians to Siberia, Russia, and western Europe, which would take a tremendous load of United States-Europe traffic off the congested radio waves. Incidentally, in this connection it is interesting to recall that at one time there existed an overland

telegraph line from Great Britain (with a channel submarine cable) to India.

And so, finally, space will be annihilated, and thought will travel as fast as the speed of electricity and the ingenuity of man has made possible.

Science thus will have served mankind, and it will be up to the political world to keep pace with the magnificent accomplishments of our engineers and scientists. Our statesmen must insure that intelligence will freely cross international boundaries. Freedom of information must be one of the cornerstones on which our new world will be built, so that every man in every country will be free to see and hear what he wants to see and hear, and what every other man in every other country wants him to see and hear. Then indeed shall we have brought about that parliament of man which visionaries spoke of in the last century and on the threshold of which we may be if we use as much courage and vision in the establishment of our new political world as scientists and engineers have used in the exploration of the forces of nature and their harnessing to the best interests of mankind.

## Death of Maximino Avila Camacho

### MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO THE PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

[Released to the press February 18]

The Acting Secretary of State has requested the American Ambassador in Mexico to deliver the following message from President Roosevelt to His Excellency the President of Mexico:

"The sad news of the death of Your Excellency's brother, General Maximino Avila Camacho, has been a deep shock to the Government and people of the United States.

"His splendid work as Secretary of Communications and Public Works in Your Excellency's Cabinet made a notable contribution to hemispheric cooperation in the war effort.

"Please accept and extend to other members of the family my heartfelt condolences and deepest sympathy."

### MESSAGE FROM ACTING SECRETARY GREW TO THE MEXICAN SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS

[Released to the press February 18]

The Acting Secretary of State has sent the following message to His Excellency the Mexican Secretary for Foreign Relations, Licenciado Ezequiel Padilla:

"I am profoundly shocked at the death of His Excellency the Minister of Communications, General Maximino Avila Camacho.

"Please convey to the members of the bereaved family my deepest sympathy and condolences."

## Inquiries on American Citizens In Bulgaria

[Released to the press February 12]

The Department of State announces that the American Mission at Sofia is now prepared to receive inquiries regarding the welfare and whereabouts of American citizens believed to be residing in Bulgaria. All such inquiries should be addressed to the Department.

For the time being this service is restricted to inquiries which concern American citizens only. Inquiries submitted in behalf of aliens or persons who are not believed to be in Bulgaria will not be accepted.

## Exchange of American and German Nationals

[Released to the press February 16]

The M.S. *Gripsholm* sailed from Marseille, France, on February 8, 1945 and is scheduled to arrive at Jersey City, New Jersey, on or about February 20, 1945, carrying a large number of seriously sick and wounded American and Canadian prisoners of war, American nationals, and their immediate relatives, and nationals of the other American republics who were included in the recent exchange of nationals between the United States and Germany.

# A General Peace and Security Organization: Analysis of its Major Functions

Address by ANDREW W. CORDIER<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 17]

I am glad for this opportunity to express my personal appreciation and that of the Department of State for the very extensive consideration that the people of Tulsa and of Oklahoma have given to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Through the radio, the press, and civic organizations you have brought facts and interpretations concerning the Proposals to large numbers of your neighbors. Excellent reports of these meetings have come to our attention in Washington.

There is a rising interest in all parts of our country in the Proposals as a major avenue through which we can make our large role in the world positive and effective.

A few simple but fundamental facts must determine our course of action. First, the science of war is rapidly getting out of hand. The laboratories are potentially capable of producing weapons of much greater devastating power than we have yet witnessed in this war. The implications of such capacity for destruction are clear.

Second, in another world war America would become a battleground. Our cities would be bombed; our industries would be targets for destruction.

Third, the United States, already recognized as the world's leading industrial power, will emerge from this war as one of the world's leading military powers. Such a combination of advantages has never been witnessed before in all human history. Power carries with it a commensurate responsibility. Power is not a substance to be hoarded but an energy to be used.

Fourth, it is only through the responsible, just, and humane exercise of power in cooperation with other nations that order and justice can replace anarchy and injustice. Only through such cooperation can war be avoided.

We know finally as individuals that the mere desire for peace and security is not enough. We must possess the will to seek the ways of peace and security and the collective intelligence to define clearly the machinery, the techniques, the methods and requirements of peace and security. Peoples and governments must be willing to make the

measure of sacrifice necessary to their attainment.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals represent a partial crystallization of these basic beliefs and hopes of humanity.

They are, at this stage, the joint product of the thought and discussion of the spokesmen of the nations participating in the recent conference. Several years of serious study by responsible officials of each of the governments preceded the conference. Eminent world authorities in the fields of security and world organization were frequently consulted, and the articulate will of the masses of our people provided a constant guide.

Since the conference, every effort has been made to explain the Proposals to the public. As a result of these efforts, we have received splendid advice and ripe judgments, which will undoubtedly reflect themselves in the finished instrument.

This reciprocal relationship between the government and the people is a major aspect of democracy. It is a method and a relationship which I am sure you will agree is of special importance when issues of such great moment are being weighed.

The Proposals in their present tentative form were described by former Secretary of State Hull as representing the "highest common denominator rather than . . . the plan of any one nation". And President Roosevelt expressed his pleasure that so much had "been accomplished on so difficult a subject in so short a time". From these substantial beginnings, it becomes our common task to subject the document to the closest scrutiny with the aim of making it a still more effective instrument for the attainment of its objectives.

The proposals outline two major tasks for a general international organization—to maintain or restore peace and security and to promote the solution of international economic, social, and humanitarian problems. The first task is essentially preventive; the second is curative and creative.

It is natural and proper that in the midst of the world's greatest war humanity should give

<sup>1</sup> Delivered on Southwest Radio Forum at Tulsa, Okla., Feb. 17, 1945. Mr. Cordier is an officer in the Division of International Security Affairs, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State.

the highest priority to the Organization's responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. Other values will flow from this organized partnership of the nations, but none will be held as priceless as its prospect and capacity for ruling out the illegitimate use of force.

The responsibility for maintaining or restoring peace and security under the Proposals would be jointly assumed by the Security Council and the member states.

The members of the Organization in discharging their obligations for the keeping of the peace would submit to a series of principles determining their course of action. They would pledge that they would settle their disputes by pacific means in such a way that international peace and security would not be endangered.

They would be obliged to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization. They would likewise refrain from giving assistance to any state against which preventive or enforcement action was being undertaken by the Organization.

Positively they would undertake to give every assistance to the Organization in any action undertaken by it. They would oblige themselves particularly to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council.

The member states would be pledged to carry out all of these obligations in accordance with the purposes and provisions of the Charter.

To make their contributions to enforcement measures effective to a maximum degree, they would be pledged to act not only directly and in their individual capacity as member states but also through the various international arrangements and technical agencies of which they are members.

These obligations and responsibilities of member states would be coordinated at many points with responsibilities assigned to the Security Council. Within the Organization, the Security Council is clothed with the special task of maintaining peace and security. It would be empowered to keep a constant vigil over disputes or situations whose continuance might endanger the peace. It could call upon states to use peaceful processes of their own choice to settle their disputes. At any stage in such efforts at a solution the Security Council itself is empowered to recommend methods of adjustment.

It would be empowered to determine at what stage a dispute, if not settled by peaceful means, might be designated a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression. If once it determined that a threat to the peace existed, it could decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security. It would be enabled to call upon members to apply the diplomatic, economic, or other non-military measures to give effect to its decisions, or it might, if necessary, take action by such air, land, and naval forces as might be required to restore peace and security. The contribution of armed forces by the member states is to be regulated by special agreement among the states themselves.

In this important realm of the pacific settlement of disputes, and of enforcement action in cases where disputes are not settled amicably, the procedures and facilities of regional arrangements and agencies might be utilized in accord with the purposes and principles of the Organization. Thus universal and regional machinery for maintaining the peace would be correlated to mutual advantage. Through these new relationships, the inter-American system could strengthen its own machinery, processes, and procedures and contribute strength to the general Organization.

You will observe the balance between the flexible and the inflexible in the pacific settlement of disputes and in the character of enforcement action. Many avenues of pacific settlement would be open to the use of member states, but once a threat to the peace is determined, enforcement action would follow speedily and within well-defined lines of procedure.

To facilitate action, the Security Council would be assisted by a military staff committee which would advise it on military requirements, the employment and command of forces, and the regulation of armaments. It would be responsible for the strategic command of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council.

Disputes of a justiciable character would be referred to an international court of justice which would be established as an integral part of the Organization.

The General Assembly would be empowered to assist the Security Council by making recommendations concerning the maintenance of peace and security.

The second major function of the Organization—the promotion of the solution of interna-



tional economic, social, and humanitarian problems—would be the responsibility of the General Assembly and of its subordinate body, the Economic and Social Council.

The Security Council is limited to 11 members, 5 of which would be the great powers. Power in the Organization is rightly harnessed to the responsibility for keeping the peace. In the General Assembly all members of the Organization would be represented on an equal footing. The small states, whose competence in the handling of economic, social, and humanitarian problems is so frequently in evidence, would enjoy complete equality with the great powers. Each member would have one vote.

The fundamental position of the General Assembly in the Organization is further strengthened by its responsibility for certain electoral functions such as the admission of new members upon the recommendation of the Security Council, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council.

The creative functions of the Organization are most clearly seen in the authority vested in the General Assembly and in the Economic and Social Council in their assigned task of seeking solutions to problems in the vitally important economic and social fields where the balance between peace and war so often finds its roots. Incipient wars require military action, but a world depression requires vigorous international economic cooperation. Acute economic crises marked by such expressions as bitter trade competition, clogged markets, currency collapses, industrial stagnation, mass unemployment, produce serious political disturbances, which, in turn, often lead to war. To raise levels of nutrition and standards of living, to improve labor standards, to contribute toward an expanding world economy, to promote exchange stability, to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, are vital objectives for world organization. In the fields of health, education, and culture, intelligently pursued cooperative policies are not only the rightful pursuits of peoples who claim to be civilized, but they produce understandings which help to eliminate the psychological basis of conflict. These broad areas would be problems of concern for the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and subsidiary organizations.

In the words of the Proposals, they are charged with the "creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful . . . relations among nations". They are to remedy conditions that impair the general welfare and through their policies "promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms".

As a means of achieving these admirable objectives, a structural device of immense possibilities is contemplated in the provision that specialized agencies of an economic, social, and humanitarian character would be brought into a working relationship with the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. Such organizations might include, for example, the International Labor Organization, the proposed United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Civil Aviation Organization. Other specialized agencies still to be projected may cover the fields of culture, education, transportation, et cetera. Their functions, covering the broad fields of activity mentioned above, should contribute vitally to the promotion of the stability and well-being of humanity and the creation of conditions necessary to durable peace. The General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, by coordinating their activities and promoting the acceptance by peoples and governments of their recommendations, would multiply their usefulness.

In this brief analysis of the major functions of the Organization, and of the machinery necessary to the performance of such vital tasks, I have tried to show that the fourth purpose of the Organization takes on added meaning. This purpose of the Organization is "to afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends". Organizational settings are required to promote friendly relations among nations.

Within them, a permanent and constant vigil can be kept over a complex of world problems. A great American once said: "Society is like a white post. If you want to keep it white, you must give it attention." Only through such unwavering attention and interest can solutions be found and peace and security be assured.

# International Regulation of Radio

Address by HARVEY OTTERMAN<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 13]

I come to you at the very kind invitation of your chairman to speak upon the subject of the regulation or control of international telecommunications. I come with a sense of confidence in view of the fact that, while my visits to the other American republics have been of all too brief duration, I nevertheless have had the privilege of a short sojourn in Guatemala, with a brief call in Honduras, several pleasant and profitable visits to Cuba, and short periods of time in Panama and all of the South American countries with the exception of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay. My visits have given to me a new appreciation of the culture and the scenic grandeur of all the countries to the south as well as the attractive personality of their citizenry. My appetite has thus been whetted for further visits and for a new acquaintance with those countries which I have not yet been privileged to know at first hand.

When I talk with you about telecommunications I speak of something very fundamental to the human race. I suppose, of course, the obvious and natural fundamentals of life are food and shelter, and out of a desire for those things has come the development of agriculture and trade and mining and many other industries which seem today so much a natural part of our existence.

It was not very far removed from those fundamental desires that there manifested itself in the experience of mankind an innate desire for religious expression and along with that an instinctive longing for human companionship and exchange of ideas, crude though they were in the dawning of the human race.

With our great cities and means of speedy communication today, it is difficult for us to visualize what it meant to satisfy those longings and desires of an earlier era. Men, at that time, could not step out to greet their neighbors or call them by some mechanical or scientific contrivance for an exchange of thought and understanding. We

think today of local and long-distance communications. That, of course, is merely relative, and what would seem purely local to us today may very well then have constituted a distance hazard which is difficult for us to contemplate. So, men communicated with one another by drumbeats which reverberated through the hills and over the plains, in the hope that at some relatively distant point a message might be received. And then they sought a visual means of the transmission of ideas, namely, smoke by day and fire by night, and so the smoke signals and the fire signals of another age transmitted intelligence to neighbors somewhat removed. And then, as time went on, there came the runners and the pony express and the semaphore and the carriage of mail by the newborn railroad and steamship and the telegraph and telephone and cable and radio and now, in the not distant future, television or facsimile. So when I talk with you about radio I am speaking of something very essential to the welfare of humanity.

Radio is especially intriguing for several reasons, first because it is essentially new and second because it is mysterious and finally because it constitutes a challenge to each of us. The latter is the essential thing about which I wish to speak to you today.

But, first of all, let us look at the relative fancy of radio. It is hardly incumbent upon me to seek to give you a history of the beginnings of this new science or art; but, in 1827, a scientist named Savary succeeded in magnetizing a steel needle by a discharge from a Leyden jar. That, you say, is a long time ago, and so it is. But even in that very inception of radio through the discharge from a Leyden jar we find evidence of much earlier *electrical* research in the invention of the Leyden jar itself in 1745, 82 years previously. In 1849, a scientist named O'Shaughnessy succeeded in transmitting a faint radio signal, barely intelligible, across a river a little less than a mile in width, 20 years or more after the steam locomotive had commenced drawing trains over local systems of trackage, almost half a century after steamboats had successfully plied the Hudson River in this country and the Clyde and

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Inter-American Defense Board in Washington on Feb. 13, 1945. Mr. Otterman is Assistant Chief of the Telecommunications Division, Office of Transportation and Communications, Department of State.

Thames abroad, and 30 years after the steamship *Savannah* had sailed from Savannah, Georgia, to Liverpool, England, although in that instance sails had to be used as a supplement for part of the journey.

But that first signal in 1849 was slow in its development. It was not until 1887 that Hertz satisfied himself that electro-magnetic waves accord with waves of light and heat and laid the foundation for the so-called "hertzian waves" we think about today, the same hertzian waves which Marconi used in 1895 for his experiments in wireless telegraphy. So you see that radio's development has been relatively recent, and new phases are manifesting themselves daily.

Radio also appeals to us because it is mysterious. It was easy for men of an earlier day to visualize the steamboat as it plied the river because they could stand on shore and look at it. They could comprehend the steam locomotive because, when it came to a steaming halt, they could go close to it and see it and examine it. Even the electric current which has baffled so many of us is something that we can appreciate physically by the shock we receive if we come in contact with a charged wire. These things, by sight and hearing and feeling, we can somewhat comprehend.

But if in 1844 man stood amazed at Morse's transmission over a thin wire between Washington and Baltimore of the message, in devout wonderment: "What hath God wrought?", how much more incomprehensible and mysterious is a message not dependent upon a thin line of wire but upon a mysterious wave which may carry intelligence through the ether halfway round the world or more. How mysterious and yet how effective radio must have seemed to the amateur operator in mid-United States who, telegraphing back and forth through the mysterious ether with a total stranger, an amateur in Alaska, was suddenly shocked by the suddenness of the termination of the exchange of messages, so shocked that he telegraphed the nearest seaport, far distant enough, which in turn radioed a message to a ship off the Alaskan coast, which then transmitted a message by radio to a place not far distant from the home of the Alaskan operator; and, at last, and in an incredibly short time, that operator was found slumped over his crude instrument stricken by some sudden malady, and his life saved by a circuitous transmission of this mysterious thing

called radio over thousands of miles and through many hands.

But this is all background to the real point of the thing I have to say today. I said that radio was of great interest to us because it was new and because it is mysterious, and then I said that it should appeal to us because it constitutes a challenge. That challenge is its effective control or regulation.

We tried to regulate radio in the United States in the early period of its active and practical operation very largely on a purely domestic basis and with all too little of law or regulation to guide us. There was even serious question in those early days as to how far our National Government could go in its regulation. The result was that court decisions were conflicting, rules were not clear, and I should say that, certainly in the field of broadcasting and probably in other phases of radio as well, the early 1920's constituted what might be called the "dark ages" of radio in the United States. And so we passed a law, and it was a pretty good one. The Federal Radio Act of 1927 went far to bring order out of chaos, and the Communications Act of 1934, still in force, has greatly improved the situation. Admittedly there are weaknesses in the latter act and things which require rectification, due largely to the development of the art. I have always felt that, legally, radio has not kept pace with radio from the technical aspect and that, if it does not require more regulation domestically, and it may very well be that it does not, it could certainly be benefited by clarification of the law in some respects.

However, I want you to observe that, along with domestic legislation looking to control or regulation, there went hand in hand international regulation. The Radio Convention of Washington of 1927, and the International Telecommunications Convention of Madrid in 1932, which is still effective, have done much to put international radio on a sound basis, and the intervening technical regulations of Madrid, 1932, and Cairo, 1938, have contributed immeasurably to that objective. In all of this we should not overlook important regional conventions and regulations which have, in various parts of the world, been negotiated and made effective. All of this is important because, as you well know, the very character of the radio signal is such that it cannot be confined to domesticity and that, in the very nature of

things, given a proper radio frequency or sufficient power or favorable atmospheric conditions, it will transcend domestic boundaries and make its imprint upon international relationships.

And now we are coming to a new era in radio communications in almost every one of its aspects. The early international control of radio was, unfortunately enough, expedited by disaster. Out of the grinding fog-bound crash of the steamship *Republic* with another ship, out of the roaring inferno of the steamship *Volturmo*, and out of the agonizing cries of the victims of the *Titanic* following its destructive collision with an iceberg came a new appreciation of the need for international understanding in the field of international radio and a new readiness of nations and their governments to cooperate in this area of control.

So, out of another disaster, the present World War, there have come on the one hand dislocations and on the other hand developments of radio, not yet ready for release for general use or, due to wartime security considerations, even general knowledge, which it is firmly believed will result in new and greater collaboration among the nations of the world, and herein lies the challenge.

In all of the planning for the post-war radio world there are men and groups who contend that new experiments in cooperation and control cannot be attempted because, say they, they will infringe upon national sovereignty. I am just as concerned about the sovereignty of my nation as are they, just as concerned about it as is each of you with respect to your individual country and government, but we are dealing with a highly international force, and I prefer to think, in our efforts toward international collaboration in radio, that we are not, any of us, relinquishing any of our individual national sovereignty, but rather, and I think this is the realistic view, that each of us is sharing his sovereignty with the other for the common good.

We have been doing post-war planning here in Washington in the field of telecommunications for almost two years, and some of our thinking has gone out along definitely international lines. We are visualizing a revision of the radio spectrum with an appropriate assignment of precious radio frequencies, all too few in number, in such a manner and to such services as will best care for our own national interests and which will best meet the needs of mankind generally. Except for cer-

tain bands in the higher ranges of the spectrum, that is not merely desirable: it is imperative if radio is to fulfil its mission in the future years, and that is purely a technical aspect. In the field of administration of radio we are also thinking in terms of reasonable internationalization. We are thinking about an international structure which may be set up by the world telecommunications conference which we hope will be held shortly after the conclusion of hostilities, a structure which would have a permanent administrative council which might consolidate the international efforts toward control and, under that, perhaps a board of experts for the study of international radio-frequency registrations. It is necessary also for us to join with industry in considering whether a reduction of rates may be possible in some quarters in future. In this particular phase I think we in the American republics should be particularly happy. Cable rates between the United States and the other American republics in 1889 ranged from \$1.72 to \$2.59 a word. How difficult it must have been to maintain any exchange of information or ideas or understanding under a rate like that. In 1939 the rate per word for ordinary correspondence ranged from 42 cents to 70 cents a word or more. But nevertheless this constituted a tremendous reduction and one which greatly facilitated our understanding in the Americas. In recent months it was my privilege to participate with the Federal Communications Commission and with your governments in a further effort at rate reduction which has resulted, as between the United States and most of the other American republics, in a unified plain-language and code rate of 26 cents a word. Many of us believe that not only from the practical and the psychological standpoints of exchange of information is this a healthy sign but also from the financial viewpoint as well, in that the companies carrying traffic for these greatly reduced rates will, in turn, benefit from a greatly increased use of their facilities in the new volume of messages made possible.

I wish I could tell you more about our planning, but unfortunately much of it and even some of the things I have already said are still in the stage of investigation as to the details involved. However, I should like to remind you that there will be convened by the Government of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro on the first of June 1945 the third Inter-American Radio Conference. These conferences have, in the past, been of great value, and

I believe this forthcoming one should be of increasing worth. The present series of conferences started in the spring of 1937 with a preliminary conference in Habana of Canada, Cuba, Mexico, and the United States, dealing largely with broadcasting problems. That conference resulted in the first Inter-American Radio Conference in Habana in the autumn of 1937, attended by most of the governments of this hemisphere and resulting in the Inter-American Radiocommunications Convention, the Inter-American Arrangement Concerning Radiocommunications, a purely technical document, a number of inter-American resolutions, and a purely regional broadcasting agreement known as the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement. The latter was followed in 1941 by a North American Regional Radio-Engineering Meeting in Washington. The second Inter-American Radio Conference was held in January of 1940 at Santiago, Chile, at which time it was decided to retain the Inter-American convention for another period and to revise the Habana agreement by what came to be known as the Inter-American Radiocommunications Agreement, Santiago, 1940. At the Santiago conference it was decided that the third Inter-American Radio Conference should be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1943. However, by that time we were embroiled in the war, and the wartime activities were of such a pressing nature that it was agreed that the conference should not then be held. To be sure, there have been other and important conferences in the Western Hemisphere concerned with radio, but I am only trying to outline those in the current chain of development of which the Rio de Janeiro conference is the most recent.

The time has now come, it would appear, when we might very well once more exchange our views regarding the post-war world in radio and in other forms of telecommunications: Telegraph, cable, telephone, television, broadcasting, and the like. The Government of Brazil has been kind enough to issue invitations to such a conference.

As I have said, the United States has been busily engaged in post-war planning for a considerable time, but I, and I am sure all of my colleagues, would be extremely disappointed if, as we make known the things about which we have been studying and thinking, we may not, at the same time, learn of the ideas and views of your respective governments. I am not advocating a solid front in this hemisphere that would approach the world

conference with a plan which has been definitely frozen and which cannot be negotiated. On the other hand, I should like to be sure that your governments know our best thinking on the subject, and, just as strongly, I should like to feel that we might know your plans and programs and that out of such clear knowledge on the part of each of us of the thinking of the other there might come at the world conference proposals which, having in mind the sovereignty of each state, may form the basis for an inter-American collaboration which may go far toward facilitating the studies of the world conference for the benefit of radio and of telecommunications throughout the world.

## Meeting of the Art Advisory Committee of the State Department

[Released to the press February 13]

The Department of State called a meeting of its Art Advisory Committee on February 2 and 3. The art committee was set up to further a closer understanding between the people of the United States and the peoples of other countries through the effective medium of art. The committee is composed of outstanding leaders in the United States art field appointed by the President to serve for a one-year period.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Bryn J. Hovde, Chief of the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department, stated:

"The Department's work is primarily that of facilitation and cooperation with the work of private art agencies throughout the United States, who are interested in the international scene. The Department has designed a program of cultural cooperation to broaden the picture of United States life through visual materials, presentation of art forms of this country, and the art activities and interests of our people. Cooperation with other countries must be based on understanding between peoples as well as between governments."

A description of the cultural programs of England and France was given to the committee. It was stated that they had allocated large sums of money to such programs. As presented by a con-

<sup>1</sup> The present membership of the Art Advisory Committee was printed in the BULLETIN of Dec. 31, 1944, p. 847.

sultant to the Department, the French Government had started a cultural-relations program as part of its foreign policy after 1870. Though Great Britain's program has been in operation only since 1934 it has steadily grown in scope and accomplishment in making British cultural achievements recognized and enjoyed. The British Government has recognized the importance of this program by allocating approximately \$14,000,000 to carry it on during the year 1944-45.

The committee discussed the problem of how the Department could be of greater service to private art agencies in helping to extend their activities abroad. In this connection it was recommended that a central clearing-house of art information, begun last year, be strengthened; and that exchanges of groups and persons in the art field be increased when traveling facilities permit. A special subcommittee was set up to study the problem of a post-war program abroad, with a view to reestablishing and broadening the exchange of persons and materials. Valuable information in the conduct of the United States program abroad was given by several former cultural attachés who had served in Peru, Colombia, Haiti, and Paraguay.

In complete accord with the need for a program that represented the many worthwhile contributions of the United States to world culture, the committee recommended that the Department's program in the field of art should "be broadly conceived. It should include elements of art education, commercial and industrial art, archeological investigation, drama, motion pictures, architecture as well as pictures and sculpture. It should encourage the use of all possible materials to illustrate the development of art in the United States, the growth of its style, the relations of United States artists to their industrial society, and the proper analysis and presentation of important art trends. In this connection, encouragement should be given to the proper use of materials and devices for the dissemination of knowledge; such as slides, film strips, radio, photographic materials, textiles, plastics, glassware, ceramics, folk materials, folk symbols, and published materials. It should encourage the widest possible exchange of materials, artists, art teachers, students and scholars. Such materials and cultural workers should be made available not only to the adult level but through the

school systems. To this end the Department should help to initiate surveys of other regions and cultures with a view to aiding the process of stimulation and interchange."

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**DICKOVER**—Continued from page 242

better than, the western nations in technology. They are realizing their mistake, now that they can no longer depend upon ideas from abroad but must rely upon their own meager technological resources. Their reaction to this has been typically Japanese. They are now stressing the power of "Nippon Seishin", or "the Japanese spirit"—a legendary fighting spirit supposed to be able to overcome any opposition. They are discovering, however, that "Nippon Seishin" is not an adequate opponent of a 105 mm. gun.

I have mentioned some of the political and spiritual weaknesses in the Japanese war-machine. As against these weaknesses, however, we must always remember to place the tremendous power of indoctrination of the people for a period of two generations or more. As an example of the power of indoctrination, I need only point to the German people today. Why do they keep on fighting when they have no hope of victory?

There are also military weaknesses in the Japanese war-machine, but, not being a military man, I am not in a position to discuss them. All that I can say is that recent events, such as the failure of the Japanese to put up a strong defense of Luzon, indicate to me serious weaknesses in their war-machine. These weaknesses must be apparent to the thinking people of Japan, who, to avert a crack-up with resultant chaos in Japan and in an endeavor to salvage something from the wreck of the bloated empire, built up by military aggression over the past 50 years, may possibly come forward at any time with an offer of a negotiated peace, which will sound reasonable but which will in fact leave Japan the victor in the Far East. This we must not accept, unless we wish future generations to fight again the war with Japan. The war must go on until we are in a position to destroy the Japanese war-machine, root and branch, and to take steps that it shall never be rebuilt. That will be the peace of unconditional surrender, giving us the power to destroy all that has made Japan a menace to civilization.

## Armistice With Finland

The armistice agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, acting on behalf of the United Nations at war with Finland,<sup>1</sup> and the Government of Finland, signed at Moscow Sep-

tember 19, 1944, with annexes and protocols, has been published by the British Government as Command Paper 6586. The text of the agreement as contained in that publication is as follows:

### CONDITIONS OF AN ARMISTICE WITH FINLAND, SIGNED AT MOSCOW, 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1944.

WHEREAS the Finnish Government has accepted the preliminary condition of the Soviet Government regarding a break with Germany and the removal of German troops from Finland, and whereas the conclusion of a future treaty of peace will be facilitated by the inclusion in an Armistice Agreement of certain conditions of this peace treaty, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, acting on behalf of all the United Nations at war with Finland, on the one hand, and the Government of Finland, on the other hand, have decided to conclude the present agreement for an armistice, the execution of which will be controlled by the Soviet High Command similarly acting on behalf of the United Nations at war with Finland, hereinafter named the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

On the basis of the foregoing the representative of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, Colonel-General A. A. Zhdanov, and the representatives of the Government of Finland, Mr. Carl Enckell, Minister for Foreign Affairs, General Rudolf Walden, Minister of Defence, General Erik Heinrichs, Chief of General Staff, and Lieutenant-General Oscar Enckell, duly authorised thereto, have signed the following conditions:—

#### Article 1

In connexion with the cessation of military activities on the part of Finland on the 4th September, 1944, and on the part of the Soviet Union on the 5th September, 1944, Finland undertakes to withdraw her troops behind the line of the Soviet-Finnish frontier of 1940 in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Annex attached to the present Agreement (See Annex to Article 1.)

#### Article 2

Finland undertakes to disarm the German land, naval and air armed forces which have remained

in Finland since the 15th September, 1944, and to hand over their personnel to the Allied (Soviet) High Command as prisoners of war, in which task the Soviet Government will assist the Finnish army.

The Finnish Government also accepts the obligation to intern German and Hungarian nationals in Finnish territory. (See Annex to Article 2.)

#### Article 3

Finland undertakes to make available at the request of the Allied (Soviet) High Command the aerodromes on the southern and south-western coast of Finland with all equipment to serve as bases for Soviet aircraft during the period necessary for air operations against German forces in Estonia and against the German navy in the northern part of the Baltic Sea. (See Annex to Article 3.)

#### Article 4.

Finland undertakes to place her army on a peace footing within two and a half months from the day of signing of the present Agreement. (See Annex to Article 4.)

#### Article 5.

Finland, having broken off all relations with Germany, also undertakes to break off all relations with Germany's satellite States. (See Annex to Article 5.)

#### Article 6.

The effect of the Peace Treaty between the Soviet Union and Finland, concluded in Moscow on the 12th March, 1940, is restored subject to the changes which follow from the present Agreement.

<sup>1</sup> The countries at war with Finland were Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*Article 7.*

Finland returns to the Soviet Union the *oblast* of Petsamo (Pechenga), voluntarily ceded to Finland by the Soviet State in accordance with the Peace Treaties of the 14th October, 1920, and the 12th March, 1940, within the boundary indicated in the Annex and on the map<sup>[1]</sup> attached to the present Agreement. (See Annex to Article 7 and map to scale 1:500,000.)

*Article 8.*

The Soviet Union renounces its rights to the lease of the Peninsula of Hangö, accorded to it by the Soviet-Finnish Peace Treaty of the 12th March, 1940, and Finland for her part undertakes to make available to the Soviet Union on lease territory and waters for the establishment of a Soviet naval base in the area of Porkkala-Udd.

The boundaries of the land and water area of the base at Porkkala-Udd are defined in the Annex to the present article and indicated on the map.<sup>[1]</sup> (See Annex to Article 8 and map to scale 1:100,000.)

*Article 9.*

The effect of the Agreement concerning the Aaland Islands, concluded between the Soviet Union and Finland on the 11th October, 1940, is completely restored.

*Article 10.*

Finland undertakes immediately to transfer to the Allied (Soviet) High Command to be returned to their homeland all Soviet and Allied prisoners of war now in her power and also Soviet and Allied nationals who have been interned in or deported by force to Finland.

From the moment of the signing of the present Agreement and up to the time of repatriation Finland undertakes to provide at her cost for all Soviet and Allied prisoners of war and also nationals who have been deported by force or interned adequate food, clothing and medical service in accordance with hygienic requirements, and also with means of transport for their return to their homeland.

At the same time Finnish prisoners of war and interned persons now located on the territory of Allied States will be transferred to Finland.

[1] Not reproduced.

*Article 11.*

Losses caused by Finland to the Soviet Union by military operations and the occupation of Soviet territory will be indemnified by Finland to the Soviet Union to the amount of three hundred million dollars payable over six years in commodities (timber products, paper, cellulose, seagoing and river craft, sundry machinery).

Provision will also be made for the indemnification in the future by Finland of the losses caused during the war to the property of the other Allied States and their nationals in Finland, the amount of the compensation to be fixed separately. (See Annex to Article 11.)

*Article 12.*

Finland undertakes to restore all legal rights and interests of the United Nations and their nationals located on Finnish territory as they existed before the war and to return their property in complete good order.

*Article 13.*

Finland undertakes to collaborate with the Allied Powers in the apprehension of persons accused of war crimes and in their trial.

*Article 14.*

Finland undertakes within the periods fixed by the Allied (Soviet) High Command to return to the Soviet Union in complete good order all valuables and materials removed from Soviet territory to Finland during the war belonging to State, public and co-operative organisations, factories, institutions or individual citizens, such as: equipment for factories and works, locomotives, railway carriages, ships, tractors, motor vehicles, historical monuments, valuables from museums and all other property.

*Article 15.*

Finland undertakes to transfer as booty to the disposition of the Allied (Soviet) High Command all war material of Germany and her satellites located on Finnish territory, including naval and other ships belonging to these countries in Finnish waters.

*Article 16.*

Finland undertakes not to permit the export or expropriation of any form of property (includ-



ing valuables and currency) belonging to Germany or Hungary or to their nationals or to persons resident in their territories or in the territories occupied by them without the permission of the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

*Article 17.*

Finnish merchant ships other than those already under Allied control shall be placed under the control of the Allied (Soviet) High Command for their use in the general interests of the Allies.

*Article 18.*

Finland undertakes to transfer to the Allied (Soviet) High Command all ships in Finnish ports belonging to the United Nations, no matter at whose disposal these vessels may be, for the use of the Allied (Soviet) High Command for the duration of the war against Germany in the general interests of the Allies, these vessels subsequently to be returned to their owners.

*Article 19.*

Finland will make available such materials and products as may be required by the United Nations for purposes connected with the war.

*Article 20.*

Finland undertakes immediately to release all persons, irrespective of citizenship or nationality, held in prison on account of their activities in favour of the United Nations or because of their sympathies with the cause of the United Nations, or in view of their racial origin, and will also remove all discriminatory legislation and disabilities arising therefrom.

*Article 21.*

Finland undertakes immediately to dissolve all pro-Hitler organisations (of a Fascist type) situated in Finnish territory, whether political, military, or para-military, as well as other organisations conducting propaganda hostile to the United Nations, in particular to the Soviet Union, and will not in future permit the existence of organisations of that nature.

*Article 22.*

An Allied Control Commission will be established which until the conclusion of peace with Finland will undertake the regulation and control of the execution of the present Agreement under

the general direction and instructions of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, acting on behalf of the Allied Powers. (See Annex to Article 22.)

*Article 23.*

The present Agreement comes into force as from the moment of signature.

Done in Moscow the nineteenth day of September, 1944, in one copy which will be entrusted to the safe-keeping of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the Russian, English and Finnish languages, the Russian and English texts being authentic.

Certified copies of the present Agreement, with Annexes and maps, will be transmitted by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to each of the other Governments on whose behalf the present Agreement is being signed.

For the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United King- dom:	For the Government of Finland:
A. ZHDANOV.	C. ENCKELL.
	R. WALDEN.
	E. HEINRICHS.
	O. ENCKELL.

ANNEXES TO THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND ON THE ONE HAND AND FINLAND, ON THE OTHER, SIGNED IN MOSCOW ON THE 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1944.

*A.—Annex to Article 1.*

THE procedure for the withdrawal of Finnish troops behind the line of the State frontier between the U. S. S. R. and Finland laid down in the Peace Treaty of the 12th March, 1940, subject to the modifications arising from the Armistice Agreement signed on the 19th September, 1944, on all sectors occupied by Finnish troops, shall be as follows:—

1. In the course of the first day as from the moment of signing of the Armistice Agreement Finnish troops shall be withdrawn to such a distance that there shall be a gap of not less than one kilometre between the forward units of the Red Army and the Finnish troops.
2. Within forty-eight hours (two days), counted as from the same moment, the Finnish troops

shall make passages through their mines, barbed wire, and other defences to a width of not less than thirty metres in order thereby to make possible the free movement of battalion columns with their transport, and shall also enclose the remaining mine-fields within clearly visible marks.

The above-mentioned passages in the defences and the enclosure of mine-fields shall be made throughout the whole territory from which Finnish troops are withdrawn.

The clearance of passages by Finnish troops shall be made on all roads or paths which may serve for movement both in the neutral belt of one kilometre and also throughout the whole depth of the defences.

Towards the end of the second day the Command of the Finnish troops shall hand over to the appropriate Red Army Command exact plans of all types of defences with an indication on these plans of the passages made and to be made by the Finnish troops and also of the enclosures of all mine-fields.

3. The Finnish Command shall hand over within a period of five days to the Command of the Red Army and Navy the charts, forms and descriptive maps at its disposal with legends for all mine-fields and other defences on land, in rivers, and lakes and in the Baltic and Barents Seas together with data about the courses and channels to be recommended and the rules for navigation along them.

4. The complete removal of mines, barbed wire and other defences throughout the territory from the line occupied by the advanced Finnish units to the line of the State frontier, and also the sweeping and removal of all defences from the channels on the approaches to Soviet territories, shall be made by the Finnish land and naval forces in the shortest possible time and in not more than forty days from the moment of the signing of the Armistice Agreement.

5. The withdrawal of Finnish troops behind the State frontier and the advance of the troops of the Red Army up to it shall begin as from 9.0 a.m. on the 21st September, 1944, simultaneously along the whole length of the front.

The withdrawal of Finnish troops shall be carried out in daily marches of not less than 15 kilometres a day and the advance of the troops of the Red Army shall take place in such a manner that there shall be a distance of 15 kilometres

between the rear units of the Finnish troops and the advanced units of the Red Army.

6. In accordance with paragraph 5 the following limits are set for the withdrawal of Finnish troops on individual sectors behind the line of the State frontier:—

On the sector Vuokinsalmi, Riahimjaki, the 1st October.

On the sector Riahimjaki, River Koita-Joki, the 3rd October.

On the sector River Koita-Joki, Korpiselka, the 24th September.

On the sector Korpiselka, Lake Puha-Jarvi, the 28th September.

On the sector Puha-Jarvi, Koitsanlahti, the 26th September.

On the sector Koitsanlahti, Station Enso, the 28th September.

On the sector Station Enso, Virolahti, the 24th September.

The retreating Finnish troops shall take with them only such reserves of munitions, food, fodder and fuel and lubricants as they can carry and transport with them. All other stores shall be left on the spot and shall be handed over to the Command of the Red Army.

7. The Finnish Military Command shall hand over on the territories which are being returned or ceded to the Soviet Union in complete good order and repair all inhabited points, means of communication, defence and economic structures including: bridges, dams, aerodromes, barracks, warehouses, railway junctions, station buildings, industrial enterprises, hydrotechnical buildings, ports and wharves, telegraph offices, telephone exchanges, electric power stations, lines of communication and electric power lines.

The Finnish Military Command shall give instructions for the timely de-mining of all the installations enumerated above which are to be handed over.

8. When the Finnish troops are being withdrawn behind the line of the State frontier the Government of Finland shall guarantee the personal inviolability and the preservation of the dwelling places of the population of the territory to be abandoned by the Finnish troops together with the preservation of all the property belonging to this population and of the property of public, co-operative, cultural-social services and other organisations.

9. All questions which may arise in connexion with the transfer by the Finnish authorities of the installations enumerated in paragraph 7 of this Annex shall be settled on the spot by representatives of both sides, for which purpose special representatives for the period of the withdrawal of the troops shall be appointed by the Command to each basic route for the movements of the troops of both armies.

10. The advance of Soviet troops to the line of the State frontier on the sectors occupied by German troops shall be made in accordance with the instructions of the Command of the Soviet forces.

*B.—Annex to Article 2.*

1. The Finnish Military Command shall hand over to the Allied (Soviet) High Command within a period fixed by the latter all the information at its disposal regarding the German armed forces and the plans of the German Military Command for the development of military operations against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the other United Nations and also the charts and maps and all operational documents relating to the military operations of the German armed forces.

2. The Finnish Government shall instruct its appropriate authorities regularly to supply the Allied (Soviet) High Command with meteorological information.

*C.—Annex to Article 3.*

1. In accordance with Article 3 of the Agreement the Allied (Soviet) High Command will indicate to the Finnish Military Command which aerodromes must be placed at the disposal of the Allied (Soviet) High Command and what equipment must remain on the aerodromes and equally will lay down the manner in which these aerodromes are to be used.

The Finnish Government shall enable the Soviet Union to make use of the railways, waterways, roads and air routes necessary for the transport of personnel and freight despatched from the Soviet Union to the areas where the above-mentioned aerodromes are situated.

2. Henceforth until the end of the war against Germany Allied naval vessels and merchant ships shall have the right to make use of the territorial waters, ports, wharves, and anchorages of Finland. The Finnish Government shall afford the neces-

sary collaboration as regards material and technical services.

*D.—Annex to Article 4.*

1. In accordance with Article 4 of the Agreement the Finnish Military Command shall immediately make available to the Allied (Soviet) High Command full information regarding the composition, armament and location of all the land, sea and air forces of Finland and shall come to an agreement with the Allied (Soviet) High Command regarding the manner of placing the Finnish army on a peace footing within the period fixed by the Agreement.

2. All Finnish naval vessels, merchant ships and aircraft for the period of the war against Germany must be returned to their bases, ports and aerodromes and must not leave them without obtaining the requisite permission to do so from the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

*E.—Annex to Article 5.*

1. By the rupture, referred to in Article 5 of the Agreement, by Finland of all relations with Germany and her satellites is meant the rupture of all diplomatic, consular and other relations and also of postal, telegraphic and telephone communications between Finland and Germany and Hungary.

2. The Finnish Government undertakes in future until such time as the withdrawal of German troops from Finland is completed to discontinue postal diplomatic communications and also any radio-telegraphic or telegraphic cypher correspondence and telephone communications with foreign countries by diplomatic missions and consulates located in Finland.

*F.—Annex to Article 7.*

The line of the State frontier between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Finland, in connexion with the return by Finland to the Soviet Union of the *Oblast* of Petsamo (Pechenga), shall proceed as follows:—

From the boundary post No. 859/90 (Korvaunturi), near the Lake Yauri-Yarvi, the line of the State frontier shall be fixed in a North-westerly direction along the former Russian-Finnish boundary by boundary posts Nos. 91, 92 and 93 to the boundary post No. 94, where formerly the frontiers of Russia, Norway and Finland met.

Thence the line of the frontier shall run in a general North-easterly direction along the former

Russian-Norwegian State frontier to Varanger-Fjord (see the attached Russian map, [²] scale 1:500,000).

The line of the frontier, fixed from the boundary post No. 859/90 (Korvatunturi) to the boundary post No. 94, will be demarcated on the spot by a Soviet-Finnish Mixed Commission.

The Commission will establish boundary signs, will make a detailed description of this line and will enter it on a map of the scale of 1:25,000.

The Commission will begin its work on a date to be specified by the Soviet Military Command.

The description of the boundary line and the map of this line made by the above-mentioned Commission shall be confirmed by both Governments.

*G.—Annex to Article 8.*

1. The boundary line of the area of Porkkala-Udd leased by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from Finland shall begin at a point of which the map references are: latitude 59°50' North; longitude 24°07' East. Thence the boundary line shall proceed North along the meridian 24°07' to a point of which the map references are: latitude 60°06'12" North; longitude 24°07' East. Thence the boundary line shall proceed along the line indicated in the map in a Northerly direction to a point of which the map references are: latitude 60°08'6" North; longitude 24°07'36" East.

Thence the boundary line shall proceed along the line indicated on the map in a general North-Easterly by Easterly direction to a point of which the map references are: latitude 60°10'24" North; longitude 24°34'6" East. Thence along the line indicated on the map along the bay of Espo-Lahti, and further East of the islands of Smuholmarnne, Björken, Medvaste, Heg-holm and Stur-Ham-holm to a point of which the map references are: latitude 60°02'54" North; longitude 24°37'42" East, and thence the boundary line shall proceed South along the meridian 24°37'42" to the outer boundaries of Finnish territorial waters. (See the map, scale 1:100,000, attached to the present Agreement.)

The boundary line of the leased area of Porkkala-Udd will be demarcated on the spot by a Soviet-Finnish Mixed Commission. The Commission shall establish boundary marks and shall draw up a detailed description of this line and

shall enter it upon a topographical map, scale 1:20,000, and a naval map, scale 1:50,000.

The Commission shall begin its work on a date to be specified by the Soviet Naval Command.

The description of the boundary line of the leased area and the map of that line prepared by the above-mentioned commission shall be confirmed by both Governments.

2. In accordance with Article 8 of the Agreement the territory and waters in the area of Porkkala-Udd shall be transferred by Finland to the Soviet Union within ten days from the moment of signature of the Armistice Agreement for the organisation of a Soviet naval base on lease, to be used and controlled for a period of fifty years, the Soviet Union making an annual payment of five million Finnish marks.

3. The Finnish Government undertakes to enable the Soviet Union to make use of the railways, waterways, roads and air routes necessary for the transport of personnel and freight despatched from the Soviet Union to the naval base at Porkkala-Udd.

The Finnish Government shall grant to the Soviet Union the right of unimpeded use of all forms of communication between the U.S.S.R. and the territory leased in the area of Porkkala-Udd.

*H.—Annex to Article 11.*

1. The precise nomenclature and varieties of commodities to be delivered by Finland to the Soviet Union in accordance with Article 11 of the Agreement and also the more precise periods for making these deliveries each year shall be defined in a special agreement between the two Governments.

As the basis for accounts regarding the payment of the indemnity foreseen in Article 11 of the Agreement the American dollar is to be used at its gold parity on the day of signature of the Agreement, *i. e.*, thirty-five dollars to one ounce of gold.

*I.—Annex to Article 22.*

1. The Allied Control Commission is an organ of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, to which it is directly subordinated. The Control Commission will be the liaison link between the Allied (Soviet) High Command and the Finnish Government, through which Government the Commission will carry on all its relations with the Finnish authorities.

[²] Not reproduced.

2. The chief task of the Control Commission is to see to the punctual and accurate fulfilment by the Finnish Government of Articles 2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20 and 21 of the Armistice Agreement.

3. The Control Commission shall have the right to receive from the Finnish authorities all the information which it requires for the fulfilment of the above-mentioned task.

4. In the event of the discovery of any violation of the above-mentioned Articles of the Armistice Agreement the Control Commission shall make appropriate representations to the Finnish authorities in order that proper steps may be taken.

5. The Control Commission may establish special organs or sections, entrusting them respectively with the execution of various tasks.

Moreover, the Control Commission may through its officers make the necessary investigations and the collection of the information which it requires.

6. The Control Commission shall be established in Helsingfors.

7. The members of the Control Commission and equally its officers shall have the right to visit without let or hindrance any institution, enterprise or port and to receive there all the information necessary for their functions.

8. The Control Commission shall enjoy all diplomatic privileges, including inviolability of person, property and archives, and it shall have the right of communication by means of cypher and diplomatic courier.

9. The Control Commission shall have at its disposal a number of aircraft for the use of which the Finnish authorities shall grant all the necessary facilities.

PROTOCOL TO ARMISTICE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE ONE HAND AND FINLAND ON THE OTHER.

ON the occasion of the signing of the Armistice Agreement with the Government of Finland, the Allied Governments signatory thereto are agreed that—

1. Paragraph 1 of Article 10 of the Armistice Agreement defines the obligations undertaken by the Finnish Government in regard to surrender to the Allied authorities of Allied prisoners of war and Allied nationals interned in or forcibly re-

moved to Finland. Each Allied Government shall decide which of its nationals shall or shall not be repatriated.

2. The term "war material" used in Article 15 shall be deemed to include all material or equipment belonging to, used by or intended for use by, enemy military or para-military formations or members thereof.

3. The use by Allied (Soviet) High Command of Allied vessels handed back by the Government of Finland in accordance with Article 18 of the Armistice Agreement, and date of their return to their owners will be matter for discussion and settlement between the Government of the Soviet Union and Allied Governments concerned.

Done in Moscow on the 19th September in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both English and Russian texts being authentic.

For Government of United Kingdom:

ARCHIBALD CLARK KERR.

For Government of the Soviet Union:

DEKANOZOV.

PROTOCOL TO ARMISTICE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE ONE HAND AND FINLAND ON THE OTHER, DATED 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1944.

On the occasion of the signing of the Armistice Agreement with the Government of Finland, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are agreed that—

In connexion with the return by Finland to the Soviet Union of the former Soviet territory of the *Oblast* of Petsamo (Pechenga) and the consequent transfer to ownership of the Soviet Union of nickel mines (including all property and installations appertaining thereto) operated in the said territory for the benefit of the Mond Nickel Company and the International Nickel Company of Canada, the Soviet Government will pay to the Government of Canada during the course of six years from the date of the signing of the present Protocol, in equal instalments, the sum of 20 million United States dollars as full and final compensation of the above-mentioned companies. For the purpose of this payment United States dollars

will be reckoned at the value of 35 dollars to one ounce of gold.

Done in Moscow on the 8th October, 1944, in three copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both the English and Russian texts being authentic.

For the Government of the United Kingdom:

ARCHIBALD CLARK KERR.

For the Government of Canada:

L. D. WILGRESS.

For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

V. G. DEKANOZOV.

## Inquiries on American Citizens In the Cherbourg Consular District

[Released to the press February 14]

The Department of State announces that the American Consulate at Cherbourg is now prepared to receive inquiries regarding the welfare and whereabouts of American citizens who are believed to be residing in the Departments of Orne, Calvados, or Manche. Communications should be addressed to the State Department. The Department emphasizes, however, that while such inquiries will in all cases be forwarded it will transmit to the Consulate messages from persons in the United States only when such persons have been unsuccessful in attempting to communicate with American nationals through regular mail channels.

For the time being this service is restricted to inquiries and communications which concern American nationals in the aforementioned Departments of the Cherbourg consular district. Communications regarding aliens or persons who are not residing in this area will not be accepted.

### THE DEPARTMENT

#### Arrangements for Consultation With Returning Foreign Service Officers<sup>1</sup>

*Purpose.* This order is issued to systematize the handling of arrangements for Foreign Service officers returning to this country on leave or for

consultation, in order that they may have full opportunity for a discussion of their work with the appropriate officers of the Department of State and other interested departments and agencies.

*Background.* Under the Reorganization Act of 1939, the Foreign Service of the United States is responsible for the performance of general reporting services abroad for all departments and agencies of the Government. In view of this responsibility, it is essential that Foreign Service officers be thoroughly cognizant of the informational needs of the agencies which they are servicing, as well as the inter-relationships between these agencies and the Department of State. Also, with the establishment of the functional divisions of the Department under the reorganization in Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944 and Departmental Order 1301 of December 20, 1944, it is especially desirable that Foreign Service officers returning to this country on leave or for consultation be fully informed of the work of those divisions as it relates to work in the field.

The Department feels that informal personal discussions with all the interested officials of the Department and other agencies will give Foreign Service officers temporarily in Washington an opportunity to discuss their respective reporting and other problems, receive additional guidance with respect to their present or future reporting work, and propose advisable modifications in instructions. It will also enable these officers to observe how the information sent in from the field is put to use and to discuss any proposed specialized reporting or other assignments. In addition, such discussions will provide opportunity for Government officials in general to gather first-hand information about the conditions in the countries where the Foreign Service officers have been stationed, to explore the feasibility of securing future information, and to obtain a better understanding of the problems in gathering information in the field.

*1 Procedure for arranging consultations.* Primary responsibility for the handling of consultations with Foreign Service officers shall rest with the Office of the Foreign Service. Each officer, on his arrival in the Department, shall, after due registration, report at his earliest convenience to the Office of the Foreign Service. On the basis of the memorandum of information furnished by the

<sup>1</sup> Departmental Order 1308, dated and effective Feb. 8, 1945.

officer under the Circular Instruction dated November 7, 1944 (Service Serial No. 268), and in consultation with the geographic and functional offices within whose purview the work of such Foreign Service officer has mainly rested, this Office shall have prepared in advance a tentative list of individuals in both the Department and other agencies with whom it is deemed desirable that he should confer. The tentative arrangements made by the Office will be reviewed with the officer concerned upon his arrival and revised if desirable. The visiting officer will also consult with appropriate geographic and functional officers who may make further suggestions regarding the proposed schedule of interviews or for attendance at Office or divisional staff conferences and other similar meetings.

2 *Trade-conference work.* The Office of the Foreign Service will likewise work with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and the Division of Public Liaison in the Department to plan schedules for Foreign Service officers for trade-conference work with the Bureau's regional offices and for speaking engagements at meetings of representative groups and associations in various parts of the country.

3 *Flexible nature of the procedure.* This procedure is intentionally flexible and shall be subject to adjustments to individual situations, according to the interests of the persons concerned. The end objective shall be to assure a maximum utilization by the Department and other interested Federal agencies of each officer's specialized knowledge about his area; to enable Foreign Service officers to comprehend the needs of the Department and other agencies which they are servicing; and to enable representative groups and associations in the United States to learn what the Foreign Service is doing abroad, the problems it faces, and the effect of its work upon the daily lives of the American people.

JOSEPH C. GREW

*Acting Secretary of State*

## Appointment of Officers

Assistant Secretary Holmes as Chairman of the Committee of Occupational Deferments, effective February 9, 1945.

Harry W. Frantz as Special Assistant to Assistant Secretary Rockefeller, effective January 12, 1945.

Harold W. Moseley as Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of European Affairs, effective December 23, 1944.

Dana G. Munro as Special Adviser to the Director of the Office of American Republic Affairs, effective January 4, 1945.

Wayne G. Jackson as Associate Chief of the War Areas Economic Division, effective February 9, 1945.

Richard W. Morin as Deputy Director of the Office of Public Affairs, effective February 14, 1945.

Francis H. Russell as Chief of the Division of Public Liaison, effective February 14, 1945.

H. Freeman Matthews, Director of the Office of European Affairs has been designated to represent the Department of State on the Combined Civil Affairs Committee, Combined Chiefs of Staff, succeeding James C. Dunn, effective January 1, 1945.

## THE CONGRESS

Crimean Conference. Report on the Crimean Conference of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of the United States of America, and the Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Military Plans for the Defeat of Germany. S. Doc. 8, 79th Cong., 6 pp.

International Monetary Fund. Message from the President of the United States transmitting recommendation for the passage of legislation dealing with the subscription of the United States to the International Monetary Fund, and our membership in such fund. H. Doc. 70, 79th Cong., 5 pp.

Relating to Escapes of Prisoners of War and Interned Enemy Aliens. H. Rept. 59, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 1525. 2 pp. [Favorable report.]

American Interparliamentary Congress. H. Rept. 140, 79th Cong., to accompany H. Res. 37. 2 pp. [Favorable report.]

Amendment to the Constitution With Respect to Treaty Ratification. H. Rept. 139, 79th Cong., to accompany H.J. Res. 60. 10 pp. [Favorable report.]

## PUBLICATIONS

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Dumbarton Oaks Documents on International Organization, Together With Chart and Questions and Answers (Revised). Conference Series 60. Publication 2257. 24 pp. 5¢.

## *Contents*—Continued

	Page
<b>POST-WAR MATTER—Continued.</b>	
Food for the Family of Nations: The Purpose and Structure of the Proposed Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. By Howard R. Tolley and Leroy D. Stinebower . . . . .	225
The Substance of Foreign Relations. By Pierre de L. Boal . . . . .	243
Telecommunications Tomorrow. Address by Francis Colt de Wolf . . . . .	250
Dumbarton Oaks Proposals:	
A General Peace and Security Organization: Analysis of Its Major Functions. Address by Andrew W. Cordier . . . . .	253
International Regulations of Radio. Address by Harvey Otterman . . . . .	256
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
Adherence by Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Peru to the Declaration by United Nations:	
Exchanges of Messages With Acting Secretary Grew:	
Ambassador of Chile . . . . .	231
Ambassador of Ecuador . . . . .	231
Ambassador of Paraguay . . . . .	232
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Peru . . . . .	233
Ceremony on the Signing of the Declaration:	
List of Representatives of the United Nations in Attendance . . . . .	234
Remarks by:	
Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	235
Ambassador of Chile . . . . .	235
Ambassador of Ecuador . . . . .	235
Ambassador of Paraguay . . . . .	236
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Peru . . . . .	236
Armistice With Finland . . . . .	261
Civil Aviation:	
Air Services Transit Agreement. Newfoundland . . . . .	224
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Arrangements for Consultation With Returning Foreign Service Officers . . . . .	
Service Officers . . . . .	268
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	269
<b>PUBLICATIONS</b> . . . . .	269
<b>CONGRESS</b> . . . . .	269



# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 296

FEBRUARY 25, 1945

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## *In this issue*

### INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

*Message of President Roosevelt, Addresses by President Avila Camacho and Secretary Stettinius*

### "BUILDING THE PEACE":

*What Is America's Foreign Policy?*

### COORDINATION OF CITEJA WITH THE NEW INTERNATIONAL CIVIL- AVIATION ORGANIZATIONS

*By Stephen Latchford*

### INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING: A FOUNDATION FOR THE PEACE

*By Dorothy Fosdick*

*For complete contents  
see inside cover*



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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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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 Affairs, 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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## Contents



AFRICA	Page
Visit of the Secretary of State to Liberia . . . . .	291
AMERICAN REPUBLICS	
Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace: Message From President Roosevelt to the President of the Conference. . . . .	273
Address by President Avila Camacho . . . . .	273
Address by Secretary of State Stettinius . . . . .	277
Renewal of Diplomatic Relations With El Salvador: Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	304
EUROPE	
Bombings of Swiss Towns: Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	309
Twenty-seventh Anniversary of the Red Army . . . . .	304
Relocation of Prisoner-of-War Camps in Germany . . . . .	314
NEAR EAST	
Death of the Prime Minister of Egypt . . . . .	304
CULTURAL COOPERATION	
Visit of Bolivian Educator . . . . .	315
Economist Accepts Visiting Professorship to Paraguay . . . . .	314
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS	
Principles of Economic Policy: Address by William S. Culbertson . . . . .	299
International Cotton Advisory Committee: Announcement of Fourth Meeting . . . . .	301
GENERAL	
Report on the President's Trip Following the Crimea Conference . . . . .	259
POST-WAR MATTERS	
"Building the Peace". What Is America's Foreign Policy? International Understanding: A Foundation for the Peace. By Dorothy Fosdick . . . . .	282
Coordination of CITEJA With the New International Civil- Aviation Organizations. By Stephen Latchford . . . . .	295
310	
TREATY INFORMATION	
Adherence by Venezuela to the Declaration by United Nations. Exchange of Communications . . . . .	292
Remarks by the Ambassador of Venezuela Upon Signing . . . . .	293
Remarks by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	294
Adherence by Uruguay to the Declaration by United Nations. Exchange of Communications . . . . .	294
United States-Mexican Water Treaty: Statement by Assistant Secretary Acheson . . . . .	302
Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	303
Civil Aviation	
Civil Air-Transport Agreement Between Canada and the United States . . . . .	305
Agreement Between the United States and Canada Regarding Military Air-Transport Routes . . . . .	309
Signing of Military-Aviation-Mission Agreement With Guatemala . . . . .	309

(Continued on page 318)

# Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace

## Message From President Roosevelt to the President of the Conference<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 23]

His Excellency Licenciado EZEQUIEL PADILLA,<sup>2</sup>  
*President of the Inter-American Conference  
on Problems of War and Peace.*

The assembling of the Conference of the American Republics on Problems of War and Peace moves me to send cordial salutations to you and my felicitations to the Government and people of Mexico as hosts to this significant meeting. Will you please communicate to the delegates my greetings and confident anticipation of notable accomplishments.

Since the days of their independence the American republics have tirelessly explored every pathway to human freedom, justice, and international well being, and today the common men of all peace-loving nations look to them and you for light on the arduous road to world peace, security, and a higher level of economic life.

By their moral purpose, their intelligent efforts, and their friendly spirit they will make common cause among themselves and with other nations to attain the noblest objective of human aspiration.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

## Address by President Avila Camacho<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 21]

HONORABLE DELEGATES TO THIS CONFERENCE: In face of the violent spread of Nazism and Facism, the American governments, in 1942, through their delegates assembled at Rio de Janeiro, adopted military, economic, and political resolutions of grave importance. These resolutions were designed to coordinate and perfect the common defense of this continent, in order to preserve intact, together with destinies and the freedom of the Americas, the conception of a common life based on the fullest exercise of the rights belonging to man as a human being.

Since that conference, which we recall as clear-cut evidence of honor and solidarity, many of the republics represented on that occasion (Mexico among them) found it necessary, in order to maintain respect for their sovereignty, to accept the totalitarian challenge. They thus joined forces with those American nations that, prior to the Rio de Janeiro conference, had entered into an iniquitous war, which they did not provoke and which from the very outset they condemned, because true to their love of peace they could but abhor the dictatorial ambitions that had forced it upon them.

Before they took that determination, and likewise before the conference to which I have just referred, one of our countries had been the object

of a most treacherous and brutal act of aggression. Without warning, without an ultimatum, and at the very time when a special delegation feigned to be carrying on with the State Department at Washington diplomatic negotiations which were nothing but a monstrous artifice of refined hypocrisy, one of the powers of the anti-democratic Axis had flung itself upon the territory of one of the American nations, thus bringing the conflict within measurable distance of our hemisphere and making the conflagration world-wide.

In the presence of this outrage our continental consciousness was instantly aroused. A single thought galvanized all the nations: to fight if necessary, perhaps to perish, but never to tolerate the continuance, without punishment, of the cruel depredations committed by systems animated feverishly and sordidly for domination such as humanity had never seen.

In order to achieve this aim, what could some of our nations, weak from a military standpoint, whose industries were only incipient, and whose economy in so many ways was insignificant, contribute?

<sup>1</sup> Read at the plenary session of the Conference on Feb. 23, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs.

<sup>3</sup> Delivered at the opening session of the Conference on Feb. 21, 1945 in the Chamber of Deputies at Mexico City.

A great deal, gentlemen; for it is not only material power that is engaged in this war. Over and above the forces of mere matter, the spirit throbs as a shining mentor. If the sword weighs heavily in the balance, still greater is the unchangeable power of virtue. And it is the virtue of the Americas which they have placed in the first rank of their offering on the altar of democracy: their innate honesty, their ardent idealism, the whole of their history, that intense history of theirs which is like a hymn etched by fire on the undying bronze of freedom.

Even though we had added nothing to that gift—the loftiest and purest of all—the tribute of our products, which are of such great use to the arsenals that supply the battlefields, even though the blood of so many of our men had not been shed, as it since has been, the moral help I am now praising would honor the whole of America at the moment of victory.

It is, therefore, with more than enough reason that we assemble to consider the problems that will be raised by the cessation of the war and the preparation of the future peace. Circumstances have so willed it that the conflict is throwing one more responsibility in our lives. The acceptance of this responsibility gives us the right, and imposes upon us the duty, of working out these problems by ourselves, of making our own suggestions, and of not allowing the cry of other unrest to drown the voice of America.

If I, as the President of Mexico, energetically express this conviction, it is because I think that the voice of America will be a splendid guaranty of perfect balance in the organization of the peace to come.

No one of us, of course, attempts to pose as a pattern and example to the others, for we all possess, as a valuable asset, the ability to remain calm when faced by decision of a multitude of disputes which others might wish to settle in accordance with interests and aspirations which we fortunately are far from seeking for ourselves. Our very youthfulness, which, it is true, deprives us of many of the elements of a decision, does place us beyond those passions and animosities which are the price that must be paid, on the other hand, by a number of nations for their antiquity and structural greatness.

If the international order of tomorrow were to be established by taking into account the opinion

of the powerful alone, in final analysis this war would prove to be nothing more than a gigantic and grotesque farce. But as we feel sure that this time our words will not be only words, for words that have cost so many millions of lives sooner or later take on the solidarity of unquestionable facts, we hopefully indulge in the thought of a common life worthy of the principles on whose behalf we have accepted the commitments imposed upon us by destiny, and we shall do our duty.

Our cause, fortunately, is not in conflict with that of anyone sincerely anxious for collective and indivisible security. More than a century ago, that superman Simón Bolívar proclaimed the advisability of continental assemblies like the present, "so that they might serve for counsel in major conflicts, as points of contact in time of common danger, as faithful interpreters of political treaties and conciliatory agencies in all controversies".

These four functions, as eloquently stated by the most universal genius of this hemisphere, are still those incumbent on conferences of this kind. In fact, in serious and widespread conflicts we must take counsel with one another, in order not to fritter away the effort of our unity. If understanding construction of treaties be lacking, their automatic and literal enforcement would, in practice, be the cause of unbearable oppression for the weak. Aside from this, differences between us should be settled in friendship, in good faith, and in a conciliatory spirit on the part of each and every one.

Among the common dangers that surround us, although it may properly be acknowledged that the immediate and direct risk of invasion by force of arms has steadily become less, due to the victories won by the United Nations, there are still two menaces: that demoralizing propaganda spread by totalitarian emissaries may seep in, and that peace will eventually be based on partial disregard of American needs and aspirations.

As regards the first of these two menaces, I am glad to express here and now my belief that our most positive defense will consist in loyally purifying, by means of republican institutions which we uphold, the ethical atmosphere in which that unshakable longing for democracy will have to develop. Since our peoples gained their independence it has exalted their deep thirst for equality, civic virtue, and true social justice.

These qualities of ours, if strengthened, will shield our existence more effectively than any bulwark. On the other hand, those faults of ours of which we may not be able to rid ourselves, like selfishness and discord, would expose us to the undermining agitation of those who though defeated in battle would attempt to bore from within and sabotage the peace on the soil of those very nations which during the war had never consented to expose themselves to the corrosive influence of their doctrines.

It therefore becomes urgent to purify the integral organization of democracy from within by training the new generations to fit them for liberty and by making every citizen of the Americas an active supporter of its independence.

In that era of equity and progress to which we aspire, it will be essential to safeguard all the peoples jointly against every form of aimless drifting begotten by neglect, by destitution, by ignorance, and by the lack of equal opportunity for decent and dignified living. As regards some of the public calamities summarized, the most effective insurance will be the vigor with which we protect, within our own boundaries and by means of our own legislative and cultural resources, the evolution of genuine democracy.

Facts have shown us that when a government is the faithful interpreter of the sovereign will of a nation, the masses are neither discouraged nor demoralized and are therefore not suitable material for the intricate machinations of those who seek to turn to account domestic unrest as pretexts for conflict abroad. Facts also teach us that no agreement can achieve solidarity among the members of any international association, when the governments of some of them (as happens in the case of dictatorships) live under the influence of a system actuated by violence, while the others are endeavoring to give true form to the aspirations of the majority of the community. If we apply the foregoing conclusions to the Americas, it is well to point out that, however numerous the geographical similarities, ethnical affinities, and historical development of the states of this hemisphere may be, our greatest capacity for persistence will rest upon the fervor with which we cultivate the ideal of democratic brotherhood, under theegis of which we are today gathering for discussion.

But it happens that, without the real support of a well-planned economic democracy, political

democracy is precarious, both in a nation and in an assembly of nations, whether universal or continental. That is why we Mexicans are deeply concerned, on this occasion of the celebration in our country of a conference inspired by the intention of contributing solid and concrete proposals to the peace of the world, with pointing out with unswerving rectitude that in our judgment peace can only be lasting if the United Nations build it upon indestructible moral and material foundations.

Men are men, wherever they may be born, wherever they may live, work, and die. To guarantee to all men, simply because they are men, without distinction as to race or place, an adequate minimum of fruitful opportunity for existence will be the essential requirement of every order aiming to be peaceful. Firm and just international cooperation will prevail only if there is a determination slow and unwavering to guarantee that irreducible minimum. But when I speak of cooperation, I am certainly not thinking of unilateral assistance, which in the long run is always impracticable for the strong and depressing and unhealthy for the weak. No. No method of simple beneficence can help nations in critical stages of their growth. On the contrary, we need an economic cooperation that shall by placing limits of justice on the spheres of activity of the most industrialized societies permit all of them to use their available resources to best advantage and that will likewise permit in the least a reasonable stimulus to more fully exploit its natural resources.

That cooperation could very likely fluctuate between methods of immediate financial assistance, by ways and means which would not foreshadow imperialistic investments, and cooperative procedures in such matters as markets and transportation; for it may be recalled that monopolies of trade and certain communications routes are among those that have caused most harm to good understanding among nations.

Even though this part of our activities were reduced to the construction of a coherent economy in this hemisphere, we may well find advantages in joining our plans and our methods for the good of other continents, since not even in times of closest union among themselves do our republics forget the postulates of a growing universality for the betterment and uplifting of all mankind.

There will be work for everyone, and therefore happiness, if men will stop encouraging the mis-

takes that made of the pre-war period a sordid struggle of trade incentives during which, in a crisis of abundance and unemployment, some regions perished and in others the people died of starvation.

Evidently, inter-American cooperation will not in itself alone suffice to bring about a state of affairs which, by its very complexity, calls for more general interlocking and demands the advent of an era of generous world conciliation. But the experience of America will facilitate that advent. We shall not prove ourselves equal to the loftiness of the hope that our hemisphere has held for the world since the day of its discovery, if we hesitate an instant in assuming the unavoidable responsibilities of transforming that wonderful hope into a living and magnificent reality.

The interdependence of legitimate interests, as a system, and the solidarity of ideals, as a standard of cohesion, will make it necessary for America to assist effectively in the work of reconstruction that will be demanded by the first period of the post-war world.

A free America, strong, healthy, prosperous, and enlightened, will constitute an inestimable promise of well-being for the civilized world. The conference which we are inaugurating today will be able to contribute to the determination of the American destiny along the lines of permanent human service. The delegates of 19 American republics are attending the ceremony that brings us together. Only two of them are not present at this time: Argentina and El Salvador, nations which hold a cordial place in our thoughts and in our affections.

Deploring their absence and hoping that circumstances will soon afford us the satisfaction of seeing them officially associated with our present efforts, as they have participated with such enthusiasm, I greet in the name of my country the representatives of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, United States, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela, and, upon extending to them the warmest welcome, I beg them to transmit to their governments the gratitude of Mexico for the friendship with which they have responded to our invitation.

Gentlemen: Mexico, which is greatly complimented at having been chosen as the scene of your

deliberations, reiterates to you, through me, its faith in the success of this conference and its ardent wishes for the happiness of the American nations.

War and peace will form the central topic of your assembly. No other more important topic has been offered to society since the most primitive peoples began to realize just what their conduct meant. War, with its cruelty and alarm, its slaughter, its calamities, and its ruin. Peace, with the work of its shops and its schools, with its furrows driven frequently in land by the enemy pick and shovel, plowed with shot and shell, and turned over by the defenders with pick and shovel when they dug their trenches. However, just as life and death are not isolated and solitary accidents, so must war and peace be analyzed as phenomena that explain one another and which unavoidably follow one another in a direct and pathetic relationship.

A peace guaranteed militarily, but illogical economically, unjust politically, and arbitrary according to the social standards of those dictating it, carried within itself the seed of future war. And a war that does not end entirely with the disappearance of the forces which unfortunately motivated it always leads to an incomplete, insecure, and false peace.

During recent months, we have spoken with persistence of the necessity of winning the peace. To win it, as is desired, it is imperative first to win the war: and not to win it for the benefit of this or that individual, limited, and regional interest; nor to win it for the triumph gained over the forces of which our adversaries boast; nor yet to win it for the moral triumph of the victors over themselves; in order that victory, when it is achieved, will be a total victory of mankind.

A victory such as this, truly human, will provide the occasion for inaugurating an era of effective harmony in this world. For these reasons, I end by declaring to you: May the will of America inspire you in order that you may emerge with a body of agreements and suggestions which will in matters concerning this continent be able to strengthen this situation of harmony, without which all the treaties imaginable, capable as we undoubtedly hope them to be, will remain at the mercy of new controversies. Gentlemen, in this task—so arduous but so noble—the most fervent wishes of my country accompany you.

## Address by Secretary of State Stettinius'

[Released to the press February 22]

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES: It is an honor and a privilege for me to address on behalf of the Government of the United States this conference of American republics on the problems of war and peace. I bring to you the most cordial greetings of the President of the United States and of my great predecessor, Cordell Hull.

We have met here in beautiful and historic Mexico City because we—the peoples of the New World—are at an historic juncture in our own affairs and in our relationship to the rest of the world.

The vital interests of the American republics are equally involved in winning the war and in making the peace.

The United States Government looks upon this conference in Mexico City as a meeting of decisive importance. Our unity has been greatly strengthened by our wartime collaboration. Now it is our task to advance this unity still further both for the war and in our political, economic, and social collaboration in the tasks of peace.

I wish to reaffirm to the representatives of all the Governments assembled here that the United States Government regards the good-neighbor policy and the further development of inter-American cooperation as indispensable to the building, after victory, of a peaceful and democratic world order. I wish also to reaffirm the belief of the United States that this democratic order must be built by all nations, large and small, acting together as sovereign equals.

## II

I have just had an extraordinary experience that has driven home to me more sharply than ever before the significance of the fact that the world is now truly united in time and space.

A week ago I was in Moscow where I paid a brief visit after we had completed our work at the Crimea Conference. Moscow is over 15,000 miles away by the route I came. In the short time since I left Washington I have traveled 24,000 miles on the business of war and peace. I have flown over the North and South Atlantic Oceans and over points on five of the world's six continents—Europe, Asia, Africa, and North America, and South America. I have come from a conference

about war and peace conducted on the shores of the Black Sea to another conference about war and peace meeting ten days later in Mexico City.

Both are concerned with essentially the same problem. For they are no longer purely European problems of war and peace, or American problems of war and peace, or African, or Asian problems of this character. War anywhere in the world today threatens war throughout the world. Peace anywhere in the world today requires a whole world at peace. The prosperity and well-being and security of the peoples of the American continents is bound up with the prosperity and well-being and security of the other continents and islands of the earth.

For a long time we relied for protection upon the oceans which surround these continents. Now we know that there are no barriers of sea or air or land that can separate us from the rest of the world. We have learned our lesson in two successive world-wide conflagrations which have destroyed our sons, consumed our wealth, and interrupted our peaceful and creative purpose as disastrously almost as though their battles had been fought upon our prairies or in our cities.

And we are sure now what it is that must be done. It is not enough to stop war at our coasts—nor on the oceans that lie beyond our coasts. War must be stopped at the point, whatever point it may be on the surface of the earth, where war begins.

## III

Toward that end we worked at the Crimea Conference. Toward that end we are assembled here. May I, before I address myself directly to the tasks of this conference, say a few words about the meeting in the Crimea.

You have all read the communiqué of the Crimea Conference. You know that the unity of the three powers represented there was greatly strengthened, both for the war and for the peace.

A full measure of credit for this result belongs to the President of the United States, whose vision, courage, understanding, and creative purpose were never displayed to better advantage. I want also

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at the plenary session of the Conference on Feb. 22, 1945 in the Chamber of Deputies at Mexico City. The Secretary of State is the American Delegate to the Conference.

to pay tribute to the other two heads of Government, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, and to the Soviet and British Foreign Secretaries, Mr. Molotov and Mr. Eden, with whom I worked in such close, friendly, and effective collaboration at the conference. They have rendered distinguished service to the United Nations cause.

I reviewed the achievements of the Crimea Conference with the President of the United States when I met him again three days after we had left the Crimea. It is the President's firm conviction that the results of the Crimea Conference have greatly advanced the basic objectives of United States foreign policy.

My purpose tonight is to speak to you of our hopes of what may be accomplished here in Mexico City and of these basic objectives of our foreign policy.

#### IV

The earliest possible final defeat of the aggressors who plunged the world into war and so gravely threatened the security of this hemisphere is, I am sure, the first objective of the other American republics, as it is of the United States.

Military matters are, of course, not in my field, but it was generally agreed at the Crimea Conference that the military plans completed there in the closest cooperation by the Chiefs of Staff of the three powers—and the continuing three-power-staff meetings there provided for—will shorten the war and thus save the lives of tens of thousands of United Nations fighting men.

Here at Mexico City the American republics have met to consider what further steps we can take together to that same end—helping to shorten the war.

The solid foundations of the wartime collaboration of the American republics were laid at the conferences of Montevideo and Buenos Aires in 1933 and 1936 and at Lima in 1938. In meetings at Panama, Habana, and Rio de Janeiro after the outbreak of this war the intention and the capacity of our countries to implement our solidarity was fully demonstrated. We have acted together in accordance with the declaration of Habana that an act of aggression against any American state is an act of aggression against all of us.

The American republics since 1940 have succeeded together in building up the defenses of this

hemisphere to an extent never before dreamed of. Their military forces have cooperated in the war. They have increased greatly the military might of United States and other United Nations armed forces through their production of strategic materials that were transformed in our factories into the fleets of planes and tanks and ships which are carrying the war to the enemy.

The only hope that remains to the Nazi and the Japanese is that the United Nations might now relax their efforts in the belief that the war is as good as over. It is thus more important than ever before that we maintain and strengthen this active wartime collaboration of the American republics.

I have high confidence that our discussions here will result in cooperative action that will hasten the day of final victory.

#### V

The second major point I wish to make is this: I am certain that all of our countries will support as absolutely necessary to the future of the world and of this hemisphere the strong and sweeping policies toward Germany agreed upon at the Crimea Conference. This is what was agreed upon:

"We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations."<sup>1</sup>

So far as the United States is concerned, this is a fundamental of our foreign policy. The world may rest assured that the United States, in full

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 18, 1945, p. 214.



agreement with our Allies, is inflexibly resolved upon whatever steps may be necessary to insure that neither Germany nor Japan will ever again have the military or industrial capacity to make war.

We of the Americas have another responsibility to fulfil in the destruction of Nazi-Fascism—a responsibility common to all of us. During the war we have through close cooperation achieved encouraging success in combating Axis economic and political penetration and in preventing Nazi and Fascist sabotage. But we have much yet to do. We still face the danger of secret Nazi-Fascist infiltration into the political and economic life of this hemisphere.

The Axis leaders will, of course, attempt to escape the consequences of their crimes. We must be constantly on the alert for the flight to this hemisphere of Nazi funds and Nazi underground leaders who will seek to find a refuge here that can serve as a base for an ultimate come-back.

The people of the United States are confident that the American republics will join in whatever cooperative measures may be necessary to stamp out utterly every vestige of Nazi influence in this hemisphere. That must be our unalterable purpose.

## VI

At the Crimea Conference the Soviet Union and Great Britain joined the United States in a Declaration on Liberated Europe. This declaration provides for joint action by the three Governments to assist the liberated peoples during the temporary period of instability in Europe "to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice."

The three powers thus pledged joint action to uphold the right proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

This is a third fundamental purpose of United States foreign policy. We intend to make our full contribution toward the building of a world in which the right of every nation to develop free institutions according to its own desires will be upheld. We look upon this purpose as part of

the American faith which we have sought to practice in our relations with other peoples.

The United States will not shirk its responsibilities in seeing to it, so far as it is within our power, that this purpose is achieved.

The Declaration of Liberated Europe adopted at the Crimea Conference is animated by much the same spirit and purpose as the good-neighbor policy. We recognize that all nations are interdependent and that no nation can achieve peace and prosperity alone. We believe that all nations are equal before the law and that the equal rights of all nations, large and small, must be upheld.

## VII

We are assembled here to discuss the creation at the earliest possible moment—and before the end of the war—of an international organization to insure the peace of the world, by force if necessary. This is a fourth major objective of United States foreign policy, as I am sure it is of the other American republics.

Largely because of the vision and leadership of Cordell Hull, we were able to lay the foundations last fall at Dumbarton Oaks. These Proposals setting forth a plan for such an organization were agreed upon by the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China. Since then these Proposals have been studied and discussed throughout the world.

At the Crimea Conference the last obstacle to calling a United Nations conference to adopt the Charter for such a world organization was removed. The Soviet Union and Great Britain there agreed to the Proposals presented by the President of the United States for voting procedure in the Security Council.

The United Nations conference, toward which we have been constantly striving, has therefore been called to meet at San Francisco, California, on April 25, 1945, just nine weeks from now. Invitations will be issued as soon as we have completed our consultations with China and France, who have been invited to join in sponsoring the conference.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals recognize that the world Organization has two tasks: *first*, to prevent aggression; and *second*, to reduce and remove the causes of war through close political,

economic, and social collaboration among all peace-loving peoples.

The Proposals are designed to prevent lawless power politics and to use the power of the great nations in the interests of the peace and freedom of all nations. They are based squarely upon the principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the United Nations Declaration, and they draw heavily upon the ideals and practices of the inter-American system, to which the statesmen of the American republics here present have contributed so much.

The agreement reached on voting procedure at the Crimea Conference recognizes the two essential elements of a successful world organization—unity of action by the great powers who alone have the military and industrial strength to prevent aggression; and the equal sovereignty of all nations, large and small, who must act together to create the essential conditions of lasting peace.

We have met here in order to carry further our discussions of the world Organization before the United Nations conference at San Francisco. We will not, of course, in this inter-American meeting take decisions on questions of policy that will be explored by all the United Nations together at San Francisco.

However, we should, I believe, examine what steps need to be taken to strengthen the inter-American system for the major role which it should play in the world of the future.

Let me remind you that the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals recognize the value, within the framework of a general organization, of regional arrangements for promoting peace and security.

The United States Government believes that the stronger we can make the inter-American system in its own sphere of activity the stronger the world Organization will be.

### VIII

There is another statement of purpose in the Atlantic Charter which was reaffirmed at the Crimea Conference—the purpose to build a peace “which will . . . afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want”.

I can assure you that the United States does not regard this as a rhetorical assertion of vague in-

tentions. We regard it as a *necessity* if the United Nations are to build a peace that will endure.

We cannot, of course, accomplish this purpose overnight. We can accomplish it only by establishing the world Organization and by continuing an ever-closer collaboration among the nations of this hemisphere and among all nations toward a rising standard of living and wider opportunities for all men and women, regardless of race, creed, or color.

The United Nations, which have fought so successfully together against the Axis in this war, must join together in the years after victory in waging war with equal vigor and unity against hunger, poverty, ignorance, and disease. The accomplishment of this purpose is the fifth of the fundamental objectives of United States foreign policy to which I have referred tonight.

Consideration of the practical steps that we can take together toward this end is part of the business of this conference, as it was in the Crimea and as it will be at San Francisco.

Here in Mexico City we are particularly concerned with the application of this policy in the Western Hemisphere.

The United States intends to propose and support measures for closer cooperation among us in public health, nutrition, and food supply, labor, education, science, freedom of information, transportation, and in economic development, including industrialization and the modernization of agriculture.

We are also faced with the immediate necessity of preparing to meet the many problems of transition from our wartime economic collaboration to the methods of peacetime collaboration.

It is the fixed purpose of the United States Government to undertake, in cooperation with the other American republics, to reduce to the minimum the inevitable dislocations of this transition period.

Adjustments will be required in the production of some strategic commodities, the output of which has been stimulated greatly by the common war effort. My Government hopes that a program can be agreed upon by the nations here represented which will provide a basis for accomplishing this adjustment in such a way as to protect the economies of the American republics.

The war has placed many restrictive controls upon normal trade. During the transition period,

which will begin after the defeat of Germany, we should relax these artificial wartime restrictions as rapidly as our primary objective of winning the war makes possible.

We must seek also positive measures to promote constantly rising levels of international trade among the nations of this hemisphere and among all nations—much higher than we ever enjoyed before.

Economically sound industrial development and the modernization of agriculture are essential to sustain these higher levels of trade and to fuller employment and rising standards of living.

This requires arrangements to assure reasonably stable rates of exchange and to promote international investment in profitable new enterprises which will increase the productive capacity of the countries of the Western Hemisphere as well as in other parts of the world.

We should take the necessary international action at the earliest possible moment. Supplementary measures of various kinds are also required on a national level to encourage foreign investment. In our country we propose to extend our operations in this field, making full use of the facilities available including the Export-Import Bank.

By collaborating in these economic and financial measures and combining them with our programs of mutual technical assistance in industry, agriculture, labor, cultural relations, public health, nutrition, and their related fields, we can achieve together the rising standard of living that we all seek.

## IX

The nations of the world today are face to face with a historic crisis and a historic opportunity—an opportunity greater than any offered to all the generations of men who have preceded us.

We of this generation for the first time have it truly within our power to build a lasting peace and to build it in such a manner that a new world of freedom and opportunity for all men can actually be realized within the foreseeable future.

The achievement of these tasks is the joint responsibility of all peace-loving nations, large and small. A special obligation also rests with the great powers which are carrying the main burden of the war. Effective and continuing collaboration among themselves and with other peace-lov-

ing nations is essential both to victory and to peace. That sacred obligation was recognized and met at the Crimea Conference.

It is equally true that neither victory nor peace can be won without the full support of the American republics and without effective and continuing collaboration among themselves and with the rest of the world. That sacred obligation we must recognize and meet here at Mexico City.

We know that without the contributions that have been made by the American republics in the war the United Nations could not defeat the Axis aggressors.

This American strength—this strength of the New World—must also be built into the structure of peace if that structure is to endure.

I am thinking not only of the factories and farms and mines and forests—of all the developed and still undeveloped wealth of these western continents.

I am thinking not only of the power and the will of our nations to use this wealth for the good of all the people.

I am thinking also of those beliefs for which *Americans* of all our countries have lived and fought—beliefs that form for our peoples an unbreakable core of unity.

We believe in the essential worth and integrity and equal rights of the individuals and of individual nations, large and small.

We believe in the people and therefore in the right of the people to govern themselves in accordance with their own customs and desires.

We believe in peace, not war, and we have sought to practice peace, not war, in our dealings with each other and with countries in other parts of the world.

Let us recognize that this hour of our greatest opportunity is also an hour of danger and difficulty. We can as easily lose this opportunity as we can seize and use it. This is partly because our old enemies, aggression and tyranny, are now able to use for the corruption and oppression of the minds of men the very science that we seek to use for the enlightenment and freedom of men. So long as Nazi-Fascism exists anywhere in the world—or if it is ever permitted through disunity or indifference on our part to reestablish itself anywhere in the world—our peace and freedom are endangered.

(Continued on page 313)

## 'Building the Peace'

# What Is America's Foreign Policy?<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 24]

VOICE No. 1: Just what *is* America's foreign policy?

VOICE No. 2: What I want to know is, do we *have* a foreign policy?

VOICE No. 3: What does all this have to do with *me*, anyhow?

ANNOUNCER: (*Pause*)

Good questions, all of them, and the answers are *important*, and vitally concern *you*. We'll deal with them in this, the first in a new series of programs on our foreign policy, arranged by the NBC University of the Air. This evening, and for the next six programs in this series, we will present top officials of our State Department, who will talk about the problems of *Building the Peace*. The Secretary of State—Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.—will introduce this evening's program from Mexico City. Immediately following, Assistant Secretaries of State Dean Acheson and Archibald MacLeish will discuss American foreign policy, with special reference to the Crimea Conference, answering many questions of importance to your future and mine. Now to Mexico City and Secretary of State Stettinius. Come in, Mr. Stettinius.<sup>2</sup>

STETTINIUS: It is particularly appropriate that a series of broadcasts on the building of the peace should be opened from a conference of American nations in Mexico City. This conference propitiously follows the meeting in the Crimea which revealed the broad pattern of aims and purposes of the nations associated in the war and precedes the United Nations meeting to be held in San Francisco.

### PARTICIPANTS

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, Jr.  
Secretary of State

DEAN ACHESON  
Assistant Secretary of State

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH  
Assistant Secretary of State

KENNEDY LUDLAM  
Announcer for NBC

We Americans of all the American republics have lived our lives—have lived our histories—in the discovery and the building of new worlds.

We know that worlds can be discovered such as men in older continents had never imagined. We know that worlds can be built such as men in other ages had never seen. We are not frightened, therefore, or discouraged, or

dismayed when we are brought face to face with the necessity of creating something new—an effective world organization.

Delegates from the American republics are assembled in this beautiful city of Mexico to strengthen the fraternal ties developed through many decades, and to improve the inter-American system of relations.

They are engaged in the serious business of considering how their friendship and unity of purpose may best contribute to a world organization for peace, security, and a better way of life. This meeting affords a forum where the ideas and opinions of the American republics may be given expression.

Already we have offered to the conference resolutions intended to accomplish the more effective cooperation of the American republics within the proposed new world structure.

Our entire American past is a past of bold explorations, of hardy settlement, of arduous construction, of difficult beginnings. We are accustomed to labors without precedent. We are hardened to the seeming impossible. We know how to do what was never done before. We have brought a vast and untamed continent to human order within a space of time which would seem impossible to those who measure what can be done in the future by what has been done before. In the Americas we have sought to foster a spirit of neighborliness,

<sup>1</sup> This program broadcast over the National Broadcasting Company on Feb. 24, 1945 is the first of a series of seven broadcasts to be sponsored by the Department of State.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to technical communication difficulties between Washington and Mexico City, the speech of the Secretary of State was read from Washington by Assistant Secretary MacLeish.

which is indispensable to a new society of mankind.

We have good reason, therefore, for approaching the greatest labor of human history with such high hopes, with such unshakable determination. We have not listened in the past, and we will not listen in the future, to voices of frustration and defeat which tell us that we cannot do what we believe we must do. There is nothing in our American history that needed doing which did not find the men to do it.

But this labor of the construction of a peaceful world is not a labor to be spoken of in terms of hope and purposes only. Much has already been accomplished. Four nations have agreed among themselves on proposals for the organization of a peaceful world, and those proposals had been submitted to the people of the earth for their consideration. Never before has a proposal worked out by specialists and experts and agreed upon by representatives of several nations been submitted to such searching examination by the peoples of the world before its submission to a formal conference.

At the San Francisco conference, all of the United Nations will take part in setting up the permanent machinery for international security. They will participate as independent sovereign states. Sovereign equality of nations, large and small, is a basic principle underlying the Proposals.

Those Proposals not only embrace the sovereign equality of nations, but they also intend that the power of all nations shall be used in the interests of world peace, security, and freedom. Only on such a foundation may we realize the aspiration of mankind for a new and better world, with greater opportunity and well-being for all people.

The fact that the nations which took part in the primary discussions at Dumbarton Oaks were the nations which now bear, and have borne, the principal burden of the war makes it natural, and indeed inevitable, that Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, and China should have taken primary responsibility for the initiation of these Proposals, as they have been obliged to take primary responsibility for the prosecution of the war.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, however, were incomplete. They had to be supplemented in several important respects. This was one of the great accomplishments of the Crimea Conference.

The voting procedure agreed upon at the Crimea Conference is a procedure, as I stated to the inter-American conference two days ago, which recognizes "the two essential elements of a successful world organization—unity of action by the great powers who alone have the military and industrial strength to prevent aggression; and the equal sovereignty of all nations, large and small, who must act together to create the essential conditions of lasting peace".

Once the world Organization is established and measures for social and economic welfare are undertaken, the true democracy of the Organization of the world for peace will become apparent.

It is to put before the people of the United States the facts about the proposed world Organization that the Department of State has undertaken this series of broadcasts. I like to think that our people for the next few weeks will study, discuss, and reflect on these Proposals which are so significant to the destiny of all mankind. It is my belief, and the belief of my colleagues in the Department, that our duty in this regard is to put the facts before the country, and let the facts speak for themselves. This is the democratic method. It is the only method that will be acceptable to our people.

Here in Mexico City we have sought to support that democratic method by offering a resolution which declares the right of peoples to have free access to information. In this way, and only in this way, will truth, the enemy of tyranny, assert itself for the freedom and security of mankind.

**ANNOUNCER:** This is NBC in Washington. This is the first of a new series of programs on "Our Foreign Policy", arranged by NBC's University of the Air. (pause) "What is America's foreign policy?" A lot of people have expressed ideas on this subject, but for an authoritative answer, NBC's University of the Air calls on the Department of State. Now—Assistant Secretaries of State Archibald MacLeish and Dean Acheson.

**MACLEISH:** This is Archibald MacLeish. The primary purpose of this program is to provide answers to questions. The Department of State receives a great many questions every day. Some of them come in by letter to the Department. Some are asked in newspaper editorials, or by radio commentators. Some come out of public

meetings. Most of them are questions which can and should be answered. The Department of State, believing that a foreign policy is only as good as the people's support of it, and therefore the people's understanding of it, is very happy indeed to accept the offer of the National Broadcasting Company to put the principal officers of the Department on the air where they can speak to anyone who cares to listen. We will make no attempt to dramatize or dress up this program in any way. The people who speak to you will be the responsible officers of the Department, and what they say will be precisely what they think. My job will be to put the questions—making myself for that purpose what you might call, if not a public prosecutor, at least a public interrogator. The questions with which we will begin are questions now before us for answer in one form or another. As this series goes on, there will undoubtedly be questions asked from the floor—from the radio audience—from Americans at home and overseas—and these, too, we will attempt to answer, in so far as they can be answered in as large and open a meeting as this.

This evening, I have Dean Acheson here at the microphone. Dean Acheson is the senior Assistant Secretary, having served in the Department now for four years. At one time he was Under Secretary of the Treasury. I'd like to begin with a question that goes to the heart of the Department's work—its reason for existence: A question we are sometimes asked with a certain inflection in the public prints. The question is, "Have we *got* a foreign policy?" That is a question you must have been thinking about off and on these last five years, Dean. What do you say to it?

ACHESON: Well, I suppose what you mean by that question is what a man means when he asks: "Do we know where we're going from here and how to get there?" One thing we all know: We don't like it where we are.

MACLEISH: In the midst of a tough war, you mean?

ACHESON: All wars are tough—this one was tough and go for quite a while. And though we know we are going to win it now, we still have the hardest fighting ahead. Anyway, we know we don't like it where we are, and we don't want to be in the same spot again. But what you have to remember when you think about all this in terms

of foreign policy is that we have been in this particular spot quite a few times before.

MACLEISH: You mean, we've been at war before?

ACHESON: I mean we have been in wars before which were started by other people. If you take a good look at our history, you will find that we have been in this particular spot almost every time a major war has started. We have been right in the middle of it. You name any really big war that has gone on in this world for 200 years and see if we haven't been in it.

MACLEISH: That would seem to add up to quite an indictment of our foreign policy.

ACHESON: Not at all. It is merely to state one of the facts of life. Great wars always have and always must involve us, because one side or the other wants to do something which affects us. When the European powers fought during our early history they wanted to conquer portions of this continent. In the last two world wars the aggressor nations wanted to deal with the other free nations first and then issue their orders to us, but they couldn't wait to finish the others before attacking us.

MACLEISH: What do you say those facts of life mean in terms of foreign policy?

ACHESON: Well, first, there's the fact that we have some 50 independent nations on this globe, each with different traditions, interests, and resources. Each of these nations, regardless of its size and power, is a sovereign nation. Another important fact of international life is that we in the United States live not on the far edge, but right smack in the middle, of this community of some 50 independent nations—and therefore what they do affects us.

MACLEISH: That sounds pretty simple and elementary.

ACHESON: And so it is. But unless I am entirely mistaken it is the bedrock explanation of why American foreign policy has got to be directed in one of two ways: either toward organized international cooperation, or toward aggressive imperialistic militarism.

MACLEISH: Would you mind explaining that in more detail?

ACHESON: Well, what I mean is this: We don't want to go through life as a nation or as individuals always living either in the middle of or on the edge of a brawl. And if you have some 50

nations who are laws unto themselves there are broadly two choices: either try to organize the community to get order by agreement, or become strong enough yourself to impose your particular brand of order by force on others. The Romans, earlier, and the Germans and Japanese, more recently, have tried the second choice. It doesn't seem to have worked for them, and I am certain we would be even worse at it simply because we haven't been bred to it as individuals or as a nation. But up to recent years, I don't believe we as a nation faced up to the fact that, this being a world of alternatives, our alternative was to base our foreign policy on organized international cooperation.

MACLEISH: What do you mean by a foreign policy based upon organized international cooperation?

ACHESON: Like anything else it's best defined in terms of what it means in action. In practice it means reaching agreement with other nations. I guess that's the literal meaning of "cooperation"—doing things together. And those "things" range anywhere from settling a border problem with one other neighboring nation to such things as the projected collective action of all the United Nations at the San Francisco conference in April in establishing an organization to maintain peace. We must not fool ourselves; there's nothing easy about a foreign policy of organized international cooperation. It is usually a torturingly difficult process, but in very plain language it's our best bet.

MACLEISH: I think most of us realize by now that we've got to have such a policy, that we can't stay on the sidelines and depend on blindfold and fancy devices to keep us out of wars.

ACHESON: Yes, we know now that neutrality acts, and cash-and-carry acts, and Johnson acts won't save us from wars that break out in other parts of the earth. We can't keep out of these wars because each one of them, if it is allowed to go on, sooner or later comes to us. Somebody wants to do something to us—such as drawing our teeth so that we can't be a factor in the war. Or he may want what we have. Or he may not like our ideas and our institutions. Anyhow, in the end, as history has proved to us now, every first-class war sooner or later comes to us. We can't keep out of it—at least we can't keep out of it and be the kind of people we are.

MACLEISH: That adds up to saying that our foreign policy has a good deal to do with the kind of people we are.

ACHESON: Obviously. For example, we in this country are a lot of inveterate individualists. We want to be ourselves. We don't want other people bossing us around. We are energetic people. We like to do things. We like to go around digging in the ground and seeing the results of our work. We are busy people. We like to see things happen. But, most of all, we are individualists. And for that reason, we love freedom—freedom to be ourselves. Maybe we could accomplish a lot more if we organized ourselves like ants. But we'd rather be free. That is the way we are and that is the way we will stay.

MACLEISH: And being that sort of people, we have a passionate attachment to certain beliefs—beliefs such as fair play and democracy. What people believe in makes them what they are. The Nazis and some Americans, too, like to say that we don't know what we're fighting for. Well, it is true that we don't have a neat, well-packaged, universally accepted set of national objectives. Only under a tyranny do you have that kind of unanimous agreement, and then it's only on the surface. But we do know what we believe in. Our strength as a nation lies in that fact. And our enemies have had an opportunity to discover what that strength amounts to.

ACHESON: Yes, we've managed to outfight them, and outgeneral them, and outlast them. That has been quite a surprise to the Nazis and the Japanese militarists who were so contemptuous of us a few years ago.

MACLEISH: What they don't understand, what they will never understand, is the strength of the basic American belief in the people. The idea of the people—of the dignity and responsibility of the people—is the idea we pioneered in the days of the American Revolution and have never forgotten. That revolutionary idea has never been stronger than it is today, for it has proved itself today in the ultimate test of battle. The Fascists and the Nazis put it in issue, and the issue has been decided, is being decided—against the Fascists and the Nazis and the rest of the pretenders.

ACHESON: I'm going to be a little less philosophical, if you don't mind, and more specific. I'd rather get down to cases. We don't think there is

anything in big people kicking the stuffing out of little people—therefore we are all for the underdog. The American is always for him. When people get kicked around, we don't like it. We are against all sorts of strong-arm tactics. We don't think brutality is the sign of greatness. We want a world that is free from bullies going around and beating people up and taking things away from them, or making them do what they don't want to do. And we want a world that is open to a busy, energetic life. Our foreign policy is to make that kind of a world.

MACLEISH: So we have a foreign policy?

ACHESON: Obviously.

MACLEISH: And I take it you think our foreign policy is related to the opinions of our people. Let's get down to cases on that too. The people clearly disapproved of Japan's aggression in Manchuria and Italy's in Ethiopia, and Italy's and Germany's in Spain. Did our foreign policy also disapprove?

ACHESON: The people may have disapproved but they didn't really think that these things affected them. The people as a whole didn't realize the danger that confronted us until 1939—or, rather, until the fall of France in 1940. When we saw the Germans overrunning western Europe, we were ready to start helping Britain and the democracies, even at the risk of getting into the war ourselves. We slowly began to realize we'd have to fight alone, sooner or later, if we didn't help to save our friends and potential allies. Now we are in it, and our main thought is to get it over and keep it from happening again.

MACLEISH: How much difference is there between foreign policy and domestic policy from the point of view of public opinion? Do you think that foreign policy lags behind public opinion more than domestic policy?

ACHESON: I think there is no difference. Foreign policy is not a thing apart. Foreign policy in a democracy is merely the expression of the people's purpose with reference to matters outside the nation, whereas domestic policy is concerned with matters inside the nation. Both kinds of policy must reflect the nation's purpose. The basic policy of this nation at home and abroad is to keep the way open for our kind of life—the life of free men and women working out their own salvation and respecting the right of other people to do the same.

MACLEISH: You might say that American policy, foreign as well as domestic, is to keep the future open—to keep *our* kind of future open.

ACHESON: Sounds a little poetic to me.

MACLEISH: That doesn't necessarily mean it isn't true.

ACHESON: I'd like to approach it from another angle—what a foreign policy is *not*? I think it might clear up some confusion to do that. For one thing, our foreign policy is *not* cloak-and-dagger diplomacy. Foreign policy may—ought to—reflect self-interest, national interest, but it is not a device to enable us to put it over on the other fellow. A lot of people who upbraid us these days for not having a strong foreign policy are really upbraiding us for not slapping our Allies across the face. Some of them seem to think that, unless you quarrel with your friends, you don't have a mind of your own.

MACLEISH: I would guess that another thing that a foreign policy is *not* is a file system of plans for every contingency. You can't push a button or look in a card file under "A" and find the answers to all the questions on Afghanistan, Albania, and Australia. Foreign policy, as the word policy indicates, is really a set of general objectives. How you obtain those objectives depends on the situation at a given place and time.

ACHESON: And we might name a few specific policies which have been our main objectives at certain times and places—the Monroe Doctrine; the good-neighbor policy; the open door in China; lend-lease to our Allies in this war; Dumbarton Oaks.

MACLEISH: You said at the beginning, Dean, that the real question of foreign policy is "Where do we go from here, and how do we get where we want to go?" Well, how *do* we get where we want to go from where we are? We know we want peace. We know we want security. We know we want a sort of international freedom of opportunity. How do we get them?

ACHESON: The great majority of Americans want to join as soon as possible a world organization to preserve the peace.

MACLEISH: I'd say that that objective was reflected in the decisions of the Crimea Conference, wouldn't you?

ACHESON: Yes, the results of that Conference were in complete harmony with American opinion. That explains why the Conference was so widely



acclaimed. The Conference declaration showed that we and our Allies can get together on controversial issues. It showed that if we place unity first we can reach a compromise with some concessions from each side. And I think there was a great feeling of relief that our plans for post-war world organization will go forward while the war is still on. That's very important—to get things settled now, so that trouble won't begin to develop among the Allies.

MACLEISH: What in your opinion was the most important feature of the Yalta agreement?

ACHESON: From a long-range viewpoint, I should say the completion of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals by agreement on voting procedures in the proposed Security Council, and the agreement on the treatment of Germany. These are powerful factors in the building of an enduring peace. But for the immediate future, the decision on the Polish question was a great achievement. It will help a lot in settling this important question.

MACLEISH: Some writers have taken exception to the terms of the Polish decision. To read them you'd think Poland had been sold down the river.

ACHESON: I don't think that's typical of more than a small minority. Most of the press comment I've seen is to the effect that it's a very fair arrangement. The Crimea Conference came to an agreement that the eastern frontier of Poland should be based upon the Curzon Line.

MACLEISH: Yes, and it was more or less an accident of history that this was not the boundary of Poland after World War I. In 1919, at the Versailles conference, Allied representatives, including American representatives, felt that a Polish frontier, based generally on the Curzon Line, would be desirable. They found that to the east of this Line the population was predominantly Russian and Ukrainian, while to the west of it the population was predominantly Polish.

ACHESON: That's right, and today the Curzon Line generally represents the same division of peoples. Moreover, such variation as there may be from the Curzon Line under the Crimean agreement will favor the Poles. The Crimean agreement also provides that the new Polish Government will include Polish patriots outside the country, and this is to be done by a commission in which the Soviet Union will have one representative, Foreign Minister Molotov—and the United States and Britain one each—our Ambassadors to Moscow. Second, the new provisional

government will hold free elections with a secret ballot and universal suffrage. That also looks like a fair and reasonable arrangement.

MACLEISH: What about Greece? The Greek situation has also been a storm center. We've had plenty of mail about that.

ACHESON: Fortunately, that issue seems well on the way to being solved. The fighting has stopped over there. There is no question about the right of the Greeks to govern themselves and to hold free elections. Under the Yalta agreement, the three major powers will consult, if necessary, and joint action will be taken to guarantee democratic rights to the Greeks. The same applies to every liberated country, for the period of the transition to peace.

MACLEISH: And the terms for Germany?

ACHESON: The people who are most *unhappy* about the Crimea Conference are the Germans. They don't like the results because their last chance of splitting the Allies away from each other is gone. The game is up. The military leaders of our three countries will coordinate their final offensives more closely than ever, and we have served notice that not only Nazism, but the whole German military system, goes on the scrapheap. There's no misunderstanding that! No wonder the German leaders are worked up about it.

MACLEISH: The important thing is that at last we're going to take our full share of responsibility in building the peace, everywhere in the world. A small minority may call this "meddling"; but I think this policy will be generally approved, because the Americans believe in standing by their principles.

ACHESON: It will be a good guaranty that we are not fighting this war for nothing.

MACLEISH: But there is one more thing that I think should be emphasized here: Permanent peace is more than a matter of political organization. It's more than a matter of economic prosperity. It's also a matter of ideals—moral and spiritual values—without which we cannot have true peace. The ultimate sanction of an effective world organization, after all, will be the faith we—the United Nations—have in each other's moral sincerity.

ACHESON: But look here, Archie, you've been asking all the questions. Let me ask you one: What do you think is the most important thing about the Crimea Conference declaration?

MACLEISH: To me the most satisfying thing is the fact that we are now at last well on the road

to a permanent international organization. This time we're not waiting for a peace conference to set up the machinery. We made that mistake last time. We tried to run the war and the peace last time in two sections, and it didn't work. This time we're acting at the high tide of victory. We are determined to carry it through to success. That's the best insurance I know against World War III.

ACHESON: It all comes back to this: A country's foreign policy, like its domestic policy, stems from its national interests. The things we want most are peace from now on, and to see democracy grow in the world, and a chance to get around and see things and build things, here and abroad. That explains why the Crimea Conference report was so well received. It is obviously in line with our objectives and takes us a long way toward peace and security. Most people sense this, I think, and so they are happy about it.

MACLEISH: We started with the question: "Have we got a foreign policy?" I'd like to try to see whether we have arrived at an answer.

ACHESON: Go ahead.

MACLEISH: Well, your first reply, as I understood it, was that any nation, living as we do in the midst of some 50 different and independent nations, has two choices if it wishes an orderly world—to impose its brand of order on the world by force or to try to get the world to organize itself by agreement. As between these two alternatives, you thought the only workable choice for us was the second.

ACHESON: Right. We will either get order by organized international cooperation, or we won't get it.

MACLEISH: All right. And you concluded that we do have a foreign policy so far as this choice is concerned—that it is our policy to try to bring about the necessary international organization.

ACHESON: Yes. We have learned that we can't get by with substitutes and devices such as we tried in the years between the wars.

MACLEISH: But you felt, as I understood you, that our foreign policy was something more than a necessary choice between two alternatives—that it was positive also—that it reflected the kind of people we are.

ACHESON: That's right. Our foreign policy is to make the kind of world our kind of people *can* live in and want to live in—people who like to be

themselves and to be free and to get around and to build, to accomplish things.

MACLEISH: Then you made another point. You thought foreign policy and domestic policy were the same thing, as far as their relation to public opinion was concerned—that both kinds of policy must reflect the nation's purpose.

ACHESON: And we agreed that the Crimea Conference is a good example of foreign policy reflecting national purpose.

MACLEISH: We did. The Yalta communiqué reads like an answer to the questions which have been bothering the people most: what to do with Germany—how to pave the way for democratic governments in Poland, Greece, and other liberated countries.

ACHESON: You have forgotten the best news of all—that the British, the Russians, and ourselves agreed on the answer to the most difficult question left open at Dumbarton Oaks—the question of voting procedure.

MACLEISH: At the risk of seeming to philosophize again, I'd sum it all up by saying that we agree we have a foreign policy, that it is a foreign policy that works, and that the fundamental purpose is to keep the way open for the democratic future in which this Nation believes.

Next week, in the second of these programs, I'll have with me at the microphone Under Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew, and probably Alger Hiss, who was secretary of the Dumbarton Oaks conference and who recently returned from the Crimea Conference. We will talk about *Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks*. We'll delve a little deeper into our peace plans and proposals, then. Until next week, good-by.

ANNOUNCER: That was Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Public and Cultural Relations. With him was Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson, who is in charge of congressional relations and international conferences.

This was the first of a series of programs on our foreign policy, arranged by NBC's University of the Air, both for listeners at home and for service men and women overseas, to be transmitted to them, wherever they are stationed, through the Armed Forces Radio Services. Six more programs will feature top officials of the Department of State, on the following subjects:

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals,  
World Trade and World Peace,  
What About the Liberated Areas?

What About the Enemy Countries?  
Our Good Neighbors in Latin America, and  
The State Department Itself.

Questions are invited on any or all of these subjects. Just send them to the State Department in Washington and we'll get as many answers for you as we can.

A pamphlet containing all of the seven broadcasts of this series in which State Department officials are participating will be supplied to you upon request. You should address your request to the Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. Separate copies of this evening's program alone are also available upon request.

Next Saturday at the same time you will hear a program entitled *Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks*. Archibald MacLeish will be back, this time with Under Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew and

Alger Hiss, Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs of the State Department. Be sure to be on hand when they answer such questions as these:

VOICE No. 1: What has all this talk about Dumbarton Oaks got to do with me?

VOICE No. 2: How can you expect any world organization to work with so much power politics going on?

VOICE No. 3: What about the small nations: Where do they come in?

ANNOUNCER: These are questions we've got to answer. For we all have a part to play in *Building the Peace*. Yes—the war is still to be won—and we're winning it—but this time we must win the peace too!

Until next week at the same time, then. This is NBC in Washington.

## Report on the President's Trip Following the Crimea Conference

[Released to the press by the White House February 20]

The President with members of his immediate party left Livadia in the afternoon motoring over mountain roads along the Black Sea to Sevastopol where they spent the night aboard a United States Navy auxiliary ship. The route took the party over a battlefield nearly a century old where the historic Light Brigade made its famous charge in the Crimean War of 1854-56. For many miles the roadway led through territory bitterly contested by Russian and German armies in the recent Crimean campaigns.

At Sevastopol the President saw scenes of stark destruction by the Germans. The city was virtually leveled to the ground except for walls of homes and buildings which mines, bombs, and guns in recent battles left standing like billboards, mute testimony of horrible, wanton Nazi vengeance. The President said he lacked words to describe adequately such devastation. Out of thousands of buildings, he was told, only six were left in useful condition when the Germans fled.

In the dark hours of the next morning the President continued his trip by motor to an airfield where Foreign Commissar Molotov and a guard of honor were present to bid him farewell. There, airplanes of the United States Air Transport

Command were waiting to take him south to Egypt, a distance of about five and one-half hours' flying time. Measured by climates, however, the interval spelled the difference between the snow-capped mountains of the Crimea and the desert sands and the tropical scenery of the fertile Nile Delta. Cairo, where the President and Churchill met in December 1943, and traveled together to meet Marshal Stalin in Tehran, was within a few minutes' air reach of his stopping place on this visit.

On his previous visit the President went to see King Farouk, who was in a hospital recovering from injuries sustained in an automobile accident. This time, however, His Majesty was the President's first caller. He was received aboard a United States man-of-war at anchor in Great Bitter Lake, through which the Suez Canal passes. The President was on deck to greet the King when he arrived shortly before noon. As soon as the formalities of the meeting were over, the two were deep in earnest discussions of many questions affecting American-Egyptian relations. These continued through luncheon. Guests included United States Minister S. Pinkney Tuck; Hassanein Pasha, Chamberlain of the Royal Household; Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, the President's

Chief of Staff; Mrs. John Boettiger, the President's daughter; and Harry Hopkins, Special Assistant to the President.

Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, and the members of his staff were received later in the afternoon. He was accompanied by United States Minister J. K. Caldwell; Ras Kassa, President of the Crown Council; Ato Aklilou Habte Wold, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Ato Yilma Dersessa, Vice Minister of Finance, together with other advisers. The President conversed in French.

In talking with the Emperor, the President stressed communications between the United States and Ethiopia and said he hoped, with improvements of communications, particularly by air, the two countries would come to know each other better. The Emperor told the President of the many improvements recently made in Abyssinia and enthusiastically endorsed the President's hope for closer relations.

The President took advantage of the opportunity to thank the Emperor in person for the site and buildings he and the Empress gave the United States to use as a legation in Addis Ababa.

In his conversations earlier in the day with King Farouk, the President referred to the purchase by the United States of large quantities of long-staple Egyptian cotton during the war and stressed the hope that greatly increased exchange of other commodities would be developed in the future. The importance of two-way future trade was stressed. Tourist travel to Egypt, the President said, was certain to become greater after the war than before. He predicted thousands of Americans would visit Egypt and the Nile region after the war, by ship and by air.

King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia was received by the President amid colorful and impressive ceremonies. They met during the afternoon of the day following the President's reception of King Farouk and Emperor Haile Selassie.

The Arabian monarch had traveled more than 800 miles from the Red Sea port of Jidda in order that he might meet the President. It was the first time in his life that he had left his country's soil, and this was interpreted by members of his party as an unprecedented honor for the visiting Chief Executive of the United States.

The occasion, however, was notable in many other ways. A destroyer had been put at the King's disposal for the trip, and it was said to be

the first warship in history to enter the port of Jidda, as well as the first United States vessel of its kind to pass through the Suez Canal during World War II. The destroyer decks were covered with rich oriental rugs, while gilded chairs gave added touches of unusual splendor, as, also, did the flowing robes and accessories that make the Arabian dress so strikingly picturesque.

While a cabin was prepared for the King aboard his ship, he preferred to live out of doors. A tent, therefore, was set up on the forecabin deck, and he lived in it as if he were making a pilgrimage somewhere in the vast desert regions of Arabia. The King's entourage numbered 48, comprising his brother, Emir Abdullah; Emir Mohammed and Emir Mansour, sons of the King; Sheikh Abdullah Es-Suleiman, Minister of Finance; Sheikh Yussuf Yassin, Deputy Foreign Minister; Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, Minister to London; and others.

Col. William A. Eddy, Marine Corps, retired, now serving as American Minister to Saudi Arabia, also accompanied the King.

The President, seated on the forward gun deck of his ship, received the royal visitors as the crew manned the rails, bugle calls sounded, and the shrill notes of the boatswain's pipe kept all hands standing rigidly at attention.

The President and the King continued their talks long after the luncheon hour.

The discussions were in line with the President's desire that heads of governments throughout the world should get together whenever possible to talk as friends and exchange views in order better to understand the problems of one another.

Another conference between the President and Prime Minister Churchill was held at Alexandria. Although it lasted less than four hours—a brief affair when compared to the eight days they spent together with Marshal Stalin in the Crimea—the meeting in Egypt permitted new and important discussions of at least one subject which they could not take up before. That had to do with Japan and the war in the Pacific, where Soviet Russia is a neutral power.

Mr. Churchill told the President in blunt words that his government was determined to throw everything it had at the Japs as soon as Germany has been defeated and, meanwhile, would do all it could to strengthen its forces already engaged in that conflict.

Secretary Stettinius, en route from Moscow to make official calls in Liberia, southwest Africa, and Brazil and thence to the inter-American conference in Mexico City, was waiting to see the President when he reached Alexandria. The Secretary reported on the meetings he held in Moscow with Foreign Commissar Molotov. He told the President they had been altogether satisfactory and that he had thoroughly enjoyed his visit to the Russian capital.

Ambassador Winant had been invited to join the President's party and had come by air from London. He and the President spent hours together during the several days he remained with the party.

Two more ambassadors, Jefferson Caffery from Paris and Alexander Kirk from Rome, were found waiting in the French city of Algiers, the last stopping place on the road to Washington. They had been given advance notice of the President's coming, and, in that way, it was made possible for him personally to bring the three ambassadors up to date on all that took place in the Crimea Conference as well as to advise them fully regarding his meetings with the rulers of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Abyssinia.

When the President reaches Washington, he will have traveled approximately 14,000 miles—more than half-way around the world. At no time during his journeys, however, was he beyond almost instantaneous reach of the White House or other officials in Washington. This was made possible by communications facilities provided and operated by the Army and Navy. The volume of traffic, incoming and outgoing, remained continuously heavy but was moved with surprising speed and accuracy—without interruption or delay. Mail moved according to regularly planned schedules to and from the White House. And so it was possible for the President to keep pace with the demands of his office at home on the one hand and to attend to conference work on the other.

General de Gaulle, as President of the Provisional Government of France, was invited by President Roosevelt to meet with him in Algiers. The invitation was given the General in Paris by Ambassador Caffery and had been sent from Yalta, Crimea, six days in advance of his arrival in Algiers. In his message the President told the General he had hoped very much to meet him in

continental France but that time pressure made it impossible to get to Paris, much as he would like to do so. He again expressed warm thanks for the invitation the Government of France extended him when he was in Quebec attending the last conference there.

As dispatched from Yalta, the President's invitation concluded with an expression of real hope that the alternative proposal for a meeting in Algiers would be satisfactory to the French leader. The President was most disappointed when advised that official business did not permit the General to come to Algiers.

"Questions of mutual interest and importance to France and the United States are pending", the President said. "I wanted very much to see the General before leaving for home."

## Visit of the Secretary of State To Liberia

[Released to the press February 19]

The visit of the Secretary of State to Liberia on February 16, 1945 marks the first time an American Secretary of State has visited that Republic, and his stay there was regarded as an event of considerable importance.

Landing at Roberts Field late in the afternoon, the Secretary drove 52 miles by automobile to Monrovia, the capital of Liberia. On the way the Secretary and his party passed through the extensive plantations where natural rubber is collected for shipment to the United States.

President William V. S. Tubman, his entire Cabinet, the Chief Justice, a number of Senators, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives received the Secretary at the executive mansion in Monrovia.<sup>1</sup> Dinner at the executive mansion followed the reception, and the Secretary then returned to Roberts Field, taking off shortly after midnight for Natal.

President Tubman and his colleagues expressed their full appreciation of the Secretary's visit and showed the Secretary and his party the utmost hospitality. The Secretary was requested by President Tubman to convey his warmest personal greetings and best wishes to President Roosevelt.

<sup>1</sup> For the statement made by the Secretary on being received by President Tubman, see BULLETIN of Feb. 18, 1945, p. 219.

# Adherence by Venezuela to the Declaration by United Nations

## EXCHANGE OF COMMUNICATIONS

[Released to the press February 20]

FEBRUARY 16, 1945.

### EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency the following declaration given to the press last night by the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Venezuela:

"Declaration XV, proposed and signed by Venezuela in the Habana Meeting of Consultation and subsequently specially approved by the National Congress, is the origin and legal basis of the attitude adopted by the Republic by the side of the United Nations toward the aggressor Powers.

"The signatories of the above-mentioned document recognized and proclaimed that an attack by a non-American country against any nation of the Continent would be considered as an act of aggression against them all. It was in execution of that undertaking that the President of the Republic, at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, which occurred December 7, 1941, publicly stated the decision of the Government to keep faithfully its pledge of solidarity, and shortly afterward provided, in the Council of Ministers, for the breaking off of relations between Venezuela and the Axis Powers. This rupture and the decree whereby the effects of the Venezuelan neutrality legislation were suspended in favor of American countries at war mark precisely the moment when Venezuela abandoned her position as a neutral country.

"Days later, when the Third Meeting of Consultation was constituted at Rio de Janeiro, Venezuela proposed, together with Colombia and Mexico, that all the nations of America that had not done so should break off the diplomatic relations they had with the Axis countries and asked, with other Republics, that the American community adopt as its own the principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter, to which it subsequently formally adhered.

"The Government of Venezuela has not hesitated to give to the United Nations, within its possibili-

ties, its political, economic and military cooperation. To this end it agreed with the Governments of the United States and the Netherlands on conditions for the defense in common of the Caribbean Sea and the Netherlands West Indies; it fortified certain points of the coast to cooperate in the action of the Allied bases; it agreed with the British Government on preventive measures for the defense of the Gulf of Paria; it fortified the Island of Patos and combined its action with that of the American base of Trinidad; it opened its ports and airports to the vessels and aircraft of friendly belligerent countries; it seized ships interned in Venezuela and belonging to totalitarian powers; it passed measures for watching and restraining the activities of aliens or nationals which might endanger the security of any American country; it placed under governmental control the movement of funds belonging to Axis citizens; it liquidated or expropriated commercial, industrial and transportation enterprises belonging to them and, in short, gave strict execution to all measures derived from the inter-American agreements of the country, always demonstrating its will to aid by all the means within its power the triumph of the United Nations.

"On its part the German Government has committed definite acts of aggression against the Republic, such as the sinking of vessels of national flag, with loss of Venezuelan lives, and recently went so far in its hostile attitude as the barbarous shooting of an illustrious prelate of our church.

"In virtue of such facts, and because they characterize unmistakably the situation created, the National Government recognizes the existence of a state of belligerency between Venezuela on the one hand and Germany and Japan on the other.

"The President of the Republic has accordingly conferred full powers on the Ambassador in Washington to sign the document of adherence of Venezuela to the Declaration by United Nations, dated January 1, 1942."

I avail [etc.]

ARTURO LARES

His Excellency E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.,

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

FEBRUARY 19, 1945.

## EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Embassy's note of February 16, 1945, in which it is stated that the National Government of Venezuela recognizes the existence of a state of belligerency between Venezuela on the one hand and Germany and Japan on the other, and that the President of the Republic of Venezuela has accordingly conferred full powers on you to sign for the adherence of Venezuela to the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942.

The Government of the United States, as depository for the Declaration, is gratified to welcome Venezuela formally into the ranks of the United Nations. Arrangements are being made for you to sign the Declaration on February 20, 1945.

Accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State*

His Excellency  
Señor Dr. DON DIÓGENES ESCALANTE,  
*Ambassador of Venezuela.*

REMARKS BY THE AMBASSADOR OF VENEZUELA UPON SIGNING<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 20]

When the attack on Pearl Harbor occurred, Venezuela was one of the first republics of the continent to sever diplomatic relations with the Axis governments, thus aligning itself with the nations that are defending the cause of right and justice, at a time when it seemed that these noble ideals were about to be submerged by a wave of aggression and barbarity. In doing so, my country was adhering to the attitude which it had assumed in numerous pan-American conferences, especially at the Habana Consultative Meeting of 1940. As will be remembered, Venezuela was the nation which there proposed the famous Declaration XV, whereby the American republics agreed to consult one another and to provide appropriate means of defense in case one of them should be the victim of an attack on the part of an extra-continental power. This Declaration has been the cornerstone of the inter-American system of cooperation and defense.

Since that time Venezuela has been cooperating with the Allied nations in the common effort to win the victory; we hastened to take necessary measures to prevent any act of sabotage against petroleum production, and today we can say that, due to this foresight, there has been no interruption at any time to our important supplies of that vital fuel for the Allied fleets and armies; we have agreed with the powers concerned upon military measures for the common defense of certain sectors of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Paria; we have opened our ports and airfields to the vessels and airplanes of friendly belligerent nations; by means of drastic legislation we have frozen the funds and paralyzed and liquidated the businesses of Axis nationals; we have kept strict watch over

the subversive activities of the latter, placing some in confinement and imprisoning others. In short, we have given all that our resources and our capacity have permitted. In this attitude the Government of Venezuela has always had the unrestricted support of all its people, who, faithful to their traditions, have from the beginning of the struggle given all their moral support to the cause of the democracies.

To this action of alignment in the field of justice and civilization, the Axis responded with its accustomed scorn for human rights; Venezuelan lives and Venezuelan property were destroyed by Germany upon the sinking of vessels which flew our flag; and these deeds culminated recently in the shooting of Bishop Salvador Montes de Oca, the eminent prelate of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Venezuela. The energetic protests of my Government in all these cases have received a scornful silence from Germany as a reply.

In consequence of the situation which I mention, Venezuela has been in a *de facto* state of belligerency with the Axis powers since the days of Pearl Harbor, and it is this *de facto* state which my Government has regularized into a *de jure* state by declaring officially, on the fourteenth instant, such belligerency toward Germany and Japan.

Thus formalizing its original attitude, Venezuela will continue to cooperate faithfully with the United Nations, by every means within its power, in the common effort to obtain the victory and a new order of things which will consecrate the principles of the Atlantic Charter and guarantee to nations and to men the right to live free and in peace.

<sup>1</sup> Made at the Department of State on Feb. 20, 1945.

It is a great honor for me to fulfil the mandate which His Excellency President General Isafas Medina Angarita has given me to sign, in the name of the Government over which he presides, Venezuela's formal adherence to the Declaration by the United Nations.

#### REMARKS BY ACTING SECRETARY GREW<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 20]

We are happy to welcome Venezuela formally into the ranks of the United Nations. Long ago Venezuela aligned itself firmly with us by breaking relations with the Axis and by taking effective measures to control and suppress Axis activities. Venezuela has rendered and is rendering important contributions to the prosecution of the war, placing its vast petroleum resources at the disposition of the United Nations and making available

its other products. We are confident that Venezuela will continue its faithful cooperation with the United Nations in the common war effort.

We are making steady advances toward complete victory over our enemies, but we know that many months may elapse before all of the Axis forces have laid down their arms. It is heartening to have Venezuela attach its signature to the compact of the United Nations and thus become formally joined with the other nations which have pledged their full resources in the war against the Axis.

As the aims of the United Nations contemplate the building of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security in the future, we welcome Venezuela as a full partner in that great task. We need the collaboration of all governments and peoples who would live free and in peace.

## Adherence by Uruguay to the Declaration by United Nations

### EXCHANGE OF COMMUNICATIONS

[Released to the press February 24]

An exchange of communications regarding the adherence of Uruguay to the Declaration by United Nations follows:

FEBRUARY 23, 1945.

I have to communicate to Your Excellency that by means of a law and decree adopted yesterday, the Oriental Republic of Uruguay declared itself in a state of war against Germany and Japan. By this act the Uruguayan people and Government, fully united with the forces defending the rights of humanity since the beginning of the present conflict, assume in law the position which they have occupied in fact especially since the attack on Pearl Harbor; and bring to culmination a procedure guided always by their democratic traditions and their profound faith in justice and right. Likewise, it has been decided to adhere to the Declaration by United Nations signed at Washington January 1, 1942, and for this purpose our Ambassador in Washington is authorized to sign it in the name of the Republic.

Accept, Excellency, my best wishes for your personal well-being.

JOSE SERRATO  
*Minister of Foreign Relations*

FEBRUARY 24, 1945.

I have received your telegram of February 23, 1945, stating that by means of a law and decree of February 22 Uruguay declares itself in a state of war against Germany and Japan; that by this act the Uruguayan people and Government, fully united with the forces defending the rights of humanity since the beginning of the present conflict, assume in law the position which they have occupied in fact especially since the attack on Pearl Harbor; that Uruguay has decided to adhere to the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942; and that the Uruguayan Ambassador at Washington has been authorized to sign the Declaration in the name of Uruguay.

The Government of the United States, as depository for the Declaration, is gratified to welcome Uruguay formally into the ranks of the United Nations. Ambassador Blanco is signing the Declaration on this date, February 24, 1945.

Please accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State*

<sup>1</sup> Made at the Department of State on the occasion of the signing by Venezuela.



# International Understanding: A Foundation for the Peace

By DOROTHY FOSDICK<sup>1</sup>

THE PROMOTION of understanding and friendship across national lines has been one of the most popular activities undertaken by educational institutions and internationally minded private agencies in this country. Yet today many people are asking what really important result comes from these efforts. Do student exchanges, international meetings, the distribution of literature on other lands, international festivals, for example, have any real significance in such a cataclysmic time? It is readily understandable how the international attitudes of those who directly participate in these efforts are strengthened. But what relation do these efforts have to the grave political issues of our day? Settlement of these issues does not seem to depend upon the people's small efforts. While it is neighborly and fun to work to promote better understanding among the peoples of the world, many persons deep in their hearts seem increasingly to doubt whether such activities really are worth it! In the interests of enduring peace those who have these doubts must have their faith renewed.

## I

A first fact that needs to be emphasized is that one can no longer rely simply on the understanding and knowledge of the politician and of the statesman for the formulation of our foreign policy. In the modern world the peoples as well as the governments participate in the formulation and development of foreign policies. Not many years back some governments determined upon policies and pursued them without much reference to their people. Today, however, governments listen to the people. The Nazi Government in Germany and the militarist Government in Japan have recognized this necessity. Because they are afraid of the people, those Governments do everything in their power to create "followers", putting into their mouths what they want them to say. They deprive them of a free vote and break up their free associations. They regiment the press, the radio, and the lecture platform. They use the

most modern techniques to befuddle and deceive systematically.

In a democracy like ours, however, the people can vote. They are organized into local, state, and national groups of a bewildering variety. The people have at their disposal the press, radio, and the forum. They speak for themselves. The Government thus relies on the people: It counts for a great proportion of its ideas on the spontaneous discussions of the people; it molds its policies to meet their demands; it explains its decisions.

The whole people now must gain something of the knowledge and understanding that once only the politician and the statesman needed. They must know what the life of other peoples is like, what they have suffered during these tragic years of war, what they value as a people, in what they are skilled and what not skilled, their character, their qualities, and their beliefs. They must know enough to be able to interpret what they hear and read about other peoples. They must learn their habits of humor so that they will understand the tone of what is said. Only through such a knowledge and understanding can the whole people live up to their new responsibility.

## II

A second fact is that one cannot rely simply on the understanding and knowledge of the foreign offices to assure sound conduct of our foreign relations. In the old days the foreign offices operated in a world apart; today the people participate with the foreign offices in the day-to-day contacts which make up our international relations. The people of one country now talk directly through the forums, in the press, and on the radio to the people in another country. Recently this situation was illustrated in the debate on foreign policy between certain sections of the American and the British press. This was not an isolated

<sup>1</sup> Miss Fosdick is Assistant in International Organization, Division of International Organization Affairs, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State.

or peculiar incident; it was merely an unusually dramatic one. The revolutionary means of modern communication have put people everywhere into common intercommunication. Messages are now carried, moreover, not to a single listener nor to a few correspondents but to millions of listeners and to millions of readers. Assistant Secretary MacLeish recently wrote: "Whether we like it or not we will find ourselves living at the war's end in a speaking, listening net of international intercommunication so sensitive and so delicately responsive that a whisper anywhere will be heard around the earth."<sup>1</sup>

In this sort of a world a common understanding and a mutual confidence is not a luxury. If ill-tempered and irresponsible talk prevails, constructive efforts are imperiled. If men doubt each other's purposes and misunderstand each other's intentions, the hands of their governments in trying to organize the world for peace are seriously weakened. There must be free, frank, and open exchanges of opinion among the peoples. But it is essential that such exchanges be rooted in an appreciation of each other's interests, in trust in each other's purposes, and in a belief that the common cause of all the people everywhere is peace.

### III

The most important task now confronting both the peoples and their governments is to build for an enduring peace. To carry this task through, the major Allies, who now bear the main responsibility for bringing the war to a successful conclusion, must continue to *work together* in building the peace. If this indispensable collaboration is to continue, a firm foundation of mutual trust and understanding between these states must be developed.

During this war, in spite of some differences among the major Allies, a determination to trust each other and to work together has always been evident. This determination roots partly in a genuine appreciation of each other's interests. But this determination comes also from an understanding of the common fate that all would share if the menace of Fascism prevailed. This sense of common destiny has led the four major Allies not only to cooperate in the war but it has led them

also to take important joint steps to prepare for the peace.

The United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China have committed themselves in the Moscow Declaration, even in the midst of war, to the establishment of a permanent general international organization to preserve the peace after the war.

Preliminary conversations already have been held among these same four states. At those Conversations this summer at Dumbarton Oaks a general plan for the principles, machinery, and powers of the general Organization was tentatively agreed upon. As one who was at those Conversations during the seven weeks, I can testify to the genuinely cooperative and accommodating spirit that prevailed throughout. Full and frank discussion took place in plenary conference sessions, in committee meetings, and in informal discussions out in the gardens of Dumbarton Oaks, on the terrace of the swimming pool, and across the card-tables set up at lunchtime under the oak trees. Everyone there labored patiently and hopefully to achieve a genuine understanding and agreement. Under Secretary Grew recently made the statement that "in the many international conferences in which I have participated during the past 40 years I have never experienced such a seriousness of purpose, nor such a sense of responsibility, as that displayed at Dumbarton Oaks".<sup>2</sup>

The joint plan that issued from these Conversations, known to most of us as the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, is now before the people for their study and discussion. Unlike a draft treaty, the form in which the League of Nations first came before the public, the Proposals are in the form of a plan of organization which the people as well as other governments have been invited to study and comment upon.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals will be used as a basis of discussion at the United Nations conference to be held in San Francisco beginning on April 25. This conference, representing a great body of states, will prepare the Charter of the Organization in the form of a treaty to be submitted to the various governments for their ratification.

The procedure followed in planning for and in establishing the general Organization is a great tribute to the possibilities of joint action by the major Allies. But once the fear of their common fate is removed by the collapse of Germany and

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 14, 1945, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 17, 1944, p. 743.

Japan, the continued cooperation of those Allies will depend primarily upon the respect which the people have for each other and upon their recognition of a common interest in the peace. With the collapse of the common foe we will be thrown back again on the more enduring and less dramatic ties of friendship and trust. If we are not prepared to do everything we can to cultivate these ties, we will run the risk of the major Allies' going in different directions.

Such a development would be truly disastrous. The Organization proposed at Dumbarton Oaks can be successful only if the principal powers fully and whole-heartedly cooperate to make it effective. If the major powers develop fundamentally divergent policies and if they persist in pursuing those policies at the expense of the cooperative effort to preserve international peace and security, no arrangements can finally preserve the peace whether they are bilateral, regional, or universal. In any relation we can expect some strains and stresses. Differences are inevitable, as Marshal Stalin wisely reminded us in his recent speech on foreign policy. The crucial requirement is to stand together and to deal with differences as they arise. To do this, the major powers must have underlying respect for each other and a live recognition of mutual interests and common objectives. No more important work can be done than to cement the ties between ourselves, and between the peoples of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France so that these peoples may become the solid nucleus of a world organization embracing eventually all nations.

#### IV

To build for an enduring peace, it is not enough that only the major Allies work together. If there is machinery to bring only the major states together, those states would soon find themselves in the dubious position of having to impose their decisions upon the other nations. Such a situation would be inherently unjust and unstable. A positive and constructive peace requires that all peace-loving states, regardless of their size or power, should collaborate. Only in a climate of understanding can such general collaboration be sustained.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals envisage international machinery and procedures through which all nations devoted to peace would work together

in the common task of preserving peace. Membership in the Organization would be open to all peace-loving states. Since it would be the prime concern of the Organization to have as many states as possible become peace-loving, the membership provisions point toward universality.

In public comment on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals the pacific settlement and enforcement arrangements in the plan have received most attention. Those arrangements are indeed central. Another vital aspect of the Proposals, however, should be pointed out—the arrangements for cooperation to create positively the conditions conducive to peace. The Proposals vest in the General Assembly, in which all states members of the Organization would be represented, and in an economic and social council under its authority, responsibility for promoting the solution of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems and the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Picture to yourselves this Economic and Social Council, composed of representatives of 18 member countries elected every 3 years by the General Assembly, dedicated to assisting the nations to advance their welfare and to solve their urgent problems, among others, of food, finance, health, and education. Working with this widely representative agency and under its direction would be a number of highly competent commissions, staffed by experts and research specialists in the various fields calling for international collaboration. Then all the existing and projected specialized international agencies dealing with economics, finance, agriculture, education, aviation, relief, and other matters would be brought into relation with the Organization on mutually agreeable terms. The Economic and Social Council would offer a means of assisting in the coordinating of the activities of these organizations and in supplementing their work. The General Assembly, meanwhile, would back up the Economic and Social Council, would stimulate it into greater activity, and would review its work.

For these arrangements actually to breathe with life and activity, however, the peoples must have a real desire to help each other solve each other's problems. They must feel that it is worthwhile that men and women everywhere should have better ways of living, better education for their children, and more freedom, and a better chance for

a person to live up to the best that is in him. For this conviction to go deep enough to last through the inevitable strains and stresses of such a large-scale cooperative effort, there must be a real sense of living men and women around the world, a solid respect for people as people. If this positive approach to the peace is to flourish, mutual respect among the peoples of the world must be cultivated.

## V

We are fortunate in this country to be so well prepared for the task of extending understanding across national lines. Our great institutions of education and of culture and our many internationally minded private agencies are able to shoulder the main responsibility. Moreover, the program of cultural relations is at the center of the concerns of the Department of State. The Department does not consider its program in this field a decoration, a frill, or an ornament added to the otherwise serious business of foreign relations.

The Department, together with the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, has for a number of years carried on a reciprocal program of cultural relations with the other American republics. Such a program includes the exchanges of professors and students, dissemination of books, periodicals, and movies, special radio broadcasts, and technical missions requested by the states to assist in development projects. The Department is looking forward to the extension of such a program among the other nations and peoples of the world. On March 31, 1944 the Department issued a statement indicating that it wished increasingly to encourage democratic international cooperation in developing, on a reciprocal basis, desirable educational and cultural relations among the nations and peoples of the world especially looking toward the promotion of free and friendly intercourse among them in the interest of international peace and security.

In April 1944 the State Department sent a delegation of six to the Meeting of Allied Ministers of Education held in London. There they met with representatives of ten of the United Nations who had been meeting periodically ever since the autumn of 1942. Also present were observers from Soviet Russia, the British Dominions, and India. In the course of this meeting and under the chairmanship of Representative Fulbright a tentative draft constitution for a provisional

United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction was prepared, which since then has been submitted to all the United Nations and to the governments associated with them in this war. That work done in London, which is now being studied by the interested governments, lays the groundwork for an international organization for educational and cultural development, which could be included among the specialized agencies related to the general Organization proposed at Dumbarton Oaks.

One question that may be of special interest, in which the State Department has been working, is whether an agreement among the nations relating to the free interchange of news and of information would be feasible. Such freedom of information would include the right of all responsible persons and agencies engaged in gathering and disseminating information to the public of their own countries to discharge, without restraint or hindrance, that function in other countries where they may be stationed, and, in discharging that function, to have unimpeded access to all means of communication. Conversely, each nation would permit the reception within territories under its control of information so gathered in other countries, in order that its people may be adequately informed. One can readily understand how this type of agreement, if its principles were to embrace all modern forms of information, including the press, the radio, and the motion picture, and if approved by a large number of states, would constitute a realistic foundation for more adequate exchange of knowledge. Such an agreement might well grow out of discussions in the General Assembly or in the Economic and Social Council of the new Organization.

Another matter which is of particular interest to the Department of State is the possibility of using the motion-picture film more widely as a medium of information. Foreign countries are constantly making requests to the Department for motion pictures depicting patterns of American life, activities of our vocational groups, and even the physical characteristics of this country. Some agency of the new international Organization very probably can render effective assistance in extending the use and exchange of motion pictures that will interpret more adequately the peoples of the world to one another.

*(Continued on page 315)*

# Principles of Economic Policy

Address by WILLIAM S. CULBERTSON<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 23]

I rise this evening to reaffirm my faith in the principles of economic liberty and economic equality. The occasion which brings us together invites such declaration. These principles, of which Cordell Hull is the prophet in the modern world, are our economic heritage from the American and French Revolutions. For me they are still self-evident truths.

Perhaps at this time I am a little more conscious than ever before of my convictions concerning world economic policy. My colleagues and I have just returned from a special mission to French North Africa, to the Middle East, and to Italy. The controlling objective of the mission was the reassertion of the principles of economic liberty and economic equality.<sup>2</sup> Under instructions which visualized for the future the resumption of private enterprise in trade and industry, we entered areas already feeling the burden which war controls and war restrictions had imposed. We studied the problem assigned to us through the experiences not only of the highest officials in each country but through the experiences of the businessmen who are carrying on economic life from day to day. We emerged from our interesting and at times difficult mission still with faith in the philosophy which America and France gave to the world at the end of the eighteenth century. We rediscovered that now no more than then can humanity lift itself by its economic bootstraps. We rediscovered that we cannot raise our standard of living by building political barriers around poverty. We rediscovered that government in business, whether it be a purchasing commission or a commercial corporation, cannot produce the kind of creative power which comes to a society through individual initiative, economic adventure, and enterprise.

A month or so ago, I had the privilege of exchanging views with the French Government in Paris on the subject of the resumption of private

trade in French North and West Africa. The French Government, after careful study, assured me that it is in agreement with the objective which I presented and that steps would be taken in the immediate future to restore trade to private channels in French North and West Africa. Following the announcement of this understanding there developed in certain quarters a critical attitude due to the fact that all barriers to trade did not disappear overnight. Let us try to understand the situation. For a number of years French North and West Africa have been under a war economy. The channels of economic life became established through government controls and restrictions which were entirely relevant under the regime of war. Economic demobilization could not take place in a few weeks. The protection of the very situation we were trying to conserve called for an orderly and gradual return to the system of private trade. The agreement which was made in Paris assumed that this process would take at least six months. The important result is that a trend was established by the American and French Governments and that the negotiations in Paris constitute a significant development in the pattern of United Nations post-war commercial relations.

## II

The work of our mission in French North Africa and in the Middle East is in the over-all view of great events today only "a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand". It may, as clouds do, blow away, or, as in the experience of the ancient prophet on Carmel, it may become a storm. I hope that under the leadership of the western states the traditions of economic liberty and economic equality may be translated into an active expanding system of trade and industry dominating the post-military world. Such a system will come when currencies are stabilized, exchanges freed, excessive barriers lessened, direct controls and discriminations removed, and genuine guarantees of most-favored-nation treatment and national treatment secured. If nations in world council can unite on an economic policy which will free trade and industry from the shackles of restriction and dis-

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at New York, N. Y., Feb. 22, 1945 before the American Chamber of Commerce in France. Col. Culbertson is chairman of the Special Economic Mission to North Africa.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 10, 1944, p. 720.

crimination and from a reliance on political power; if the international organization to be set up will make effective a set of fair rules for all peoples, then private business can thrive and grow without the intervention and support of government.<sup>1</sup>

Let us not underestimate the obstacles which are in our path. Unfortunately the economic creed of Fascism is not retreating with the German Armies. Under the necessities of war governments have tasted the blood of economic power. Fears and uncertainties have encouraged plans for the retention in the post-war period of the alliance between the state and economic activities. Large groups of people have been taught to associate their livelihood and security with government-in-business.

I am concerned this evening with the effect of this tendency on international economic relations, where the odds even before the war were heavily against economic liberty and economic equality. In the western world influential forces are today adding new arguments in favor of preferences enforced by political power, dependency maintained through financial controls, state monopolies, and trading corporations, and special treaties which create conditions within weaker countries from which economic advantages flow to the dominant power.

These conditions and tendencies are challenges to groups of individuals, chambers of commerce, and governments which believe in economic liberty and economic equality. Our first privilege and duty is to use our influence to change these conditions and to reverse these tendencies. The use of political power, no matter how plausible its legal basis may be, to support discriminatory trade and industry in areas, colonial or otherwise, where local people desire and need a system of economic liberty and economic equality, invites economic warfare. Such policy may be tolerated for a while, as it has been, but in the end opposing power will assert itself against it.

It would seem inevitable that if private-enterprise states lose their struggle to render effective the principle of economic liberty and economic equality, they will have to support their traders and producers in world markets with such influence and such instrumentalities as are necessary to establish equality of opportunity and treatment.

This dilemma of economic policy should be pondered by both sides in the great debate over the

system which is to govern the economic relations of peoples in the post-war world.

### III

It is particularly relevant on this occasion to speak of the status of Morocco as a symbol of the principles in which I am reaffirming my faith tonight. One of the fundamental international documents affecting economic activities with and within Morocco is the Algeiras convention of 1906. The controlling phrase in this convention is "economic liberty without any inequality". I am not sure that the full force of this phrase has been appreciated. The part of the phrase which is usually emphasized is "without any inequality"; that is, the principle of the open door. In other words, goods from whatever source arriving are assured equality of treatment in the application of customs duties, customs evaluation, port charges, and all other controls affecting their entrance into the area. The phrase "economic liberty without any inequality", however, has a much broader interpretation. The phrase "economic liberty" may be construed apart from the amplifying phrase which follows it. Moreover, the word "economic" is broader than "commercial". It comprehends the whole range of activities by which men seek to live. This interpretation is supported by the contents of the convention, which includes the creation of a bank, public services, public works, and other internal economic affairs. With respect to all of these activities, the phrase "economic liberty" is controlling.

I emphasize tonight the economic guarantees governing Morocco, not only because they are important in themselves but also because here is a pattern which gives a touch of reality to my plea for economic liberty and economic equality. These principles, expanded into a working universal system, are an essential part of a world order which has for its objectives prosperity, stability, and security. They are a part of the noblest traditions of Great Britain, France, and the United States. They are our contribution to the post-war world.

### IV

I have found in the discussion of post-war problems, especially across the Atlantic, a tendency to overemphasize the "transition period" after the

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 21, 1945, p. 80.

war. So long as this phrase covers merely a period of active change-over from war economy to peace economy, no exception can be taken to it. But in some plans for the future it seems to be treated as a sort of catch-all into which unsolved and seemingly insoluble problems are dumped in the hope that in some mysterious way they will solve themselves with the passage of time.

May I be pardoned if I revert again to the instructions of our mission. In my opinion, these reveal a wise approach to this problem. They sought to deal with post-military problems while they were still flexible and while the issues involved had at least some defenders on both sides. They gave support to the view that to retain wartime controls and government participation in business after their wartime justification had gone tends to weld such restrictive practices into a permanent commercial system. It was recognized that adjustments take time but that no situation exists which will not yield to constructive treatment if the will exists among the nations to return to a healthy, wealth-creating economic system.

After formal hostilities cease, the peoples of the world are all going to be in the same economic boat. It is not going to be a good boat. The people of the United States and France will be in that boat along with the others. A popular idea is current, encouraged by views expressed by certain individuals and groups in other countries, that the United States is going to be much better off than other countries and that it is therefore necessary, so the argument runs, that the United States assume a special benevolent attitude toward the rest of the world. It is true that we have not suffered as much physical destruction as certain other countries, but wounds may be serious even when they are not bleeding. The disorganizing and destructive effect of the war on America's complex economy should not be underestimated. We, too, are paying and paying destructively for this war.

I am happy that a cooperative attitude prevails in the councils of the American Government. We have reason to expect that a similar attitude will prevail in the councils of other nations. Special economic regimes or dispensations lead to misunderstandings. The economic structure of the post-war world should rest on mutual exchange and mutual respect. I have reaffirmed my faith in the

principles of economic liberty and economic equality this evening because they should and can constitute a part of that structure through which peoples may pool their hopes, their objectives, and their aspirations for a secure and prosperous world.

## International Cotton Advisory Committee

### ANNOUNCEMENT OF FOURTH MEETING

[Released to the press February 22]

The International Cotton Advisory Committee, established in September 1939 to study and report on problems in the world's cotton industry, will open its fourth meeting in Washington on March 26, 1945. In addition to the United States the countries which are members of this Committee and which are expected to send delegates are Brazil, Egypt, India, Peru, Mexico, Turkey, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the British and French cotton-exporting colonies.<sup>1</sup>

The primary objective of the discussions will be to survey the various aspects of the world cotton situation, especially problems affecting international trade in that commodity, and to formulate recommendations for subsequent consideration by the individual countries for the solution of such problems.

The International Cotton Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives from the countries mentioned above, was established in accordance with the recommendations of the International Cotton Conference held in Washington in September 1939, under the following terms of reference: To observe and keep in close touch with developments in the world cotton situation, and to suggest to the various Governments concerned, as and when advisable, any measure it considered suitable and practicable for the achievement of ultimate international collaboration in the solution of world cotton problems.

Previous meetings of the Committee, all of them in Washington, were held on April 1, 1940, October 17, 1940, and April 11, 1941. Leslie A. Wheeler, Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, United States Department of Agriculture, is the Chairman of the Committee and will preside at the opening session of the March meeting.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 14, 1945, p. 52.

# United States - Mexican Water Treaty

Statement by ASSISTANT SECRETARY ACHESON<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 21]

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE: I should like only very briefly to touch upon some of the more important aspects of the pending treaty which have not in my opinion been sufficiently emphasized during these hearings.

First, as to the arbitration point: You have heard Mr. English of the Department of State analyze in detail the legal aspects of this question as bearing upon our possible obligation under existing treaty provisions to submit to arbitration the question of the apportionment of the waters of the Colorado River if it should not be disposed of by this treaty.

But it seems to me that there is a much larger question involved in this matter than the interpretation of existing arbitration treaties and legal precedents. None of us, whether opponents or proponents of the treaty, can doubt that this question between the United States and Mexico must be settled by treaty or by arbitration. It is absolutely unthinkable to me, or to any of you gentlemen, I am sure, that we could continue to let this matter go unsettled until a time when the necessity to settle it could begin to raise issues of international hostility, and even more unthinkable that we should ever rely upon superior strength to prevent a settlement.

The United States Government, with the full support of the people and the Congress, is now taking the lead in establishing an international organization to maintain peace based upon principles of cooperation between nations and regard for mutual sovereign rights. We have held ourselves out to the world as the principal exponent among nations of cooperative action, including the arbitration of international disputes. In the Western Hemisphere we have had for many years practical experience in working out our problems through consultation and exchange of views on the basis of equality between nations. During this war the solidarity of the American republics has been an example of what can be accomplished through this

system which we can hold up with pride to the rest of the world. The current meeting in Mexico City is another and outstanding manifestation of this spirit of unity. It will stand us in good stead when we come to the vital problems of the San Francisco conference later this spring. And in this whole pattern, no better example of friendship between two countries can be found than that which has existed during this war between ourselves and Mexico, our nearest neighbor. The fact that such a state of affairs has not always existed between our two countries makes it even more striking that we are now receiving such unstinting support from Mexico.

And so I say that in this background our Government simply could not afford to let this question of the waters of the Colorado River continue unsettled to plague our relations with Mexico for years to come. If this treaty should be defeated and if subsequently Mexico should request that the matter be arbitrated, I do not see how as a matter of policy—entirely aside from treaties and legal precedents—we in the Department of State or you in the Senate could refuse such a request. There would be too much at stake in relation both to Mexico and to our total aims in the field of foreign affairs to justify our refusing to do so for any reason.

As to what the outcome of such arbitration might be I am not prepared to say. But it is our strong feeling in the Department of State that our own interests in this country, in California as well as in the other basin States, would be seriously endangered by a continuation of the present situation. That is one of the reasons why we have pressed for the treaty and the main reason I am sure why representatives of five of the basin States have strongly supported our efforts. Today some 8,000,000 acre-feet a year of this water are wasting through Mexican territory. There is nothing to stop Mexico's using more and more of this water as time goes on. And regardless of what the legal niceties may be, let no one be deceived that the longer this building up of use continues, the more difficult it will be to negotiate a settlement on anything like as favorable a basis as we have here.

<sup>1</sup>Made on Feb. 21, 1945 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. For article on the United States-Mexican Water Treaty, see BULLETIN of Jan. 21, 1945, p. 71.



After months of the hardest bargaining on the basis of the Santa Fe formula, the Department of State arrived at a solution which we believe is the most favorable from our country's point of view that we can now obtain if we are going to settle this matter through negotiation or arbitration. As one student of the problem has said in referring to the question of return flow: "Indeed, it may be observed that the representatives of the United States should be commended highly for securing such a desirable provision in the treaty." Two years or five years from now we would probably have to contend with increased Mexican uses of water. It is difficult to see how under such circumstances we could obtain agreement from Mexico to make greater reductions in the amount of water put to use in its territory.

The argument has been made by able lawyers for its opponents that this treaty is in conflict with the provisions of section 1 of the Boulder Canyon Project Act. This argument, as Mr. Clayton, Mr. Breitenstein, and Judge Stone have pointed out, ignores the clear effect of the provisions of the act and the Colorado River Compact which envisage and make provision for a treaty with Mexico, as well as the fact that when the Boulder Canyon Project Act was enacted there was on the statute books of the United States an act of Congress authorizing the negotiation of a treaty with reference to these rivers. Furthermore, as Mr. Carson and Judge Stone have pointed out, this argument is irrelevant in view of the fact that it will be Davis Dam and not Boulder Dam from which water will be metered out to fulfil the treaty requirements. The logical conclusion of the legal argument of the opponents of the treaty appears to be that an upstream nation by unilateral act in its own territory can impinge upon the rights of a downstream nation; this is hardly the kind of legal doctrine that can be seriously urged in these times.

The accusation has been made by some that the Department of State and the International Boundary Commission have invented this treaty; that it is arbitrary; and that we have been outraded. This is in direct conflict with the facts. For some 20 years our Government has been trying to arrive at a solution of this problem, both before and after the construction of Boulder Dam and during both Republican and Democratic administrations. At all times the bases under which these negotiations

**Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW**

[Released to the press February 23]

I am indeed gratified to learn that the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate has today favorably reported the water treaty with Mexico. This action will be received with acclaim by our friends throughout the Americas.

have been carried on have been substantially similar; as pointed out by Mr. Lawson, Mr. Tipton, and others, the Santa Fe formula is not materially different in result from the so-called "Mead formula" offered to Mexico in 1929 when its uses were much lower than they are today. At all times the Department and the Commission have consulted closely with, and been guided by the views and interests of, water users in the Colorado River basin. The terms of the treaty are more favorable to the United States than the Santa Fe formula, which was approved by a large majority of the Committee of Sixteen of the basin States. The treaty actually will result in curtailing Mexico's present use. It is absurd under these circumstances to claim that the treaty will facilitate unlimited, or in fact any, additional development in Mexico at our expense—although the reverse might well be true if through short-sightedness this treaty were defeated. It is in short a fair and hard-headed solution to an increasingly troublesome situation.

For over 50 years the problem of the division of the water of these international streams has been one of the principal matters pending between the United States and Mexico. As development has increased in the two countries, the problem has increased in difficulty, and it is now the major potential source of friction between our two countries.

The United States is now moving into an era of increasingly intimate contact with foreign nations in fields which run the gamut of military, political, economic, and social relations of the most complex variety. It is an era during which our country must exercise full leadership if our efforts and our hopes are to bear fruit. But what assurance can there be for anyone, in this country or out, that we can even begin to measure up to these problems

if we cannot settle the most rudimentary type of bilateral problem that can ever arise in the field of foreign relations, namely, a border problem arising from the fact of geographical propinquity?

I do not wish unduly to magnify this point since the treaty must be judged on its merits. But I have thought it necessary to try to set the matter in some perspective in relation to the total picture with which we are trying to deal. This session will be the most important in our history in the field of foreign affairs, and this is the first matter which has come before you during the session. It is my fervent hope, as it is that of Secretary Stettinius and of our great former Secretary Hull who negotiated and signed this treaty, that favorable action will soon be forthcoming from you on this important matter.

## Renewal of Diplomatic Relations with El Salvador

**Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW**

[Released to the press February 19]

The Department on February 19 instructed the American Embassy at San Salvador to renew relations with the Government of El Salvador.

The Provisional President of El Salvador resigned on October 20, 1944, and the powers of Government were assumed by Colonel Osmín Aguirre. Consultations were immediately initiated between the American republics, under resolution XXII of the Advisory Committee for Political Defense at Montevideo, to determine whether the change of Government had been brought about through Axis influence. While these consultations elicited no charges that the new regime had come into power through Axis influence within the terms of resolution XXII, they demonstrated that there was no consensus in favor of recognition, on the grounds that the stability of the Aguirre regime was not assured. The consultations were continued and now show that, in the light of recent developments in El Salvador, there is general agreement that the Government of El Salvador fulfils the requirements of international law for recognition: (a) control of the machinery of government and of the country; (b) general support without active opposition; and (c) declaration of intention to fulfil its

international obligations and ability to do so. Therefore, on February 19, pursuant to traditional hemisphere policy, our Embassy was instructed to renew relations.

## Twenty-seventh Anniversary Of the Red Army

[Released to the press February 23]

The President has sent the following message to Marshal Joseph V. Stalin on the occasion of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Red Army:

"FEBRUARY 23, 1945.

"His Excellency

"JOSEPH V. STALIN,

"*Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow.*

"In anticipation of our common victory against the Nazi oppressors, I wish to take this opportunity to extend my heartiest congratulations to you as Supreme Commander on this the twenty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the Red Army.

"The far reaching decisions we took at Yalta will hasten victory and the establishment of a firm foundation for a lasting peace. The continued outstanding achievements of the Red Army together with the all-out effort of the United Nations forces in the south and the west assure the speedy attainment of our common goal—a peaceful world based upon mutual understanding and cooperation.

"FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

## Death of the Prime Minister Of Egypt

[Released to the press February 24]

Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew has today sent the following message to the American Minister at Cairo:

"Please immediately inform the Egyptian Foreign Minister of the deep distress caused this Government by the report of the assassination of the Prime Minister Ahmed Maher Pasha. The loss to Egypt of this distinguished leader has profoundly shocked the American people."

# Civil Air-Transport Agreement Between Canada and the United States

[Released to the press February 19]

A new civil air-transport agreement between the United States and Canada became effective February 19 in accordance with notes exchanged on February 17 between the Department of State and the Canadian Ambassador in Washington, the Honorable L. B. Pearson. The new agreement, which is based on discussions recently held in New York between representatives of the two Governments, supersedes the 1939 bilateral arrangement, which had been extended by supplementary arrangements of 1940 and 1943.<sup>1</sup>

The new agreement provides for an increase in the number of routes to be operated by the airlines of each country. United States airlines are authorized to fly the following routes: Boston to Moncton; Boston to Montreal; New York or Boston to Quebec; New York to Montreal and Ottawa; Washington to Montreal and Ottawa; Buffalo to Toronto; Fargo to Winnipeg; Great Falls to Lethbridge; Seattle to Vancouver; Seattle to Whitehorse; Fairbanks to Whitehorse.

The routes authorized for operation by Canadian airlines are as follows: Halifax to Boston; Toronto to New York; Toronto to Cleveland; Toronto to Chicago; Port Arthur to Duluth; Victoria to Seattle; Whitehorse to Fairbanks.

The agreement follows the general lines of the standard form of bilateral agreement adopted at the Chicago aviation conference. It also makes specific provision for the reciprocal grant of the Two Freedoms—the right of transit and non-traffic stop—which will permit American air services to operate through Canada on routes to Europe and the Orient.

A copy of the note from the Canadian Ambassador, giving the text of the agreement and the accompanying annex, as well as a copy of the note of acceptance by the United States Government, are attached hereto.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
February 17, 1945.

No. 46  
SR,

With reference to negotiations that have recently taken place between representatives of the

Canadian and United States Governments concerning civil air transport, I have the honour to propose that an agreement be entered into between the two Governments as follows:

## AGREEMENT FOR CIVIL AIR TRANSPORT BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

### Article I

Pending the coming into force of the International Air Services Transit Agreement done at Chicago on December 7, 1944, each Government grants to the other, in respect of its scheduled international air services, the right to fly across its territory without landing and the right to land for non-traffic purposes.

### Article II

The Governments grant the rights specified in the Annex for establishing the international civil air routes and services described in the Annex, whether such services be inaugurated immediately or at a later date at the option of the Government to whom the rights are granted.

### Article III

Each of the air services so described may be placed in operation when the Government to whom the rights have been granted by Article II to designate an airline or airlines for the route concerned has authorized an airline for such route, and the Government granting the rights shall, subject to Article V hereof, take the appropriate steps to permit the operation by the airline or airlines concerned; provided that the airline so designated may be required to qualify before the competent aeronautical authorities of the Government granting the rights under the laws and regulations normally applied by these authorities before being permitted to engage in the operations contemplated by this Agreement; and provided that in areas of hostilities or of military occupation, or in areas affected thereby, such inauguration shall be subject to the approval of the competent military authorities.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 11, 1945, p. 198.

*Article IV*

In order to prevent discriminatory practices and to ensure equality of treatment, the Governments agree that :

(a) Each of them may impose or permit to be imposed on airlines of the other state just and reasonable charges for the use of public airports and other facilities on its territory provided that these charges shall not be higher than would be paid for the use of such airports and facilities by its national aircraft engaged in similar international services;

(b) Fuel and oil, aircraft stores, spare parts and equipment introduced into the territory of one state by the other state or by nationals of the other state, and intended solely for use by aircraft of such other state shall be accorded national and most-favoured-nation treatment with respect to the imposition of customs and excise duties and taxes, inspection fees or other national duties or charges by the state whose territory is entered: provided, however, that such state may require that such imported materials shall be kept under customs supervision and control;

(c) The fuel and oil, aircraft stores, spare parts and equipment retained on board civil aircraft of the airlines authorized to operate the routes and services described in the Annex shall, upon arriving in or leaving the territory of the other state, be exempt from the imposition of customs and excise duties and taxes, inspection fees or other national duties or charges, even though such supplies be used or consumed by such aircraft on flights in that territory;

(d) Neither of them will give a preference to its own airlines against the airlines of the other state in the application of its customs, immigration, quarantine and similar regulations or in the use of airports, airways or other facilities.

*Article V*

The laws and regulations of each state relating to the admission to or departure from its territory of aircraft engaged in international air navigation, or to the operation and navigation of such aircraft while within its territory, shall be applied to the aircraft of the other state, and shall be complied with by such aircraft, upon entering or de-

parting from or while within the territory of that state.

*Article VI*

Each Government reserves the right to withhold or revoke a certificate or permit to an airline of the other state in any case where it is not satisfied that substantial ownership and effective control are vested in nationals of that state, or in case of failure of an airline to comply with the laws of the state over which it operates, as described in Article V, or to perform its obligations under this Agreement.

*Article VII*

This Agreement shall apply to the territory of the continental United States including Alaska, and to the territory of Canada including the territorial waters adjacent to each territory.

*Article VIII*

The aircraft operated by United States airlines shall conform at all times with the airworthiness requirements prescribed by the competent aeronautical authorities of the United States of America for aircraft employed in air transportation of the character contemplated by this Agreement.

The aircraft operated by Canadian airlines shall conform at all times with the airworthiness requirements prescribed by the competent aeronautical authorities of Canada for aircraft employed in air transportation of the character contemplated by this Agreement.

*Article IX*

The competent authorities of the two Governments shall enter into agreements concerning the transportation of mail on the services authorized by this Agreement.

*Article X*

The services authorized by this Agreement and for which rights are specified in the Annex shall be conducted in accordance with the following provisions:

(1) Pending the coming into force of the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation done at Chicago on December 7, 1944, they shall

be subject to the applicable terms of the Air Navigation Agreement between Canada and the United States of America effected by an exchange of notes of July 28, 1938;

(2) Additional stops may be made in the territory of the state of which an airline is a national at the election of that state, provided that these stops lie in reasonable proximity to the direct route connecting the terminals indicated in the Annex, and subject to the special provisions indicated therein with respect to particular routes;

(3) Holders of through tickets travelling on a through international service may make stopovers at any point where a landing is made even though such landing is made at a point not otherwise authorized for the pick-up and discharge of traffic;

(4) Future proposals for services between any point in Alaska and any point in Canada west of the 130th meridian shall be initially considered (unless in any particular case the two Governments shall agree to follow a different course) by a representative designated by each Government whose recommendations shall be transmitted to the two Governments for action;

(5) The routes specified in the Annex shall be open for operation by properly designated airlines at any time during the life of the Agreement. The rights shall not lapse with any failure to exercise them, or any interruption of such exercise.

#### Article XI

This Agreement supersedes that relating to air transport services effected by an exchange of notes of August 18, 1939, the supplementary arrangement relating to air transport services effected by an exchange of notes of November 29 and December 2, 1940 and the exchange of notes of March 4, 1943, which continued in force the supplementary arrangement of November 29 and December 2, 1940.

#### Article XII

The Annex to this Agreement shall be reviewed from time to time by the competent aeronautical authorities of the two Governments. These authorities may recommend to their respective Governments modifications of the Annex. Such modifications, if approved by both Governments, shall be made effective by exchange of notes.

#### Article XIII

This Agreement and all contracts connected therewith shall be registered with the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization.

#### Article XIV

This Agreement shall become effective on February 19, 1945, and shall remain in effect until terminated by mutual agreement or until twelve months after the giving of notice by either Government to the other Government.

#### ANNEX

A. The airlines designated by the Government of the United States of America may operate on the following routes, with the right to take on and put down passengers, mail and cargo at the Canadian terminals specified:

Boston	-	Moncton
Boston	-	Montreal
New York or Boston	-	Quebec

New York	-	{ Montreal Ottawa
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(Provided that Montreal and Ottawa shall not be served on the same flight)

Washington	-	{ Montreal Ottawa
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(Provided that Montreal and Ottawa shall not be served on the same flight, and that the last point touched in the United States, if it be other than Washington, shall lie east of the 77th meridian)

Buffalo	-	Toronto
Fargo	-	Winnipeg
Great Falls	-	Lethbridge
Seattle	-	Vancouver
Seattle	-	Whitehorse
Fairbanks	-	Whitehorse.

The service on the route between Buffalo and Toronto may, at the election of the United States Government, be rendered by two airlines. On the other routes service by a single airline only will be authorized.

In addition to the routes listed above, airlines of United States registry will be authorized to stop in Windsor on any route on which they are now or in the future may be authorized by the United States Government to serve Detroit.

B. The airlines designated by the Government of Canada may operate on the following routes, with the right to take on and put down passengers,

mail and cargo at the United States terminals specified:

Halifax	-	Boston
Toronto	-	New York
Toronto	-	Cleveland
Toronto	-	Chicago (No stop will

be made on this route at any Canadian point within forty miles of Detroit.)

Port Arthur	-	Duluth
Victoria	-	Seattle
Whitehorse	-	Fairbanks.

A single airline will be authorized for each of the foregoing routes. With respect to the routes between Toronto and Cleveland and Toronto and Chicago no through services will be operated from either point in the United States to points lying beyond the territorial limits of Canada.

In addition to the routes listed above, airlines of Canadian registry will be authorized to stop in Detroit on any route on which they are now or in the future may be authorized by the Canadian Government to serve Windsor.

If these proposals are acceptable to the Government of the United States of America, this note, and your reply thereto accepting the proposals, shall be regarded as placing on record the understanding arrived at between the two Governments concerning this matter.

Accept [etc.] L. B. PEARSON

The Honourable JOSEPH C. GREW,  
*Acting Secretary of State of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.*

FEBRUARY 17, 1945

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge your note No. 46 of February 17, 1945, in which you propose that an agreement be entered into between the Governments of the United States of America and Canada relating to civil air transport.

The agreement as proposed in your note is acceptable to the Government of the United States of America. Your note and this reply are regarded as placing on record the understanding arrived at between the two Governments.

Accept [etc.]  
For the Acting Secretary of State:

W. L. CLAYTON

His Excellency  
L. B. PEARSON, O.B.E.,  
*Ambassador of Canada.*

## Sanitary Conventions of 1944

### *United Kingdom*

The British Ambassador informed the Acting Secretary of State by a note dated February 21 of the application to certain territories of the International Sanitary Convention, 1944, and the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation, 1944. These two sanitary conventions were opened for signature at Washington December 15, 1944 and came into force January 15, 1945.

According to the Ambassador's note, the provisions of the International Sanitary Convention, 1944, now apply to the following British territories:

Newfoundland	Kenya (Colony and Protectorate)
British Solomon Islands Protectorate	Nigeria
Ceylon	(a) Colony
Cyprus	(b) Protectorate
Falkland Islands and Dependencies	(c) Cameroons under British Mandate
Fiji	Northern Rhodesia
Gambia (Colony and Protectorate)	Nyasaland Protectorate
Gibraltar	Palestine
Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony	Sierra Leone (Colony and Protectorate)
Gold Coast	St. Helena and Dependencies
(a) Colony	Tanganyika Territory
(b) Ashanti	Trans-Jordan
(c) Northern Territories	Uganda Protectorate
(d) Togoland under British Mandate	Zanzibar Protectorate

The provisions of the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation, 1944, now apply to the following British territories:

Newfoundland	Mauritius
Southern Rhodesia	Nigeria
British Solomon Islands Protectorate	(a) Colony
Cyprus	(b) Protectorate
Falkland Islands and Dependencies	(c) Cameroons under British Mandate
Fiji	Northern Rhodesia
Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony	Palestine
Gold Coast	Sierra Leone (Colony and Protectorate)
(a) Colony	Trans-Jordan
(b) Ashanti	Uganda Protectorate
(c) Northern Territories	Zanzibar Protectorate
(d) Togoland under British Mandate	High Commission territories
Kenya (Colony and Protectorate)	Basutoland
	Bechuanaland
	Swaziland

Lord Halifax signed each convention with the reservation that his signature did not cover any of the territories referred to in article 24 of the sanitary convention and article 21 of the sanitary convention for aerial navigation. The two articles provide in identic words that any contracting party may on signature or accession declare that the convention may not apply to all or any of its colonies, overseas territories, territories under its protection, suzerainty, or authority, or territories in respect of which it exercises a mandate, but that the convention may at any time thereafter be applied to any such territory by notification in writing to the Government of the United States of America.

## Agreement Between the United States and Canada Regarding Military Air-Transport Routes

[Released to the press February 19]

A wartime agreement has been reached with Canada regarding military air-transport routes operated by one country over the territory of the other. The agreement replaces a number of special arrangements dealing with particular routes and, for the most part, provides for a continuation of the practices which the two Governments have adopted to aid the prosecution of the war by granting all necessary facilities to transport aircraft operated by or on behalf of the armed forces of the United States and Canada.

These aircraft of either country may use all airway facilities in the other country along the routes which they are now flying. Considerations of military security prevent the publication of these routes at the present. The agreement provides that civil airlines operating under contract with the armed forces shall display no identifying markings advertising the name of a commercial airline.

No traffic originating in or destined to points in Canada will be carried for reward or hire on aircraft operated by or on behalf of the armed forces of the United States, though they are permitted to carry revenue traffic through Canada if it originates in and is destined to points outside Canada.

The agreement is for the duration of the war, subject to termination at any time on six months'

notice by either Government. All rights acquired by either Government terminate at the end of the war.

## Signing of Military-Aviation-Mission Agreement With Guatemala

[Released to the press February 21]

In conformity with the request of the Government of Guatemala there was signed on Wednesday, February 21, 1945, at 4 p.m., by the Honorable Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, and His Excellency Señor Don Eugenio Silva Peña, Ambassador of Guatemala in Washington, an agreement providing for the detail of a military-aviation mission by the United States to serve in Guatemala.

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 Guatemala.

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.

## Bombings of Swiss Towns

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press February 24]

I was profoundly shocked and distressed when the Swiss Minister in Washington notified me of a series of bombings and strafings of Swiss towns on February 22 by United States aircraft which resulted in the death of 16 persons and the injury of many more. A full investigation has been undertaken by our military authorities to determine our responsibility for this tragic occurrence. Whatever the nationality of the planes, I wish to express my sympathy to the families of the victims. Should it be established that United States planes were responsible for this tragic accident, an official expression of our deep regret, and of our desire to make reparation in so far as that is humanly possible, will be made to the Swiss Government.

# Coordination of CITEJA With the New International Civil-Aviation Organizations

By STEPHEN LATCHFORD<sup>1</sup>

THE DELEGATES to the International Civil Aviation Conference which met at Chicago on November 1, 1944 adopted a resolution concerning CITEJA<sup>2</sup> in which it was recommended that the various governments give consideration to the desirability of coordinating the activities of CITEJA with the international civil-aviation organizations for which provision was made at Chicago. It seems to be appropriate, therefore, to give consideration to the manner in which such coordination might best be effected.

It will be recalled that the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization is to function under the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation adopted at Chicago when that agreement comes into force, and that the permanent International Civil Aviation Organization

will function under the permanent Convention on International Civil Aviation adopted at Chicago when that convention comes into force.

The convention will, according to its terms, ultimately supersede the International Convention for the Regulation of Aerial Navigation signed at Paris on October 13, 1919. That convention established the International Commission for Air Navigation, frequently referred to as the CINA, the initials of the French name of the organization, which is clothed with a number of executive and administrative functions, including the power to develop technical international aeronautical regulations, embodied in annexes to the Paris convention. The International Civil Aviation Organization which is to function under the Chicago convention will have, among its powers and duties, a number which are broadly analogous to those exercised by the CINA. It is pertinent, therefore, to give a brief historical review of the discussions which took place in the past as to the extent to which the activities of CITEJA could be coordinated with those of the CINA.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Latchford is Adviser on Air Law, Aviation Division, Office of Transportation and Communications, Department of State; Chairman of the United States Section of CITEJA. He was an adviser to the United States Delegation to the recent International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> The initials of the French name of the organization, Comité International Technique d'Experts Juridiques Aériens, translated in the United States as the International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts. The organization of this Committee, on which, as of March 1939, 27 countries including the United States were represented, was recommended by the delegates to the First International Conference on Private Air Law held at Paris in 1925. The Committee has been engaged in the preparation of projects of international conventions on various subjects of private international air law for final adoption and signature at periodic international conferences, three having been held since the 1925 conference. A convention relating to the liability of the air carrier in international transportation was adopted provisionally by the 1925 conference. The 1925 draft was revised by CITEJA and adopted in final form at an international conference at Warsaw in 1929. Conventions adopted at subsequent international conferences on private air law have dealt with such subjects as damages to persons and property on the surface caused by aircraft in flight, assistance and salvage of aircraft at sea, aviation insurance, and the conditions under which aircraft employed in international services might be exempted from attachment for debt. For a description of the Committee's activities and a résumé of its work see BULLETIN of Jan. 7, 1945, p. 11.

The question whether the CINA, which dealt with public international air law, had jurisdiction to deal with private international air law arose in 1923, when the French Government had under consideration the calling of the First International Conference on Private Air Law. In that connection the French Government addressed a communication to the Secretary General of the CINA stating that, although the matters to be submitted to the then proposed international conference on private air law did not come within the scope of the work of the CINA, they were capable of giving rise to problems relating to the regulation of air navigation dealt with by that organization. The French Government suggested that the CINA be associated in the work of the proposed private-air-law conference and requested that the Secretary General of the CINA be authorized to organize and conduct the secretariat of the conference. The CINA unanimously adopted a resolution<sup>3</sup> direct-

<sup>3</sup> Resolution No. 130, Official Bulletin No. 5 of the International Commission for Air Navigation (1923), p. 29.



ing its Secretary General to undertake the work of the secretariat of the conference which the French Government proposed to call, and in the same resolution directed the Secretary General to point out to the French Government that paragraph (g) of article 34 of the 1919 convention expressly provided that CINA would have jurisdiction in regard to all "questions which the States may submit for examination." The CINA resolution indicated that it considered that the question of the liability of aerial carriers, which the French Government at that time was considering as the subject of the then proposed private-air-law conference, was closely allied in practice to questions pertaining to the regulation of aerial navigation, the study of which the CINA claimed devolved upon it under the terms of the 1919 convention, and that the CINA deemed itself fully qualified by means of its legal subcommission usefully to study the subject of the liability of air carriers. In conclusion the CINA resolution recommended that, in order to maintain a unity of views in the organization of air navigation and air traffic, paragraph (g) of article 34 of the 1919 convention be interpreted in its broadest sense by the contracting states.

The acquiescence of the CINA in the calling of an international conference on private air law by the French Government was explained by Albert Roper, Secretary General of the CINA, in a statement the substance of which was as follows:

"The French Government had in fact thought of asking the International Commission for Air Navigation to undertake these studies, but at that time only twenty-one countries were parties to the 1919 Convention. Therefore, only these countries were entitled to representation on the Commission. Under these circumstances the French Government decided to call a general international conference on private air law for the study of the liability of air carriers, an important question of universal interest.

"There was on that occasion no conflict between the French Government and the CINA. The former stated its intentions to the CINA and offered to associate the CINA in the work contemplated, by requesting it to authorize its Secretary General to take charge of the secretariat of the private air law conference.

"The CINA on its part, while maintaining that

it had jurisdiction in the matter, appreciated the reasons which influenced the French Government in calling the private-air-law conference and made no protest, but willingly authorized the cooperation suggested by that Government. In that connection, the CINA considered that the eventual broadening of the scope of the Convention of 1919 would do away with the 'temporary duplication of a question the two parts of which are manifestly connected'."<sup>4</sup>

Apparently after the discussion of 1923 the CINA not only did not make an issue of CITEJA's activities, but as a matter of fact the Secretary General of the CINA attended CITEJA sessions on various occasions as an observer on behalf of the CINA. In that connection he was always willing to make any comments deemed to be helpful in the current CITEJA discussions. Conversely, the Secretary General of CITEJA kept in close touch with the activities of the CINA and other international bodies whose deliberations were of interest to CITEJA.

It would seem that had the CINA undertaken an extensive development of private air law as CITEJA has done the CINA would not have had the time to develop technical regulations within the field of public international air law to the extent that it has done so, unless perhaps it had decided upon a different plan of organization. The CINA appears to have been almost continuously employed through its various subcommissions in the development of numerous technical regulations within the field of public air law under the convention of 1919.

The question of merging the organization of CITEJA with the CINA was raised in a lengthy critical review of the convention of 1919 written by Dr. Alfred Wegerdt, Ministerial-rat of the Reich Ministry of Communications.<sup>5</sup> This article

<sup>4</sup>See Albert Roper, "Note on the origin of the Air Convention of 13th October 1919, its progressive extension from 1922 to 1928, and the problem of its revision", accompanying the Minutes of the Extraordinary Session of the CINA, Paris, June 1929, *Documents of Session*, p. 12. Note: There was no broadening of the scope of the 1919 convention that changed the situation with respect to the procedure for the development of private international air law.

<sup>5</sup>"Germany and the Paris Convention relating to air navigation dated 13th October 1919", *Zeitschrift für das Gesamte Luftrecht*, vol. II, no. 1 (1928), p. 25; also *Documents of Session*, above cited, p. 37.

is understood to have been an important factor in the decision to hold the extraordinary session of CINA in 1929 to consider a number of amendments to the 1919 convention. Dr. Wegerdt stated in his article that while the organization and activities of CITEJA were fundamentally different from those of the CINA, this fact would not be changed in any way in case of incorporation of CITEJA into the CINA. He continued with the following observation:

“. . . Simply, for purposes of rationalisation such an incorporation seems worthy of consideration, as in many cases the representatives on the C.I.N.A. are the same as those on the C.I.T.E.J.A. and probably the only reason why the C.I.N.A. was not in the first place entrusted with the task of the C.I.T.E.J.A. was that only a limited number of States belong to the former, barely half of those which accepted the French Government's invitation to take part in the international private air law Conference in October 1925.”<sup>6</sup>

It is rather interesting to observe that in 1932 Edmond Sudre, Secretary General of CITEJA, published an article dealing with the possible creation of an international air bureau.<sup>7</sup> He suggested that such an air bureau be divided into three sections. The first would be a technical section charged with making general technical studies and regulations on various subjects related to international air navigation. The second would be an air-traffic section concerned with all questions incident to commercial traffic and everything relating to the transportation of passengers and goods, including routes, airmail, unification and standardization of rates and schedules, and establishment of joint routes. The third would be a legal section concerned with questions of public and private air law. The third section, constituting a centralizing medium of information and study, would prepare a series of drafts of conventions for submission to periodic international conferences and would in this manner carry on the unification and codifica-

tion of both public and private international air law. Mr. Sudre expressed the view that CITEJA might be the nucleus of the third section and that it would be advisable from the beginning to give to the legal section powers of consultation and interpretation of international-air-law texts. He thought that it might also be provided in a basic convention establishing an air bureau that, in case of conflicts of laws and differences of opinion, the interested states would have the right to choose the legal section as arbiter. In addition to the duties enumerated above the legal section would review proposals and drafts of conventions elaborated by the other sections of the International Air Bureau and prepare necessary texts. It is of interest in this connection to recall that in CITEJA meetings the United States members were opposed to having CITEJA exercise the power to interpret private-air-law conventions on the ground that an international organization such as CITEJA, having only the power to prepare preliminary texts of international conventions, should not undertake the duty of interpreting such conventions when they come into force, this being a function pertaining to the courts of the various countries.

#### CONCLUSIONS

As explained in this article the draft conventions on subjects of private air law are, after their adoption by CITEJA at its plenary sessions, submitted to periodic international conferences on private air law (diplomatic conferences) for final adoption and signature, with such modifications as the conferences may agree upon. This procedure renders it necessary to wait for some government to become sufficiently interested to issue invitations to the various governments to attend a private-air-law conference to take action on such CITEJA projects as might be referred to it. Experience has shown that there has been considerable delay in the calling of an international conference on private air law, the first of such conferences having been held in 1925, the second in 1929, the third in 1933, and the fourth in 1938.

It is believed that a workable plan of coordinating the work of CITEJA with the provisional and permanent international civil-aviation organizations as referred to in the resolution concerning CITEJA adopted at Chicago would be for the drafts adopted by CITEJA to be acted upon by

<sup>6</sup> In the instructions from the Secretary of State to the United States Delegates to the extraordinary session of the CINA in 1929, it was stated that the Government of the United States saw no objection in principle to Dr. Wegerdt's suggested incorporation of CITEJA into the CINA. See *Foreign Relations, 1929*, vol. I, p. 505.

<sup>7</sup> "De l'organisation internationale de l'aviation civile", *Revue Générale de Droit Aérien*, vol. I, no. 1 (1932), p. 5.

the Council and the Assembly of these Organizations in the following manner:

The Council could appoint a special committee to review CITEJA drafts and report thereon to the Council, which in turn would submit the drafts with its recommendations to the Assembly for final adoption and signature in the form of international conventions, or for such other action as the Assembly may wish to take. Twenty-one countries are to be represented on the Council. However, all the countries of the world members of the International Civil Aviation Organization would have an opportunity through their representatives in the Assembly to take final action on CITEJA drafts. It is assumed that there would be no difficulty in having such representatives obtain appropriate authorizations from their governments to sign conventions based on CITEJA drafts.

The Assembly on its initiative or upon recommendation of the Council could request CITEJA to undertake the study and preparation of private-air-law projects in much the same way as the international conferences on private air law have done.

Aside from the opportunity which the procedure suggested above would offer for close coordination of the activities of CITEJA with those of the International Civil Aviation Organization, the plan would obviate the necessity of waiting for some government to become sufficiently interested to call a conference on private air law, as well as the time and expense involved in attending and participating in such conferences. The Assembly of the Organization referred to is to meet annually and extraordinary meetings may be held at any time upon the call of the Council or at the request of ten contracting states. However, it is believed that action by the Assembly on the CITEJA drafts could be taken at a regular annual meeting without necessarily having a special meeting for the purpose.

The procedure outlined above would perhaps be the best to follow as a beginning, but as a long-range program it would seem that serious consideration might well be given to having the Council establish a permanent committee for the purpose of studying and making recommendations in the fields of both public and private air law. Such a committee would obviate the necessity of continuing CITEJA as a separate organization. This

plan would appear to be substantially the same as the one suggested by the Secretary General of CITEJA when he published the article discussing the possibilities of establishing an international air bureau. There is much to be said for developing public and private air law within the framework of a single and continuing organization, in view of the important relations of the problems arising out of private air law with those involved in the development of public air law.

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#### INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE—*Cont. from p. 281*

Victory in this war will not of itself resolve the difficulty or banish the danger. The months and years immediately ahead will see the supreme test of the faith that has always animated the American peoples and of the abilities and energies that have built the American nations.

I cannot escape the feeling that these are the times for which all that has gone into the making of the history of the Americas up to now was but the preparation.

The beliefs that have united the American peoples with each other can now unite them with the other freedom-loving peoples of the world. The unfinished pattern of the American purpose can now be completed in the larger fabric of a world purpose.

To this task and to this opportunity I ask the representatives of the nations represented here to join in dedicating ourselves.

I am reminded of the words of Abraham Lincoln to the Congress of the United States at a critical moment in the history of my country. They are words which might well be engraved in the hearts of all of us at this hour. He said:

"Fellow Citizens, we cannot escape history. We will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. . . . We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility."

That is what Abraham Lincoln said.

If we succeed—and as Americans who pioneered two virgin continents and founded here a new civilization, we know that *all* is possible—if we succeed, future generations will look back upon this

conference in Mexico City, and the conference in the Crimea, and the United Nations conference in San Francisco as among the great historic milestones on the road to a lasting peace and a new world of security and opportunity for all mankind.

## Economist Accepts Visiting Professorship to Paraguay

[Released to the press February 19]

Walter H. Delaplane, economist and educator, has been appointed visiting professor of economics and international trade at the National University of Paraguay at Asunción. Dr. Delaplane is one of a group of professors and technical experts who have received travel grants from the Department of State for service in other American republics. He expects to arrive at his post in Paraguay before March 1.

Dr. Delaplane, a resident of Durham, North Carolina, is a graduate of Oberlin College. He did postgraduate work at Duke University and carried on research, in Spain, for his doctoral thesis on the Spanish monetary system, and, in Colombia, on the monetary and exchange-control systems. He began teaching economics at Duke University in 1934 and from 1937-43 was also assistant to the dean of the Graduate School. In 1943 Dr. Delaplane came to Washington for service as economic analyst and later as Acting Chief of the Iberian Section of FEA.

## Relocation of Prisoner-of-War Camps in Germany

[Released to the press February 23]

The War Department and the Department of State, supplementing the information they received February 13, 1945, concerning the evacuation westward of American prisoners of war from camps in eastern Germany,<sup>1</sup> jointly announce it has now been confirmed that more than 1,000 Americans from Oflag 64 and Stalag III B have arrived at Stalag III A at Luckenwalde.

Other Americans from Oflag 64 and a large number of American prisoners of war from Stalag

Luft IV are in the vicinity of Swinemünde. About one half of the Americans formerly detained at Stalag Luft III are en route to Moosburg, while the destination of the other half is reported to be Nürnberg. A small number of American officers from Stalag Luft III were moved to Stalag III A at Luckenwalde.

Pending notification to the contrary, relatives and friends are urged to continue to address mail to individual prisoners of war to their last known addresses.

## Health and Sanitation

### *Ecuador*

An exchange of notes between the American Ambassador at Quito and the Ecuadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated December 23, 1944 and January 15, 1945, provides for a contribution of an additional sum of \$200,000 by the Government of the United States of America, through the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, and for a contribution of an equal amount by the Government of Ecuador, for the purpose of continuing the health and sanitation program initiated by the two Governments pursuant to an exchange of notes signed at Washington February 24, 1942.<sup>2</sup>

The recent exchange of notes provides that the extension of the program will terminate December 31, 1947 so far as the funds contributed by the United States are concerned.

The terms and conditions of the extension, as well as the specifications of the work to be performed, are to be agreed upon between the Ecuadoran Minister of Social Welfare and Labor and the official who will be designated for this purpose by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs.

## Chilean-Swiss Financial Agreement

The Swiss Federal Council ratified on January 4, 1945 the agreement between Chile and Switzerland, dated December 21, 1944, whereby Chilean and Swiss commercial claims are payable from January 1, 1945 in dollars of the United States of America, the American Legation at Bern reported by a telegram of January 10.

The present agreement is valid until further notice but may be denounced at any time with two months' previous notice. During the validity of

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 18, 1945, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Executive Agreement Series 379.

this agreement, the application of the Chilean-Swiss clearing and compensation agreement of May 29, 1934 is suspended, but on the expiration of the present agreement the 1934 agreement is to be applied again automatically.

## Visit of Bolivian Educator

[Released to the press February 19]

Dr. Héctor Ormachea Zalles, rector of the University of San Andrés at La Paz, Bolivia, is guest of the Department of State on a three-month tour of colleges and universities in this country. He is especially interested in observing curricula and methods in the teaching of economics and finance.

Dr. Ormachea Zalles was Minister of Finance of Bolivia before assuming the rectorship of the University of San Andrés, which draws students from all sections of the country but corresponds to one of our State universities. Present enrolment is about 1,250, including 100 women students. Most of the latter are enrolled in the School of Biochemistry. The University of San Andrés is autonomous, the rector being elected by a two-thirds vote of students and faculty. Dr. Ormachea Zalles has twice been re-elected to the post. When he first assumed the rectorship in 1935, at the age of 33, he was the youngest university head in South America.

In December of this year the University of San Andrés, which was founded in 1832, will move into and occupy a new 18-story building—the tallest building in the Bolivian capital. Dr. Ormachea Zalles, while in the Ministry of Finance, established a university chair on mathematical theory of investments, which he taught while a member of the Cabinet and has continued to teach as rector. Deeply interested in inter-American cultural cooperation, he is chairman of the Scholarship Selection Committee for Bolivia and president of the board of directors of the American Institute of that country.

### THE FOREIGN SERVICE

#### Confirmations

On February 19, 1945 the Senate confirmed the nominations of Wallace Murray as American Ambassador to Iran and Felix Cole as American Minister to Ethiopia.

## Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Le Havre, France, was reestablished on February 16, 1945.

FOSDICK—Continued from page 298

### VI

We must realize, however, that all this cultural interchange and the creation of common understanding and knowledge among peoples will not alone guarantee the peace. While we recognize the tremendous promise of the efforts to extend this understanding, we must remind ourselves that sustained and devoted activity depends upon more than understanding. A faith and a spirit is required in building the peace comparable to that of the medieval townfolk in building their great cathedrals.

The townfolk viewed the building of the cathedral as a community enterprise. Everyone contributed according to his talents and ability. They did not leave the work to the town council; they themselves shouldered responsibility for it. They recognized that the cathedral would rise only as high as they together would build.

The medieval townfolk did not expect to see the cathedral completed within their own lifetime. They knew the task would take centuries to accomplish. When progress was slow, they were undiscouraged. They kept patiently and steadfastly on, knowing that for the sake of the generations to come they could not afford to be discouraged.

The townfolk were content to pick up the job where their fathers had left off—they did not try to build the spires before they had laid the foundations. They dreamed about the spires but they worked on the foundations, until they were strong. They labored where they could accomplish tangible results.

The medieval townfolk did not wait for the completion of the cathedral before they began to use it. They knelt at unfinished altars and worshipped in chapels without roofs. They accepted temporary altars and make-shift roofs until the more perfect work could be completed. They made the most out of the work that was already done.

If in that spirit we approach the building of the peace, this may yet become the century in which are laid the firm foundations of peace.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Appointment of Officers

*Alger Hiss*

[Released to the press February 19]

Acting Secretary of State Grew announced on February 19 that Alger Hiss, now Deputy Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs in the Department of State, would succeed Edwin C. Wilson as Director of that Office when the latter leaves in the near future for his post as United States Ambassador in Turkey.

The Office of Special Political Affairs, under the general direction of the Special Assistant to the Secretary, Leo Pasvolksy, has responsibility in the Department for all matters concerning the proposed United Nations Organization.

Mr. Hiss, who accompanied the President and the Secretary of State to the recent meeting at Yalta in the Crimea, has been with the Department since September 1, 1936. He served until the summer of 1939 as assistant to Francis B. Sayre, then Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the reciprocal trade-agreements program, and subsequently as assistant to Stanley K. Hornbeck when the latter was Adviser on Political Relations and Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs.

Mr. Hiss has been with the Office of Special Political Affairs since May 1944 and became Deputy Director of the Office in November 1944. He was educated at Johns Hopkins University and Harvard University Law School.

*Adlai E. Stevenson*

[Released to the press February 23]

Acting Secretary of State Grew announces the appointment of Adlai E. Stevenson of Chicago as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State. Mr. Stevenson will work with Assistant Secretary of State MacLeish in matters relating to post-war international organization.

Mr. Stevenson was Special Assistant and Legal Adviser to the late Frank Knox while he was Secretary of the Navy and has also performed various foreign assignments for the Government.

*Benjamin Gerig*

Benjamin Gerig has been appointed Associate Chief of the Division of International Organiza-

tion Affairs, concurrently with his duties as Chief of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs, effective February 1, 1945.

## PUBLICATIONS

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Diplomatic List, February 1945. Publication 2260. II, 123 pp. Subscription, \$2 a year; single copy, 20¢.

Military Service: Agreement Between the United States of America and China—Effected by exchanges of notes signed at Washington November 6, 1943 and May 11 and June 13, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 426. Publication 2202. 6 pp. 5¢.

Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Panama—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Panamá December 31, 1942 and March 2, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 428. Publication 2261. 6 pp. 5¢.

Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Paraguay—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington May 18 and 22, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 436. Publication 2264. 5 pp. 10¢.

### FOREIGN COMMERCE WEEKLY

The article listed below will be found in the February 24 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:

"North European Pulp and Paper Industries: Current Supply Conditions," based on a report by Grant Olson, attaché, American Legation, Stockholm.

## THE CONGRESS

Enactment of Title 17 of the United States Code Into Positive Law. H. Rept. 151, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 2199. 39 pp.

Amending Section 327 (H) of the Nationality Act of 1940. H. Rept. 159, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 392. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Preserving the Residence for Naturalization Purposes of Certain Allens Who Serve in the Military or Naval Forces of One of the Allied Countries During the Second World War, or Otherwise Assist in the Allied War Effort. H. Rept. 160, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 513. 5 pp. [Favorable report.]

Providing for the Naturalization of Certain Allen Veterans of the World War. H. Rept. 161, 79th Cong., to accompany H. R. 578. 2 pp. [Favorable report.]

Amending the Nationality Act of 1940. H. Rept. 162, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 669. 4 pp. [Favorable report.]

Amending Section 401 (a) of the Nationality Act of 1940 So As To Preserve the Nationality of Certain United States Citizens Who Have Been Unable To Return to the United States. H. Rept. 163, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 357. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Granting A Nonquota Status to Certain Alien Veterans and Their Wives. H. Rept. 164, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 433. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Amending the Nationality Act of 1940. H. Rept. 165, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 511. 4 pp. [Favorable report.]

Providing for the Reimbursement of Certain Civilian Personnel for Personal Property Lost as a Result of the Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong and Manila. H. Rept. 174, 79th Cong., to accompany H. R. 990. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Amending Section 342 (h) of the Nationality Act of 1940, Waiving Certain Fees for Members of the Armed Forces. H. Rept. 184, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 391. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Amending the Law Relating to the Authority of Certain Employees of the Immigration and Naturalization Service To Make Arrests Without Warrant in Certain Cases and To Search Vehicles Within Certain Areas. H. Rept. 186, 79th Cong., to accompany H. R. 356. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Repatriating Native-Born Women Residents of the United States. H. Rept. 189, 79th Cong., to accompany H. R. 384. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Reports To Be Made To Congress: Letter from the Clerk of the House of Representatives transmitting a list of reports which it is the duty of any officer or Department to make to Congress. H. Doc. 17, 79th Cong. 31 pp.

The Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1946. H. Doc. 27, 79th Cong. xxx, A89 pp., 851 pp. [Department of State, A17, A20, A60, A72, 581-600, 694-696.]

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## Contents—Continued

TREATY INFORMATION—Continued.	Page
Sanitary Conventions of 1944. United Kingdom . . . . .	308
Health and Sanitation. Ecuador . . . . .	314
Chilean-Swiss Financial Agreement . . . . .	314
THE DEPARTMENT	
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	316
THE FOREIGN SERVICE	
Confirmations . . . . .	315
Consular Offices . . . . .	315
PUBLICATIONS . . . . .	316
THE CONGRESS . . . . .	316



# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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# BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 297

MARCH 4, 1945

## *In this issue*

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT ON THE CRIMEA CONFERENCE  
OUR GLOBAL WAR

*Address by Acting Secretary Grew*

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR  
AND PEACE

*Remarks by the Secretary of State*

*Statement by Assistant Secretary Clayton*

*Act of Chapultepec*

*Resolutions Presented at the Conference by the United States Delegation*

"BUILDING THE PEACE"

*Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks*

THE BRETTON WOODS PROPOSALS AS PART OF POST-WAR  
ORGANIZATION

*Address by Assistant Secretary Acheson*

PUBLICATION OF "PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN  
RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930", VOLUME I

*For complete contents  
see inside cover*



MAR 23 1945

# Contents

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## BULLETIN

Vol. XII • No. 297 • PUBLICATION 2275



March 4, 1945

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Affairs, 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.

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	Page
<b>AMERICAN REPUBLICS</b>	
Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace:	
Remarks by the Secretary of State . . . . .	333
Statement by Assistant Secretary Clayton . . . . .	334
Act of Chapultepec . . . . .	339
Consolidation, Strengthening, and Reorganization of the Inter-American System . . . . .	341
Draft Resolutions of the United States Delegation:	
Free Access to Information . . . . .	343
Elimination of Remaining Centers of Subversive Influence and Prevention of Admission of Dangerous Deportees and Propagandists . . . . .	344
Wartime Trade Controls in Relation to Basic Commercial Policy . . . . .	345
Cooperation in Health, Sanitation, Nutrition and Food Supply Programs . . . . .	345
Social Questions . . . . .	346
Social Security . . . . .	346
The Admission and Surrender of War Criminals . . . . .	347
Economic Charter of the Americas . . . . .	347
Maintenance and Development of the Internal Economies of the American Republics . . . . .	349
Resolution of Mexican Delegation Dealing With the Problems of Looted and Enemy Property. Statement by Oscar Cox . . . . .	350
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Switzerland Relinquishes Italian Interests in United States . . . . .	361
<b>FAR EAST</b>	
American Consulate at Manila To Be Reopened. Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	332
<b>NEAR EAST</b>	
Declaration of War by Saudi Arabia Against Germany and Japan: Exchange of Messages . . . . .	375
<b>CULTURAL COOPERATION</b>	
Biochemist To Lecture at University of Brazil . . . . .	329
Professor of English Accepts Visiting Professorship to Chile . . . . .	353
Metallurgist Accepts Visiting Professorship to Brazil . . . . .	381
Chinese Doctor To Study in the United States . . . . .	355
Geologist Accepts Visiting Professorship to Brazil . . . . .	386
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
Scope and Functions of UNRRA and Its Relations to Other Agencies. Address by Charles P. Taft . . . . .	368
International Economic Problems. Address by John Parke Young . . . . .	376
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
Report on the Crimea Conference. Message of the President to the Congress . . . . .	321
Our Global War. Address by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	327
The Bretton Woods Proposals as Part of Post-War Organization. Address by Assistant Secretary Acheson . . . . .	352
"Building the Peace". Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks . . . . .	354
Conference on Books for Devastated Libraries: Announcement of Plans . . . . .	366
Remarks by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	367
World Organization and Economic Phases. Address by Charles P. Taft . . . . .	382
Consideration of Pending Telecommunication Problems . . . . .	386

(Continued on back cover)

# Report on the Crimea Conference

## Message of the President to the Congress<sup>1</sup>

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

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF  
THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-  
TIVES:

It is good to be home.

It has been a long journey. I hope you will agree that it was a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether it is to be entirely fruitful or not lies to a great extent in your hands. For unless you here in the halls of the American Congress—with the support of the American people—concur in the decisions reached at Yalta, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results.

That is why I come before you at the earliest hour after my return. I want to make a personal report to you—and, at the same time, to the people of the country. Many months of earnest work are ahead of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international peace, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly—together.

I return from this trip—which took me as far as 7,000 miles from the White House—refreshed and inspired. The Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel. We thrive on it!

Far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracle of rapid communication has made this world very small; and we must always bear that in mind when we think or speak of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington, and, except where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages any place in the world. And of course, in a grave emergency, we could even have risked breaking the security rule.

I come from the Crimean Conference, my fellow Americans, with a firm belief that we have made a good start on the road to a world of peace.

There were two main purposes at the Crimean Conference.<sup>2</sup> The first was to bring defeat to

Germany with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German Army, and the German people, are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied Armies. Every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops over German soil toward a meeting with the gallant Red Army.

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord which would bring order and security after the chaos of war, and which would give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

Toward that goal also a tremendous stride was made.

At Tehran, over a year ago, there were long-range military plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Tehran, however, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political agreements were made—and none was attempted.<sup>3</sup>

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field.

There was on all sides at this conference an enthusiastic effort to reach agreement. Since the time of the Tehran Conference, there had developed among all of us a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the future peace of the world.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

The lapse of time between Tehran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long—14 months. During this long period, local prob-

<sup>1</sup> Delivered by the President before a joint session of the Congress on Mar. 1, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> For Report of the Crimea Conference, see BULLETIN of Feb. 18, 1945, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 11, 1943, p. 409.

lems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugoslavia.

Therefore we decided at Yalta that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three Governments to meet more often in the future, we would make sure that there would be more frequent personal contacts for exchange of views.

Accordingly, we arranged for periodic meetings of the foreign secretaries of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States at intervals of three or four months. I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrence of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for a final and complete military victory over Germany, there were a number of problems of vital political consequence.

First, there were the problems of the occupation and control of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither Nazism nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world.

Second, there was the settlement of the few differences which remained among us with respect to the international security organization after the Dumbarton Oaks conference.

Third, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas which had been or would be liberated from the Nazi yoke.

Fourth, there were the special problems created by Poland and Yugoslavia.

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters, and we argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached. And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together.

It was Hitler's hope that we would not agree—that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity which would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for months.

But Hitler has failed.

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united—not only in their war aims but in

their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united with each other—and with all peace-loving nations—so that the ideal of lasting world peace will become a reality.

The Soviet, British, and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other, and conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill, and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of all the Allied forces. They completed their plans for the final knock-out blows to Germany.

At the time of the Tehran Conference, the Russian front was so far removed from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland and are fighting on the eastern soil of Germany; British and American troops are now on German soil close to the River Rhine in the west. It is a different situation today; a closer tactical liaison has become possible—and, in the Crimean Conference, this has been accomplished.

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under command of General Eisenhower, those under command of the Soviet marshals on the eastern front, and our armies in Italy—without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington and London as in the past.

You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombing by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used—in the day-by-day tactics of the war—in direct support of the Soviet Armies, as well as in support of our own on the western front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves and materials to the eastern and western fronts from other parts of Germany and from Italy.

Arrangements were made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort—American, British, and Russian.

Details of all these plans and arrangements are military secrets; but they will hasten the day of

the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow. They will learn more about them tomorrow and the next day—and every day!

There will be no respite for them. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender.

The German people, as well as the German soldiers, must realize that the sooner they give up and surrender, by groups or as individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to reestablish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat—that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders have deliberately withheld that part of the Yalta declaration from the German press and radio. They seek to convince the people of Germany that the Yalta declaration does mean slavery and destruction for them—for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins and deceive their people into continued useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at this conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russia, France, and the United States. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany—and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated in Berlin by a control council composed of representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender also means the end of Nazism, and of the Nazi Party—and all of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence in the public, private, and cultural life of Germany.

It means for the Nazi war criminals a punishment that is speedy and just—and severe.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its militarism and its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all of its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff, which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations in kind for the damage which it has done to the innocent victims of its aggression.

By compelling reparations in kind—in plants, and machinery, and rolling stock, and raw materials—we shall avoid the mistake made after the last war of demanding reparations in the form of money which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple—it is to secure the peace of the future world. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive war.

That objective will not harm the German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body which for generations has produced only misery and pain for the whole world.

During my stay at Yalta, I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury and destruction which comes out of German militarism. Yalta had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

Before the last war, it had been a resort for the Czars and for the aristocracy of Russia. Afterward, however, and until the attack upon the Soviet Union by Hitler, the palaces and villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took them over for their own use; and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, these villas were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all were destroyed. And even the humblest of homes were not spared.

There was little left in Yalta but ruin and desolation.

Sevastopol was also a scene of utter destruction—with less than a dozen buildings left intact in the whole city.

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry—but I *saw* Sevastopol and Yalta! And I know that there is not enough room on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean Conference were the agreements reached with respect to a general international organization for lasting world peace. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was

not reached at Dumbarton Oaks. It involved the procedure of voting in the Security Council.

At the Crimean Conference, the Americans made a proposal on this subject which, after full discussion, was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of that agreement publicly, but it will be in a very short time.

When the conclusions reached at the Crimean Conference with respect to voting in the Security Council are made known, I believe you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem. They are founded in justice and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

A conference of all the United Nations of the world will meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we shall not make the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to get the war over quickly, we work together to keep it from happening again.

I am well aware of the constitutional fact—as are all the United Nations—that this charter must be approved by two thirds of the Senate of the United States—as will some of the other arrangements made at Yalta.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this government in the creation of the international security organization.

The Senate and the House of Representatives will both be represented at the San Francisco conference. The congressional delegates to the San Francisco conference will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American Delegation is—in every sense of the word—bipartisan.

World peace is not a party question—any more than is military victory.

When our Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest in 1940, and then by the Japanese treachery of 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our com-

mon safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected by every patriotic American and by every human soul overseas.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations—or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace—and it will be a peace—based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter—on the conception of the dignity of the human being—on the guaranties of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

As the Allied Armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated peoples whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four years, and whose economy had been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas—as in Greece and Poland and Yugoslavia and other places. Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of them vaguely defined ideas of “spheres of influence” which were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go unchecked, these developments might have had tragic results.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and to assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement—a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see to it that interim governing authorities are as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles overseas can no longer be avoided by this great Nation. As I have said, it is a smaller world. The United States now exerts a vast influence in the cause of peace throughout all the world. It will continue to exert that influence only if it is willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It would be our own tragic loss were we to shirk that responsibility.

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly; and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way 100 percent—nor will Russia or Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward the ideal. But I am sure that—under the agreements reached at Yalta—there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a free expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends—with the exception only of such action as may be agreed upon in the international security organization.

The United Nations must also soon begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war-machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks and locomotives. They have left their industry stagnant and much of their agriculture unproductive.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the national interest of all of us to see that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continued relief from us.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allies in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe, and we came to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution. We did.

Our objective was to help create a strong, independent, and prosperous nation, with a gov-

ernment ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves.

To achieve this objective, it was necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized Government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary Government of Poland.

However, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary.

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was a compromise, under which, however, the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the north and west in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon Line. The limits of the western boundary will be permanently fixed in the final peace conference. It was agreed that a large coastline should be included.

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line are predominantly White Russian and Ukrainian, and that the people west of the line are predominantly Polish. As far back as 1919, the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples.

I am convinced that the agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent, and prosperous Polish state.

The Crimean Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers, on whose shoulders rest the chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although, for this reason, France was not a participant in the conference, no one should detract from the recognition there accorded of her role in the future of Europe and the world.

France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany and to participate as a fourth

member of the Allied Control Council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the international conference at San Francisco.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

And, finally, we have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

Agreement was also reached on Yugoslavia, as announced in the communiqué, and is in process of fulfillment.

Quite naturally, the Crimean Conference concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe—and not with the Pacific war.

At Malta, however, our Combined British and American Staffs made their plans to increase the attack against Japan.

The Japanese warlords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs know what it means to hear that "the United States Marines have landed". And we can add, having Iwo Jima in mind: "The situation is well in hand".

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila and Admiral Nimitz is establishing his air bases right in the backyard of Japan itself—in Iwo Jima.

It is still a tough, long road to Tokyo. The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, America must be prepared for a long and costly struggle in the Pacific.

But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany—if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way home from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because

they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work.

All Americans would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought—and won.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States—and of the world—for generations to come.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

I know that the word *planning* is not looked upon with favor in some quarters. In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning; and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning—reclamations of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For a second time, this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has now been furnished and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it—and sacrifice for it.

(Continued on page 361)



# Our Global War

Address by ACTING SECRETARY CREW<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 1]

The privilege of addressing the Overseas Writers is not one to be taken lightly, nor is this important group one that might be hospitable to platitudes, no matter how appetizingly those platitudes be presented. I shall endeavor to avoid them.

For the past three years, since my return from Tokyo, I have spent a good part of my time and energy and thought in trying to tell my fellow-countrymen how serious, in my view, is the menace of Japanese militarism. I have spoken again and again of the power of the Japanese war-machine, and of the cruelty, fanaticism, and tenacity of the Japanese fighting man.

I do not propose to enlarge on that subject tonight. Events far more effectively than words have, I think, convinced Americans of the nature of the enemy. Tarawa taught us lessons in unbelievable fanaticism; Manila shocked us with examples of unspeakable cruelty; Iwo is even now costing us dear because of the sheer tenacity of the enemy.

What we read in the daily papers has, quite naturally, hardened our determination to destroy utterly this loathsome machine and to wipe out its menace for all time. But there are other facts, less dramatic perhaps, that need to be restated at a time when the war in Europe is approaching its climax.

They are hard facts, but we cannot dodge them. Briefly they are these: *There can be no peace anywhere in the world until the Japanese, as well as the Nazi enemy, is laid low.* There can be no slackening of effort, no ease or comfort of mind or body, no economic security, no political stability, no pursuit of happiness anywhere in the world until that day.

I shall discuss tonight two of the many reasons why this is so.

Let us remember, in the first place, that this war began not in 1941, not in 1939, but in 1931. The first crack in the structure of world peace was the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. That, we now know, was just the first step in a carefully planned, long-range campaign of aggrandizement which

has made Japan literally one of the giants of the world. Today Japan sits astride the great trade routes of the East; they are virtually closed to the rest of the world. Today Japan has her tentacles firmly embedded in the richest sources of many of the world's raw materials; materials which became necessary to the normal economies of the rest of the world. I shall name only a few:

*Rubber.* Japan sits on nine tenths of the world's natural rubber supply. Today, Japan is paving her streets with it. Our own plight is too well known to need discussion.

*Tin.* Seventy percent of the world's supply is in the grasp of the so-called "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

*Copra.* The valuable vegetable oil—what would we not give for the use of it! Japan is sitting on 83 percent of what there is in the world.

I might go on to speak of rice, and what Japan's strangle-hold on 70 percent of the world's crop means to the hungry people of China. But there is no need to belabor the point. As long as these vital materials are denied to the rest of the world, as long as access to them and to the trade routes of the East are hers to dominate and exploit for selfish and aggressive purposes, neither we nor our Allies can hope for any return of peace, normal trade, or a decent standard of living for mankind.

It is some satisfaction to know that we are making it harder and harder for the Japanese to make good use of these ill-gotten riches. Allied navies are hounding Japan's merchant shipping to death. By a series of brilliant and daring offensives, we have come to within 700 miles of Tokyo—to the very gates of her inner defenses. Nevertheless, we have not yet succeeded in weakening Japan's power to wage war. Japan is still in a position to increase her production of planes, tanks, armored cars, and ordnance; in fact, she can replace her war-planes as fast as we have recently been destroying them. No blockade south of Formosa will deprive Japan of the coal, aluminum, iron, and food she needs. Her electric power is plentiful

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at the Overseas Writers dinner in New York, N. Y., on Mar. 1, 1945.

and cheap. Her foresight in stockpiling aviation gasoline will see her through another two years of war. All this we must remember, plus the fact that as our supply lines are lengthening, hers are contracting.

Nor do the warlords need to worry about manpower. To the four million men now under arms, Japan can add two million more who are ready and fit, but not yet called up, and still another million between the ages of 17 and 20. Japan can put a quarter of a million fresh men into the field each year—and we are not yet killing Japanese off at that rate.

You are probably well acquainted with these facts. Yet I venture to repeat them tonight because I think they are essential to any fair appraisal of the total job before the United Nations. The prodigious size of that job is another reason why we cannot hope for conditions of peace in Europe or anywhere else in the world until the final victory is won in the Pacific.

This is a bitter pill to us as well as to our Allies. I do not believe there are many Americans who would not gladly tighten their belts to help bring our friends in France and Belgium and the other liberated countries back to normal conditions of life. I know there is no single official of our Government who is not deeply convinced of the need to strain every resource to that end. It is not only a question of sympathy and friendship. Sound policy and good sense demand that our Allies be reinforced with everything we have. For the war in Europe is not yet won.

But the fact remains that what we can send them is not enough, and it will not be enough for their larger needs until the total victory is won in the Pacific.

I should like to be explicit about this. The facts I am going to discuss with you are military. Since I am not a military expert, I want to assure you that I have them on good authority. All of us should, I think, know and ponder these facts—especially those who, like yourselves, are writing about the war and helping so materially to inform public opinion.

There is, as you know, a serious shortage of shipping. There has been such a shortage ever since the beginning of the war, and there probably will be a shortage until some months after the final defeat of the enemy. This shortage is a major worry to every theater commander. I think it is fair to say that it has been one of the chief

limiting factors in the determination of the overall strategy of the war. Cargo is presumably as important as ships, and so far they have been geared together.

It is true that the United Nations have today more ships afloat than have ever been seen on the seven seas. We even hear reports of a surplus of ships in certain places—which seem to belie the over-all shortage. It is inevitable that there should be such temporary surpluses at specific ports, and I am told on good authority that when they do occur the ships are often put to use as storehouses, shuttle service, and on spot assignments.

We hear reports, too, that ships are wasted through delay in unloading them. About these reports, two things should be said. First—that we are badly off for enough good harbors to fill our staggering needs, even if inland transportation were able to move these shipments should they be gotten ashore. Many of the best harbors are still in enemy hands, and those captured from the enemy are oftener than not reduced to rubble in the process. Dock facilities have to be built from the ground up, and sometimes, as in the Pacific, we even have to create islands on which to build the ports. Elmer Davis recently brought back this report from the Pacific theater: "We have elaborate and busy air and shipping bases in the Pacific that were created around coral reefs—scooping up the bottom of the shallow sea alongside to make land out of it." Some of you may have seen this or a similar job which was done at Bermuda.

And secondly, on this subject of delay in unloading, I can report—again on good authority—that the docking situation has greatly improved in recent weeks as a result of superhuman efforts by our men and machines. However, I confess I do not see how delays can ever be entirely eliminated in doing a job so immense and so difficult.

Even more limiting than the scarcity of good harbors and docks are the factors of time and distance in this global war. For every ship needed to defeat Nazi Germany, it takes three to defeat Japan. This means that more tonnage was needed to land the Marines on Iwo—a tiny dot on the map—than had to be amassed in support of the Americans who invaded North Africa.

For every man who invades a Pacific island, 16 tons of shipping are needed in the first 30 days, and 6 tons a man are needed for every 30 days

thereafter. (These supplies, incidentally, include 700,000 items, from buttons, needles, and thread to tanks, planes, and locomotives.)

On this basis, let us add up the shipping requirements of Luzon and Iwo.

To land the 100,000 men we now have on Luzon—or had a few days ago—it took 1,600,000 tons for the first 30 days, at 16 tons a man; and will take another 600,000 for the second 30 days, at 6 tons a man. Thus for the first two months alone, provided our force is not increased, it will take a total of 2,200,000 tons of shipping.

Now take Iwo, where some 40,000 Marines have landed to date. To support them in the first month will require 640,000 tons, and in the second month, another 240,000 tons—or a total of 880,000 tons for the first two months on Iwo.

Therefore, for the first 60 days of these two operations alone some 3,080,000 tons of shipping had to be diverted from the United Nations pool—or 6 percent of the entire pool of 50,000,000 tons. These figures—and I believe my arithmetic is correct—are based on estimates from Admiral Nimitz' headquarters. As the tempo and difficulty of the Pacific offensive increases, I have no doubt they will have to be revised upward. Shipping has never been tighter than it is today. I know of no better statement of the general picture than the one Mr. Churchill gave the House of Commons on Tuesday. "The reason why shipping is so tight at present," said the Prime Minister, "is because the peak period of the war in Europe has been prolonged for a good many months beyond what was hoped last autumn, and meanwhile the peak period against Japan has been brought forward by American victories in the Pacific."

I do not envy the men who must weigh the competing demands for shipping and make the final decisions. Those who would question these decisions would question the entire strategy on which the war has been fought and is being won. That strategy has consisted, in part, in pressing the war in the Pacific with ever-increasing energy and fury, to knock Japan off balance and keep her off balance. In doing this we have upset Japan's careful calculations, based on her expectation of a war not of decades, but of generations. We know that Japan's greatest asset was time—time to exploit her riches and amass huge stockpiles of them in her home islands. If we had given her time to do this, if we had limited our Pacific effort to a holding

operation until the European battle was won, the war would have been immeasurably lengthened and peace indefinitely postponed.

Instead we chose the strategy of attacking both Germany and Japan now in a crescendo of speed and power. Like most Americans, I believe that strategy has been magnificently justified and successful. I believe it is shortening the war. I believe it is bringing closer for all the people of the United Nations the day when not only liberation but the conditions of peace can return. Those conditions *we* long for as fervently as do the people who have been most cruelly deprived of them. And those conditions will be restored when, and only when, Japan and all her evil machine of conquest have been beaten to the ground.

This *world war*, we have discovered by bitter experience, is no metaphor but a terrible and urgent reality—a reality which affects the lives of people in France and Belgium, in Britain and China, in Russia and Greece, the hopes and plans of human beings everywhere. There will be no escape from its reality. There will be no peace for men and women anywhere until the *world* is at peace.

## Biochemist To Lecture at University of Brazil

[Released to the press March 2]

Eric G. Ball, associate professor of biological chemistry at Harvard Medical School and a trustee of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, has accepted an invitation to deliver a series of lectures at the School of Medicine of the University of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro. Dr. Ball will also direct research in cellular respiration at that institution. He will spend a period of approximately six weeks in Brazil, beginning in April. His trip is under joint auspices of the Brazilian Government and the Department of State of the United States.

Dr. Ball is a graduate of Haverford College and of the University of Pennsylvania, where he received his doctoral degree. He has held a National Research Fellowship in medicine at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and an International Physiological Congress Fellowship at Rome.

In 1940 Dr. Ball was granted the Eli Lilly award in biochemistry, and in 1942 Harvard University conferred on him an honorary degree.

## Publication of "Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1930", Volume I

THE Department of State releases March 11 the first of three volumes constituting a documentary record of American foreign relations for the year 1930. The second and third volumes are in the final stages of printing and will be released at a later date. Besides a general section devoted exclusively to multilateral negotiations, Volume I contains seven other sections recording relations between the United States and Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, and Chile.

In 1930, eve of a most fateful decade in world history, the Department was concerned with effective general disarmament. More than one third of the 577 documents in this volume cover the London Naval Conference, efforts to resolve Italy's demand for naval parity with France, and the final session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

The first issue to confront the American Delegation at the Naval Conference was a Japanese demand for revision from the 10-10-6 ratio established by the Washington naval treaty of 1922 to a ratio of 10-10-7 (p. 2). Japanese naval experts publicly explained that a fleet weaker than its enemy by any ratio less than 7-10 would inevitably be defeated. This formula, reported William R. Castle, Jr., American Ambassador in Japan, was only being considered with respect to a war between the United States and Japan (pp. 9-10). In such a war, Japan's naval experts believed that the United States would seek a quick decision. The other alternative, a war of attrition, would necessitate use of the American merchant marine to transport an effective military force across the Pacific. Consequently, foreign merchant marines would capture American carrying trade and foreign markets. To launch offensive operations against Japan, these same Japanese experts reasoned that the American fleet would immediately, upon a declaration of war, proceed from Pearl Harbor to Manila. As a counter-measure, the Japanese would operate from the mandated Marshall and Caroline Islands with large submarine units. At a later date, Mr. Castle reported upon a conversation with Masanao Hanihara, former Japanese Ambassador

in the United States (pp. 11-12). Hanihara, obviously acting under instructions, spoke about prevailing opinion in Japan. The Japanese felt that the naval plans of the United States covered the possibility of war against Japan to compel acceptance of American ideas regarding China. For Japan, Hanihara stated, war with the United States would be the worst possible disaster. Even from a selfish point of view, Japan could never think of it. A resolution of the Japanese demand, very satisfactory to the American Delegation, was achieved prior to signature of the Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament on April 22, 1930. Important sections of that treaty ceased to be in force on December 31, 1936 by reason of Japan's denunciation on December 29, 1934 of the Washington naval treaty.

Another 45 percent of the documents in this volume pertain to relations between the United States and the other American republics. Among the subjects treated are territorial and boundary questions, particularly the Chaco dispute; changes of governments in Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil; reconnaissance surveys for an inter-American highway; and automotive traffic.

Among other situations dealt with in this volume are those concerned with the Bank for International Settlements; international conferences for a tariff truce; criticism of American tariff legislation; improvement of the St. Lawrence Waterway; dual nationality; aviation; and radio.

Publication of this volume and of two others in the near future will complete a documentary record of American foreign relations for the decade 1921-1930. This record adds up, statistically, to 24 volumes or more than 22,000 pages. The character and size of the material thus assembled is determined by a departmental order of March 26, 1925 and by appropriations. These limitations have served chiefly to bar the inclusion of "trivial and inconsequential details" relating to "major policies". Consequently, if, for a given year, relations with a foreign government are routine, correspondence pertaining to such activity may not appear.

The previous volumes of *Foreign Relations* contain documents which date the origin and record the progress of negotiations concluded or continuing in this volume. As far back as 1920, for example, *Foreign Relations* included correspondence upon development of a St. Lawrence seaway. The subject is continued in this volume with the United States declaring its readiness "to proceed with this proposed development at the earliest possible date" (p. 532). The Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay is continued from the 1929 volume. Correspondence upon the London Naval Conference appeared also in *Foreign Relations, 1929*.

Upon his arrival in London as chairman of the American Delegation to the Naval Conference, Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson immediately began conversations to remove two obstacles to unanimity upon a disarmament agreement. The issues were a Japanese demand for revision from the 10-10-6 ratio established by the Washington naval treaty of 1922 to a ratio of 10-10-7; and, secondly, Franco-Italian naval rivalry (pp. 132-186). Mr. Stimson and Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald were agreed upon opposing this demand of the Japanese for this revised ratio. Italian insistence upon parity with France, however, proved to be an insoluble problem.

Under these circumstances, the American Delegation initiated tripartite negotiations with the British and Japanese Delegations. Of current interest is that section of a tentative American suggestion (pp. 13-17) which provided for disposal of the U.S.S. *Arkansas* and modernization of the U.S.S. *Idaho*, two of the six "old unsinkables" which were reported to have spear-headed the recent successful attack on the Japanese stronghold of Iwo Island. By the final treaty, however, the United States was permitted to retain for training purposes either the U.S.S. *Arkansas* or the U.S.S. *Wyoming*. This American plan sought, among other things,

"First, with Great Britain immediate parity in every class of ship in the Navy.

"As is well known, we will gladly agree to a total abolition of submarines if it is possible to obtain the consent of all five powers to such a proposition, and in any event we suggest that the operations of submarines be limited to the same

rules of international law as surface craft in operation against merchant ships so that they cannot attack without providing for the safety of the passengers and crew.

"Second, our suggestion to the Japanese would produce an over-all relation satisfactory to us and, we hope, to them. In conformity with our relations in the past it is not based upon the same ratio in every class of ships" (pp. 19-20).

The American Delegation eventually reached a satisfactory agreement with the British and Japanese Delegations.

On April 22, 1930 the Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament was signed at London by representatives of France, Great Britain, and those states of the British Empire which held separate membership in the League of Nations (Australia, Canada, India, the Irish Free State, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa), Italy, Japan, and the United States (pp. 107-125).

Since 1926 the United States had participated in the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, a commission created by the Council of the League of Nations. At the final meeting of the sixth session, Geneva, December 9, 1930, Hugh S. Gibson, chairman of the American Delegation, undertook to dispel any undue American optimism such as had embarrassed the Delegation at the London Naval Conference. With regard to the draft convention, he warned:

"I should not be frank if I did not say that this draft falls far short of our hopes and expectations. It fails to contain many factors in which we have always believed and which, in our opinion, would lead to a real reduction of armaments. What we have achieved does not hold out the promise of bringing about that immediate reduction of armaments we would like to see. . . . We can at least foresee a stabilization of armaments, the setting up of a machinery to receive and disseminate information on armaments, to educate public opinion, and to prepare systematically for the work of future conferences". (p. 202).

Three other sections of correspondence in this volume relate to situations created by action of the League of Nations.

Because of the important effect which its conclusions might have upon American foreign relations, Secretary of State Stimson favored the ap-

pointment of a delegation to the Conference for the Codification of International Law held at The Hague, March 13 - April 20, 1930 (pp. 204-231). Discussion centered upon questions of nationality, territorial waters, and responsibility of states for damages caused in their territory to the person or property of foreigners. The American Delegation, headed by David Hunter Miller, Editor of the Treaties, and Green H. Hackworth, present Legal Adviser of the Department, took a prominent and at times decisive part in the proceedings.

This Government declined an invitation of the League of Nations to participate in the International Conference for a Tariff Truce, Geneva, February-March and November 1930 (pp. 238-246). Nevertheless, unofficial observers were sent to Geneva because the conference was "regarded as the first step in a possible reorientation of European trade and tariff policy of vital concern to American commercial and financial interests" (p. 241). Upon adjournment of the conference Prentiss Gilbert, American consul at Geneva, began his report with this observation:

"Conference considered to have been a failure as far as negotiations with a view to ameliorating present tariff conditions are concerned. The general air has been pessimistic throughout" (p. 245).

On March 8, 1930 a committee of the League of Nations Assembly proposed certain amendments to the League Covenant which would bring that document into harmony with the Kellogg-Briand pact. In reply to a British *aide-memoire* upon the subject the Department asserted that the proposed amendments would alter the conditions under which the Senate had formulated its reservations to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the World Court, January 27, 1926 (p. 233).

More than 250 documents in this volume relate to diplomatic activity between the United States and 14 other American republics. Documents on the Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay cover two separate actions: (1) Bolivia and Paraguay accepted the Uruguayan formula for carrying out the terms of the conciliation agreement of September 12, 1929; (2) the five neutral nations (Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, the United States, and

Uruguay) proposed beginning direct negotiations in Washington for settlement of the basic question. Bolivia and Paraguay accepted the proposal.

*Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1930*, was compiled by George V. Blue, Philip M. Burnett, Victor J. Farrar, and John Gilbert Reid under the direction of E. Wilder Spaulding, Chief of the Division of Research and Publication, and E. R. Perkins, of that division, Editor of the *Foreign Relations* volumes. Copies of Volume I (lxxv, 564 pp.) will be available shortly and may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents for \$1.75 each.

Volumes II and III of *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1930*, will be released at a later date. The three volumes will contain approximately 1,600 documents recording diplomatic activity between the United States and some 34 countries.

## American Consulate at Manila To Be Reopened

**Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW**

[Released to the press March 2]

It gives me great pleasure to announce that, as a result of consultation with the appropriate military authorities in Washington and in the Philippines, the American Consulate at Manila will be reopened at an early date. Paul P. Steintorf, the newly appointed Consul General, accompanied by a staff of six officers, will leave Washington by air within the next few days for Manila.

Immediately on arrival of Mr. Steintorf and his staff the office will be reopened as a Consulate General. There are more than 6,000 Americans in the liberated areas of the Philippines, and nearly all of these have until recently been inmates of Japanese internment camps. There is believed to be an urgent need at Manila for the customary American consular facilities. The Department for some time has been actively preparing to meet this need, and it now announces with pleasure that these facilities will shortly be available.

Authority has also been granted for the reopening by allied and neutral countries of Consulates maintained by them in Manila prior to the outbreak of the war in the Pacific.

# Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace

## REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE<sup>1</sup>

(Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D.F., March 2)

It is a great pleasure to extend a personal greeting to the American Community of Mexico City, which has honored me with this reception. The American Chamber of Commerce, the American Club of Mexico, and the American Society of Mexico, joining company for this occasion, are identified not only with the business and social interests of my countrymen in Mexico but with the advancement of closer and mutually beneficial relations between the United States and this republic.

The cordiality of your relationships with the people of Mexico must have contributed appreciably to the fine hospitality and friendliness with which the United States Delegation to the Inter-American Conference has been received in this city.

My good friend, Ambassador Messersmith, has told me of your important assistance to the war effort in which our country and Mexico make common cause. I have been especially pleased to learn that an American community committee of women is cooperating with the American Red Cross and the Mexican Red Cross in the work of those organizations for the aid and comfort of our soldiers and sailors.

Perhaps it would be timely to suggest here why I look to this community, and to the groups of United States citizens resident in other American republics, for their friendly interest and cooperation in realizing many of the aims of our inter-American program.

The policy of the Good Neighbor has been accepted throughout the Americas. Now millions of people throughout this hemisphere watch eagerly for its translation into measures that will advance their welfare, raise living standards, and increase purchasing power.

In my address at Plenary Session of the Inter-American Conference, I said that:

"The United States intends to propose and support measures for closer cooperation among us (the American Republics) in public health, nutri-

tion, and food supply, labor, education, science, freedom of information, transportation, and in economic development, including industrialization and the modernization of agriculture."<sup>2</sup>

International relations no longer are confined to the relatively narrow policy interests and contacts of government officials. Diplomacy must now be fully representative of all the people. It must be an international vehicle for social and economic advancement, enabling nations to share responsibilities for common progress and security.

At the Inter-American conference now in progress here, you have doubtless observed the intention of the United States Government to make its diplomacy broadly representative. Our Delegation embraces representatives of Congress, commerce, labor, agriculture, industry. It represents a composite of national interests and opinions applicable to the many difficult tasks of inter-American relations.

The thought that I wish to leave with you is this: Since the development of international policy is to have the benefit of this broadly representative aspect, then it is logical and necessary that international relations should be supported in the same broadly representative spirit by our American citizens whose business and professions have caused them to live abroad.

In wartime, I know that this American community, and the groups of Americans in many other countries, have accepted such international civic responsibilities in a spirit of service and personal sacrifice. I am confident that as we emerge into the post-war period the same spirit and endeavor will continue. United States citizens beyond the confines of their own country will be known, as they should be, for their intelligent and effective participation in the cause of better international relations.

Thank you.

<sup>1</sup> Made at reception given by American Community in México, D. F., on Mar. 2, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 25, 1945, p. 280.

STATEMENT BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY CLAYTON<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 27]

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I am grateful for this opportunity to address the two economic committees of this conference, meeting in joint session.

On behalf of the United States Delegation, I wish to discuss with you some of the economic problems which are of great concern to the other American republics as well as to the Government and people of the United States.

As you will recall, the program of the United States Government for the procurement of strategic and critical materials, first for defense and later for war, was begun in the summer and fall of 1940.

As Deputy Federal Loan Administrator, I was then and for some time thereafter in charge of the foreign procurement programs of the Metals Reserve Company, the Defense Supplies Corporation, and the Rubber Reserve Company. I have a keen recollection of the negotiations and contracts which were entered into with the producers and the governments of the other American nations. These contracts involved a great variety of strategic and critical materials essential to the defense of my country and later to the prosecution of the war into which we were plunged by the Axis powers, intent upon world domination.

Looking back upon the negotiation of those early contracts, involving hundreds of millions of dollars, I take great pride and pleasure in saying that they were made without undue bargaining; that the prices were fair and equitable; that the contracts were on the whole performed with complete honesty and integrity; that every effort was made to extend production to meet our needs; and that the spirit throughout, in the negotiation and in the performance, was on the whole very fine and very cooperative. I am reliably informed that the same may also be said regarding later contracts and performance under them.

In the four and one-half years which have elapsed since those first contracts were made, the United States has by private and Government

purchase bought more than five billion dollars worth of goods from the other American republics.

This is a very large sum, and there are people in my country who take a very narrow and one-sided view of these transactions. They say: "Just look at the billions that we have poured out to these people! They should be extremely grateful to us for supplying so lucrative a market for their production". And you probably have people in your country who say: "The United States might have lost the war if we had not supplied them with millions of tons of essential materials, and for this they are certainly under everlasting obligation to us".

Taken separately these views present a very distorted picture of the situation; taken together they merely state the facts which are that you and we have engaged in enormous transactions having a high degree of mutuality of interest and benefit.

It should further be said that these transactions have been abnormal both in size and in character; that they were entered into with the purpose of defeating a powerful and ruthless enemy, intent upon the destruction of your liberty and ours; that wars always come to an end, and that when this one finally drags its bloody and destructive course to a conclusion it will open up to all of us an untried and an unknown road on which we must travel, in converting from a war economy to a peace economy. Despite the hardships, the risks, and the dangers which this journey may involve, there is no way to avoid traveling that road. Every consideration of enlightened self-interest, every circumstance and condition which have brought and held us together throughout this war dictate that you and we should travel that road together.

Now what are these grave post-war problems which you and we must face?

We understand that one of your first concerns is that the ending of the war will bring a sudden termination to these huge procurement contracts about which we have been talking and that the resulting shock may, before peacetime markets are restored, precipitate economic and social disturbances of a very grave character.

<sup>1</sup>Made Feb. 27, 1945 before a joint session of the economic committees of the Conference. Mr. Clayton is Adviser to the American Delegation.



You realize, I am sure, that we in the United States have that problem also and in a highly magnified form.

But we will talk about your problems first.

Let us not forget in doing so that it is the unknown which frightens us and that horrible imaginings are seldom realized.

Let us go back again to the summer of 1940.

France had fallen; Italy had entered the war; practically the entire continent of Europe, always a major market for your products, was cut off. If your recollection of those dark days is as keen as mine, and I am sure it is, you will recall the deep concern which all of us felt for the effect which this situation might have on the economic and social structure of your countries.

It was agreed that something had to be done.

In September 1940 the capital of the Export-Import Bank was increased by 500 million dollars "to assist in the development of the resources, the stabilization of the economies, and the orderly marketing of the products of the countries of the Western Hemisphere".<sup>1</sup>

Relatively little of this money was ever called for by you to assist in the orderly marketing of your products.

You didn't call for it because you didn't need it for the purpose. The United Nations took what you had for sale and called for more and more.

Almost five years have passed since those anxious days in 1940, and you and we are again deeply concerned regarding markets for your products, when war, like a huge maw, no longer feeds upon them.

That adjustments must then be made is obvious.

That there will be a breathing spell, within which peacetime demands will develop, as war requirements lessen, is probable.

No responsible person would be so rash as to predict when this war will end, but that it will end in Europe before it does in the Pacific seems highly probable. The transition period will begin with the end of the European war, but in all probability may not be marked by any large cut in war procurement.

We will continue as in the past to give appropriate notice of the curtailment or termination of procurement contracts. We will confer freely with you regarding such reductions and the neces-

sary adjustments which they will involve. We will consider and cooperate with you in measures designed to effect these adjustments with the least possible shock to your economy. We recognize our responsibility in this field, and we propose to meet it, consistent with our laws, our public opinion, and a due regard for our own economy.

There is some doubt whether we can legally stockpile materials which have no relation to our requirements for war.

Encouragement of production through stockpiling of materials for which there is no current or early prospective market is in any case a very dangerous procedure for the producers of such materials.

I am sure you will recognize that this statement is supported by the very considerable experience which the United States and other countries have had in connection with such stockpiles during the period between the two wars.

Markets are extremely sensitive to the existence of large surpluses and until such surpluses are absorbed their presence inevitably acts as a depressing influence on prices, on initiative, and on enterprise.

In due course we expect that there will be legislation in the United States authorizing a post-war stockpile of strategic and critical materials to provide for our military security and for our contribution to the maintenance of security in the Western Hemisphere and in the world. It is impossible to predict at this time what these stockpiles will consist of, but in any case they will probably be frozen for security purposes. It is expected that these stockpiles will be constructed partly out of stocks in the hands of the United States Army and Navy and other Government agencies at the end of this war. To the extent that such stocks are so used they will not compete with new production in satisfying peacetime demands.

Now, when will these peacetime demands appear and in what volume?

With the war over in Europe, reconstruction and rehabilitation of the liberated areas will set in promptly. Orders for goods will commence to flow. Europe is starved for goods of all kinds.

<sup>1</sup> Act approved Sept. 26, 1940 (Public Law 792, 76th Cong.). See also BULLETIN of Dec. 3, 1944, p. 667.

But how can Europe pay before her productive capacity is restored?

Europe will pay in two ways.

In the first place, the gold and dollar reserves of the world outside of the United States are about 20 billions of dollars, or roughly four times what they were at the end of the first World War. In the second place, credits will be available.

About two weeks ago the President of the United States sent a message to Congress requesting approval of the Bretton Woods proposal for the establishment of an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.<sup>1</sup> The former will have funds totaling about 9 billion dollars for the stabilization of the exchanges of the United Nations, and the latter will have a capital of about 9 billions for reconstruction and development loans. Of these sums the United States will furnish a total of nearly 6 billion dollars, assuming that the proposal is approved by the Congress, which is confidently expected. In addition, the Congress is being asked to provide for an increase in the capital of the Export-Import Bank, which will enable the Bank to continue its operations as in the past, but on a much larger scale.

Besides these means of payment, UNRRA has, as you know, funds immediately available for rehabilitation and relief.

There is, then, no cause for pessimism regarding the urgent and, in many cases, desperate post-war need for useful goods of all kinds, or of the ability to provide the means of payment. Indeed, it is the expectation that within a few years after the end of the war the volume of international trade will expand to considerably higher than pre-war levels.

Your second serious concern, as you have expressed it to us, relates to the conservation and use of the very substantial dollar balances which you have accumulated during the period of the war by reason of the fact that you have sold considerably more goods during this period than you have been able to procure.

This problem has two aspects.

You have the very laudable ambition, as we understand it, to make use of these balances for

the permanent improvement and development of your economies to the end that the levels of living in your respective countries may be substantially raised.

To this end you wish to prevent the draining off of these balances at the first opportunity through the purchase abroad of luxury goods.

Another aspect of this problem is your concern that the transitional and post-war demands upon the productive facilities of the United States for capital goods, tools, machinery and equipment, and technical knowledge will be so great as to make it difficult, if not impossible, for you to satisfy your requirements in this field.

We in the United States recognize that both aspects of this problem are difficult, and we are prepared to work actively with you to accomplish your objective.

We further recognize that our war-procurement transactions with you cannot really be considered completed until you have received from us or others an equivalent in goods and services, and that the dollars which lie at your credit in our country are of little use to you until they can be employed for that purpose.

It is obviously in our interest to furnish these goods and services at the earliest possible time.

It is also in our interest that you should, as you desire, use a very substantial portion of these dollars for the sound development of your industrial, agricultural, and mineral resources because in so doing you will raise the level of living of your peoples and thus furnish to us an enlarged market for our own production.

As you know, it is one of the principles of the post-war commercial policy of my country to avoid exchange controls. Indeed the International Monetary Fund about which we have already spoken is being set up for that purpose among others. It is recognized, however, that some reasonable controls may be unavoidable in the transition period, and this is provided for in the Bretton Woods proposal. We are prepared to consider with you the extent and manner to which such controls may be necessary to accomplish the purpose you have in mind. Exchange or similar controls should not be used for other motives such as the imposition of hidden tariffs, quotas, etc., for the protection of domestic industries.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 18, 1945, p. 220.

With reference to the availability in the United States of the capital goods, tools, machinery, and equipment which you require in implementing your post-war policy of economic development, it must be admitted right off that we face here an extremely difficult problem.

For five years now the insatiable demands of war have made it impossible for you to satisfy your requirements for goods of this kind, for keeping your industries and transportation systems in working order, and for new developments, so greatly needed.

Whereas before the war the markets of several great industrial nations were open to you for supplying such goods, you have had to rely principally upon the United States for the past five years.

We realize that our performance has fallen far short of meeting your needs, but the record is better than most people know. Here it is:

For the past five years, 1940 to 1944, inclusive, our total exports to the other American republics have exceeded 4 billion dollars in value. For the year 1944 they exceeded 1 billion dollars in value as against 800 million in 1943, 700 million in 1942, and 500 million in a typical pre-war year. While there has been some increase in prices, pre-war volume has been well maintained.

These goods have been furnished at a time when we were fighting all over the world the greatest war in history, and at a time when we were furnishing our Allies with 35 billion dollars' worth of war materials and other vital goods for the prosecution of the war.

May I add that we in the United States have also had to do without equipment, tools, and machinery unless their need or use were directly related to the war. In consequence many of our plants which have been operating 24 hours daily are badly in need of repairs and new equipment. For some years now new construction of all kinds has been denied unless it had to do with the war.

As has been said, the demand for goods of all kinds in the post-war period is certain to be extremely heavy and particularly in the field of capital equipment for reconstruction, reconversion, and rehabilitation.

At the same time the productive facilities for goods of this character will have been substantially destroyed throughout the world except in two or three countries. In consequence, the load which will be placed on these two or three countries will be a very heavy one.

As you know, our facilities in the United States for the production of capital goods have been greatly expanded and in some cases enormously expanded. For example, we have facilities for manufacturing twelve to fifteen times as many machine tools as in the pre-war period.

So long as the existing controls which have been set up in the United States continue, we have the means at hand for an equitable allocation of our production, and it is the intention to continue to make use of such means to see that you obtain a fair share of such production. Meantime, we will carefully investigate other methods of assuring you of a fair proportion of our capital goods when our present governmental controls expire. I have tried to tell fairly the story of the relations between the United States and the other American republics in respect of our procurement from you of strategic and critical materials for the war and in respect of your procurement from us of the goods required by you.

I would like now to mention briefly the relations between your countries and mine in another field.

I have already spoken of the Export-Import Bank and of the authority which was given to the Bank by Congress "to assist in the development of the resources, the stabilization of the economies, and the orderly marketing of the products of the countries of the Western Hemisphere".

When in September 1940 the capital of the Bank was increased by 500 million dollars for these purposes, there were cynics in the United States and elsewhere who predicted that this money would be quickly borrowed, that additional sums would be requested and granted, and that the bulk of it would be wasted and never repaid.

Now, what are the facts?

Since its creation in 1934 the Export-Import Bank has made commitments to other American countries in excess of 800 million dollars but the borrowers have so far used only 263 million dollars or about one third of this commitment. Of this

latter sum approximately one half has been repaid by the borrowers in accordance with the terms of the loan agreements so that at this time there are outstanding on the books of the Bank loans to other American countries of only 131 million dollars. No loan made by the Bank to countries of the Western Hemisphere is in default. All payments have been made as due.

This is a record of which you and the Bank may be justly proud.

The Bank is ready now and later in the post-war period to consider applications for development loans of a sound nature.

The policy of the Bank does not permit it to make loans for the establishment of enterprises which can only make their way through government subsidies or excessive tariffs. I am sure you will recognize the correctness of this policy.

Now, may I also say a word regarding the post-war economic policy of the United States. The Secretary of State in the second plenary session of this conference expressed our basic objectives in this field and it has been our privilege to propose to the conference an economic charter of the Americas which sets forth the policies we believe to be necessary for the realization of these objectives.<sup>1</sup>

The United States Government is definitely committed to a post-war policy looking to a substantial expansion in world economy. We recognize the interdependence of nations in the political, military, and economic fields for the preservation of peace in the world and for the creation of those conditions which will promote higher levels of living through an expansion in production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services and through international cooperation in fostering the betterment of labor standards and health and social conditions in general. To this end it is our intention to work actively for international agreements to remove all discriminations in trade, to reduce tariffs and other barriers to trade, and for the approval of the Bretton Woods proposal and the adoption of every other sound measure which will quicken and expand production and the international exchange of goods and services.

We recognize that international commodity agreements may be necessary in exceptional cases of important primary commodities in which bur-

densome surpluses have developed or threaten to develop. Both consuming and producing countries should have representation in such agreements, which should look to the expansion of consumption and the readjustment of production, with due regard to the requirements of an expanding world economy.

We do not believe that we can have a high level of employment and prosperity in our country if a substantial part of the world is suffering from depression, and we are quite sure that a satisfactory condition of employment and prosperity in the United States is a highly important factor in contributing to a like condition in other countries.

The United States is determined to remain strong economically and financially. Unless she does so, there is little chance that the rest of the world can prosper.

We recognize that the most elaborate arrangements for the preservation of peace will not long endure if economic warfare is to continue throughout the world in the way in which it was waged between the two world wars.

The United States Delegation, recognizing its responsibility to work for hemispheric and world security, peace, and progress, assures its American neighbors that it favors:

1. The promotion of equal and reciprocal opportunity for the nationals and goods of all the Americas in all markets.
2. Freedom, through adherence to principles of fair trade, from discrimination against smaller nations by stronger nations in hemispheric or world organization.
3. Establishment of such necessary hemispheric practices and agencies, consistent with the principles of the charter of the United Nations, when created, as will have the tendency and responsibility to foster the development of competitive enterprise, expansion of economic activity, and promotion of economic peace.

We are dedicated to the ways of economic peace in the world, in order that there may be created a favorable climate for the preservation of physical peace, and in order that the peoples of the world may be better fed, better clothed, and better housed.

As our President has said more than once, this generation has a rendezvous with destiny.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 25, 1945, p. 277.

## ACT OF CHAPULTEPEC

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D.F., March 3]

### DECLARATION ON RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE AND AMERICAN SOLIDARITY<sup>1</sup>

#### WHEREAS:

1. The peoples of the Americas, animated by a profound love of justice, remain sincerely devoted to the principles of international law:

2. It is their desire that such principles, notwithstanding the present difficult circumstances, may prevail with greater force in future international relations:

3. The Inter-American Conferences have repeatedly proclaimed certain fundamental principles, but these must be reaffirmed and proclaimed at a time when the juridical bases of the community of nations are being established:

4. The new situation in the world makes more imperative than ever the union and solidarity of the American peoples, for the defense of their rights and the maintenance of international peace:

5. The American states have been incorporating in their international law, since 1890, by means of conventions, resolutions and declarations, the following principles:

(a) The proscription of territorial conquest and the non-recognition of all acquisitions made by force (First International Conference of American States, 1890).

(b) The condemnation of intervention by a State in the internal or external affairs of another (Seventh International Conference of American States, 1933, and Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936).

(c) The recognition that every war or threat of war affects directly or indirectly all civilized peoples, and endangers the great principles of liberty and justice which constitute the American ideal and the standard of its international policy (Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936).

(d) The procedure of mutual consultation in order to find means of peaceful cooperation in the event of war or threat of war between American countries (Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936).

(e) The recognition that every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them and justifies the initiation of the procedure of consultation (Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936).

(f) That any difference or dispute between the American nations, whatever its nature or origin, shall be settled by the methods of conciliation, or unrestricted arbitration, or through the operation of international justice (Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936).

(g) The recognition that respect for the personality, sovereignty and independence of each American State constitutes the essence of international order sustained by continental solidarity, which historically has been expressed and sustained by declarations and treaties in force (Eighth International Conference of American States, 1938).

(h) The affirmation that respect for and the faithful observance of treaties constitutes the indispensable rule for the development of peaceful relations between States, and treaties can only be revised by agreement of the contracting parties (Declaration of American Principles, Eighth International Conference of American States, 1938).

(i) That in case the peace, security or territorial integrity of any American republic is threatened by acts of any nature that may impair them, they proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity, coordinating their respective sovereign wills by means of the procedure of consultation, using the measures which in each case the circumstances may make advisable (Declaration of Lima, Eighth International Conference of American States, 1938).

(j) 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 all the American States. (Declaration XV of the Second Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Habana, 1940).

6. The furtherance of these principles, which the American States have practiced in order to secure peace and solidarity between the nations of the Continent constitutes an effective means of contributing to the general system of world security and of facilitating its establishment: and

7. The security and solidarity of the Continent are affected to the same extent by an act of aggression against any of the American States by a non-

<sup>1</sup> As approved by Committee III, Mar. 3, 1945.

American State, as by an American State against one or more American states.

#### PART I

##### *Declaration*

#### THE GOVERNMENTS REPRESENTED AT THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON WAR AND PEACE

##### DECLARE:

First. That all sovereign States are juridically equal amongst themselves.

Second. That every state has the right to the respect of its individuality and independence, on the part of the other members of the international community.

Third. That every attack of a State against the integrity or the inviolability of territory, or against the sovereignty or political independence of an American State, shall, conformably to Part III hereof, be considered as an act of aggression against the other States which sign this declaration. In any case invasion by armed forces of one State into the territory of another trespassing boundaries established by treaty and demarcated in accordance therewith shall constitute an act of aggression.

Fourth. That in case acts of aggression occur or there may be reasons to believe that an aggression is being prepared by any other State against the integrity and inviolability of territory, or against the sovereignty or political independence of an American State, the States signatory to this declaration will consult amongst themselves in order to agree upon measures it may be advisable to take.

Fifth. That during the war, and until the treaty recommended in Part II hereof is concluded, the signatories of this declaration recognize that such threats and acts of aggression as indicated in paragraphs Third and Fourth above constitute an interference with the war effort of the United Nations, calling for such procedures, within the scope of their constitutional powers of a general nature and for war, as may be found necessary, including:

- recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions;
- breaking of diplomatic relations;
- breaking of consular relations;
- breaking of postal, telegraphic, telephonic, radio-telephonic relations;
- interruption of economic, commercial and financial relations;

use of armed force to prevent or repel aggression.

Sixth. That the principles and procedure contained in this declaration shall become effective immediately, inasmuch as any act of aggression or threat of aggression during the present state of war interferes with the war effort of the United Nations to obtain victory. Henceforth, and with the view that the principles and procedure herein stipulated shall conform with the constitutional principles of each republic, the respective Governments shall take the necessary steps to perfect this instrument in order that it shall be in force at all times.

#### PART II

##### *Recommendation*

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

##### RECOMMENDS:

That for the purpose of meeting threats or acts of aggression against any American Republic following the establishment of peace, the Governments of the American Republics should consider the conclusion, in accordance with their constitutional processes, of a treaty establishing procedures whereby such threats or acts may be met by:

The use, by all or some of the signatories of said treaty of any one or more of the following measures:

- recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions;
- breaking of diplomatic relations;
- breaking of consular relations;
- breaking of postal, telegraphic, telephonic, radio-telephonic relations;
- interruption of economic, commercial and financial relations;
- use of armed force to prevent or repel aggression.

#### PART III

This declaration and recommendation provide for a regional arrangement for dealing with matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action in this Hemisphere and said arrangements and the activities and procedures referred to therein shall be consistent with the purposes and principles of the general international organization, when established.

This declaration and recommendation shall be known as the ACT OF CHAPULTEPEC.

## CONSOLIDATION, STRENGTHENING, AND REORGANIZATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D.F., March 2]

### THE CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS COOPERATING IN THE WAR EFFORT

#### WHEREAS:

The inter-American system, and the principles, instruments, agencies, and modes of action which give it substance, constitute the living manifestation of the determination of the sovereign American Republics to act together for the fulfillment of their common purposes in the maintenance of their peace and security and the promotion of the well-being of their peoples;

The inter-American system is and has traditionally been inspired by a deep sense of universal cooperation;

The American Republics have recommended in numerous resolutions the preparation of plans for the improved organization of the inter-American system;

The inter-American system should now be further improved and strengthened to enable it, as the expression of the common ideals, needs, and will of the collectivity of American Republics in regard to the adjustment and solution of inter-American problems, to carry out its purposes even more effectively than in the past, and also to assume, in a manner consonant with the principles and purposes of the proposed general international organization, when established, the extended responsibilities and relationships which may devolve upon the inter-American system pursuant to the character and effective functioning of the general international organization.

#### RESOLVES:

1. That the International Conference of American States shall meet ordinarily at four-year intervals and shall be the inter-American organ having charge of the formulation of general inter-American policy and the determination of the structure and the functions of inter-American instruments and agencies. The next conference shall meet in Bogotá in 1946.

2. The ordinary Meetings of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs shall be held annually upon call by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, unless there should be held in such year an International Conference of American States pursuant to the previous article hereof. The next

ordinary Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs shall be held in 1947.

The meetings of Foreign Ministers shall be charged with taking decisions concerning the Inter-American System relating to problems of great urgency and importance and to situations and disputes of every kind which can disturb the peace of the American Republics.

In exceptional cases, should the Ministers of Foreign Affairs be unable to attend they may be represented by a special representative.

3. The Governing Board of the Pan American Union shall be composed of one ad hoc delegate designated by each of the American republics which delegates shall have the rank of Ambassadors and shall enjoy the privileges and immunities thereof, but shall not be part of the diplomatic mission accredited to the government in whose territory shall be the seat of the Pan American Union. This provision shall be effective on May 1, 1945.

4. In addition to its present functions the Governing Board of the Pan American Union

a) Shall take action within the limitations imposed upon it by the International Conferences of American States or pursuant to the specific direction of the Meetings of Foreign Ministers on every matter which affects the effective functioning of the Inter-American System and the solidarity and well-being of the American Republics.

b) Shall call the regular meetings of consultation between the Foreign Ministers provided for in Clause 1 of Article 2 hereof and special meetings when they shall have been requested in order to handle exclusively emergency questions. In the latter case the call shall be determined upon by the absolute majority of the votes of the Board.

c) Shall supervise the inter-American organs which are related with the Pan American Union or which shall become related to it and shall receive and approve annual or special reports of these organs.

5. The Chairman of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union shall be elected annually and the Chairman shall not be eligible for re-

<sup>1</sup> Resolution as approved by Committee III, Mar. 2, 1945.

election during the term immediately following.

The Governing Board of the Pan American Union shall meet at least once each week.

The seat of the Pan American Union and of the Governing Board shall continue to be in Washington.

The Director of the Pan American Union shall be chosen by the Governing Board and shall hold office for ten years but he shall not be eligible for re-election nor can he be succeeded by a person of his same nationality.

When the office of Director of the Pan American Union shall become vacant (during the term) a successor shall be elected who shall hold office until the end of the term and who (such successor) may be re-elected if the vacancy shall have taken place during the second half of the term.

The first term shall commence on the first of January, 1955.

The designation and replacement of the Assistant Director shall be made in accordance with the above principles except that the first term shall begin on the first of January, 1960.

It is understood that the Governing Board may by vote of fifteen of its members, remove the Director or the Assistant Director, for reasons of the efficiency of the organization.

6. Until the Ninth International Conference of Inter-American States shall, in accordance with the foregoing procedure, create or confirm the various organs of the Inter-American System, the following organs created by the Consultative Meetings of the Foreign Ministers shall continue to carry on their functions: The Inter-American Juridical Committee, the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, and the Inter-American Defense Board.

7. In substitution for the emergency organ which now exists and which is known as the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, there shall be created a permanent Inter-American Economic and Social Council subsidiary to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, the members of which shall be designated by the respective Governments, and which shall be empowered:

a) To carry out recommendations of the International Conferences of American States;

b) To serve as the coordinating agency for all official inter-American economic and social activities;

c) To promote social progress and the raising of the standard of living for all of the American peoples;

d) To undertake studies and other activities upon its own initiative or upon the request of any American government;

e) To collect and prepare reports on economic and social subjects for the use of the American Republics; and

f) To maintain liaison with the corresponding organ of the general international organization when established and with existing or projected specialized international agencies in the economic and social field.

The Governing Board of the Pan American Union is authorized to organize provisionally the Inter-American Economic and Social Council. The permanent organization will be provided for by the Ninth International Conference of American States.

8. The Division of Intellectual Cooperation (of the Pan American Union) shall be maintained for the purpose of strengthening by all means at its command the spiritual bonds between the American nations.

9. The Governing Board of the Pan American Union using all inter-American organizations convenient to the purpose is charged with the preparation (to be undertaken) beginning May 1, 1945 of an Anteproject of a charter for the improvement and strengthening of the Pan American System and to submit said Anteproject to the governments of the continent prior to December 31, 1945. The Anteproject of the charter shall first of all proclaim the recognition by all the American Republics of International Law as the effective rule of their conduct, and the pledge of those Governments to observe the standards announced in a "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of States" and a "Declaration of the International Rights and Duties of Man"; these latter shall serve for the precise determination of the fundamental principles of International Law and shall appear as an annex to the Charter, in order that, without amending the latter, the former may be revised from time to time to adapt it to the requirements and aspirations of the international common life.

For the preparation of the first Declaration, the principles already incorporated into the juridical heritage of the Inter-American System shall be coordinated, especially those contained in the "Con-



vention on the Rights and Duties of States" approved at the Montevideo Conference; in the "Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Cooperation" adopted at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace; in the "Declaration of the Principles of the Solidarity of America" adopted at the Lima Conference; in the "Declaration on the Maintenance of International Activities in Accordance with Christian Morality" and the declaration relative to "Reciprocal Assistance and Cooperation for the Defense of the Nations of the Americas" approved at the First and Second Meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, respectively; and in the declarations on "Continental Solidarity in Observance of Treaties" and "The Good Neighbor Policy" adopted at the Rio de Janeiro Meeting. The draft declaration on "Reaffirmation of Fundamental Principles of International Law" prepared by the Inter-American Juridical Committee, and any Declaration of Principles that may be adopted by this Conference shall also be taken into account.

In regard to the second Declaration mentioned above, the text shall be that formulated by the Inter-American Juridical Committee in fulfillment of the mission entrusted to it by another resolution of the present Conference.

It is the desire of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace that there shall be taken into account the Inter-American Commission of Women, which for sixteen years has rendered eminent services to the cause of America and humanity, and that it be included

among the organizations which form the Pan American Union, with the same prerogatives and position that have been accorded to other inter-American institutions of a permanent or emergency character which have functioned within or without the Pan American Union.

10. The Anteproject of the charter shall provide for the strengthening of the Inter-American System on the bases of this resolution and by the creation of new organs or the elimination or adaptation of existing organs dovetailing their functions between (the several agencies) and with the world organization.

The same Anteproject shall take care of the need of accelerating the consolidation and extension of existing inter-American peace instruments and a simplification and improvement of the inter-American peace organization and to this end the Governing Board of the Pan American Union shall utilize the services of the Inter-American Juridical Committee. In addition, the Anteproject shall provide for the consolidation and simplification of all other inter-American instruments in order that its (the System's) action may be more effective.

11. The American governments shall send to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union prior to September 1, 1945, all their proposals relating to the preceding articles.

12. The Anteproject shall also provide for the establishment of an equitable system for the (financial) support of the Pan American Union and of all its related organs.

## DRAFT RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION

### *Free Access to Information*

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D. F., February 24]

#### WHEREAS

The progress of mankind depends on the supremacy of truth among men;

Truth is the enemy of tyranny, which cannot exist where truth prevails, so that those who would erect tyrannies are constrained to attempt its suppression or to raise barriers against it;

The representatives of fascism, in their efforts to maintain and extend their despotisms over great masses of men, have in our time made every effort to keep their victims from knowing the truth and to obtain their acceptance, in its place, of cunningly contrived and malicious falsehoods;

It is one of the fundamental lessons of the present world war that there can be no freedom, peace or security where men are not assured of free access to the truth through the various media of public information:

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE RECOMMENDS:

1. That the American republics recognize the essential obligation of democratic governments to assure to their people free and impartial access to information;

2. That with this assurance in view they undertake, upon the conclusion of the war, the earliest possible abandonment of those measures of censorship, and of control over the services of press and

radio, which have been necessary in war-time to combat the subversive political tactics and espionage activities of the Axis states;

3. That the governments of the American republics take measures, separately and in cooperation with one another, to promote a free exchange of information among their peoples;

### *Elimination of Remaining Centers of Subversive Influence and Prevention of Admission of Dangerous Deportees and Propagandists*

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D.F., February 23]

#### WHEREAS:

The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics recommended in Resolution XVII the adoption by the American governments of a comprehensive series of measures for the prevention of Axis subversive activities, and provided for the creation of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense to study and coordinate the measures recommended;

Pursuant to or in conformity with the objectives of the said Resolution, the American Republics participating in this Conference, have sought to erect individually and collectively, an effective structure of political defense to counteract the Axis program of non-military warfare;

The Axis powers, although they must realize that they have lost the war, nevertheless hope to win the peace by reconstructing their centers of influence throughout the world, by disseminating their disruptive ideology and by fostering discontent and promoting discord within the American Republics;

The dangers inherent in overconfidence require continued vigilance in carrying out and strengthening the measures recommended by the American governments in the pertinent resolutions of the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics;

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

#### RESOLVES:

To reaffirm the determination of the participating republics to prevent individuals or groups within their respective jurisdictions from engaging in any activities fomented by the Axis for the purpose of prejudicing the individual or collec-

4. That the American republics, having accepted it among themselves, make every effort to obtain acceptance throughout the world of the principle of free access to information for all people, to the end that freedom, peace, and confidence may be established in and among nations.

tive security and welfare of the American Republics, as expressed in Resolution XVII of the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics and accordingly

#### RECOMMENDS:

1. That the participating republics individually and collectively, intensify their efforts to eradicate remaining centers of Axis subversive influence in the hemisphere;

2. That the participating republics take effective measures to prevent Axis-inspired elements from regaining or securing any vantage point within the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions from which such elements might disturb or threaten the security, tranquility or welfare of any republic and to this end that they take the following specific measures as well as such others as they may severally deem desirable:

(a) Measures to prevent any person whose deportation was deemed necessary for reasons of hemispheric security from further residing in this hemisphere if such residence would be prejudicial to the future security, tranquility or welfare of the hemisphere;

(b) Measures to prevent the admission to this hemisphere, now and after the cessation of hostilities in Europe, of war criminals or Axis or Nazi agents;

3. That the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense study and prepare specific recommendations for submission to the several Republics:

(a) For the effective execution of the above recommendations;

(b) For the gradual readjustment of the political defense structure of the American Republics to the changing conditions of the period following the cessation of hostilities.

### *Wartime Trade Controls in Relation to Basic Commercial Policy*

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D. F., February 23]

#### WHEREAS:

Due to shortages of shipping and the scarcity of necessary supplies, and for other reasons connected with the prosecution of the war, it has been necessary to impose certain special controls on international trade during the war period;

These controls have included the allocation of commodities and products, import and export licensing regulations, the assignment of shipping priorities, and the procurement and sale of commodities by governmental agencies in international transactions;

These wartime controls, to the extent that they have diverted international trade from the customary private channels to the administrative direction of governmental agencies have necessarily made more difficult the reestablishment during the transition and post-war periods of a profitable and expanding commerce in the hands of private traders;

These controls are necessarily inconsistent with the long-range principles of commercial policy

### *Cooperation in Health, Sanitation, Nutrition and Food Supply Programs*

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D. F., February 23]

#### WHEREAS:

The American republics are now undertaking measures for the development of certain common objectives and plans which will contribute to the reconstruction of world order;

The economic stability and development of the Western Hemisphere, and the attainment of the aims of the American republics for the security and welfare of all their people, require the strengthening of their vital forces, human and material;

The improvement of public health and sanitation and better nutrition and food supply constitute essential factors in the improvement of standards of living, and in the productivity of the American republics;

Freedom from want and the economic development necessary to assure such freedom can never be achieved by peoples who are unhealthy and undernourished; and

The governments of the American republics, through appropriate national and inter-American

to which the American republics have subscribed and with policy statements and agreements of various of the United Nations; and

Despite the foregoing, the end of hostilities will not necessarily mean the end of all shortages of materials, production facilities or shipping, and therefore during the transition period a limited use of these wartime controls may still be required;

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

#### RESOLVES:

Special controls on international trade which have been required because of war conditions should, in the interests of expanding private trade in the post-war period, be eliminated as rapidly as possible consistent with the most effective prosecution of the war, it being understood that after the termination of hostilities the temporary continuation of certain of such controls may nevertheless be necessary, but this continuation should only be for broad purposes directly connected with the transition from war to peace.

agencies, have carried on cooperative programs for the improvement of public health and sanitation and for better food supply and nutrition;

THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE commends the steps already taken and

#### RECOMMENDS:

1. That the governments of the American republics individually and by cooperative agreements between them continue to take to an increasing extent appropriate steps to deal with problems of public health and sanitation and nutrition and food supply by providing for this purpose, in accordance with their ability, raw materials, services and funds.

2. That to these ends there be utilized the technical facilities and resources of the health, agricultural, and social services of each country in cooperation with appropriate inter-American agencies and such international agencies as may be concerned.

### Social Questions

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D.F., February 24]

#### WHEREAS:

Social justice, good labor standards and labor relations, the welfare of the individual citizen, and especially the welfare of the family which is the greatest molding force of the mind and character of youth, must be recognized as one of the primary objectives of national policy and international cooperation;

Economic cooperation, so necessary among the governments of the American Republics, cannot be fully effective unless accompanied by measures to assure the rights of workers, and to improve the conditions of living as well as of employment, and the services available for the promotion of health, care in illness, the conservation of family life, and the care and training of children and youth; and

The governments of the American Republics, through national and international agencies, have developed a high degree of collaboration in matters pertaining to the social well-being of the people, which however needs to be further strengthened and extended;

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

#### RECOMMENDS:

1. That the Technical Economic Conference give emphasis to questions of a social character, such as the following:

a. Basic social objectives of national and inter-American policy;

b. Adjustments from war to peace as they affect family life, individual welfare, and social institutions;

c. Measures for conserving the family and promoting its welfare;

d. Methods of exchange of information among the American Republics on wages, earnings, and conditions of employment in all occupations;

e. Housing in relation to family life;

f. Programs of public health, nutrition and public education in relation to social welfare for all people and particularly the extent to which these programs are available to people in remote agricultural and industrial communities;

g. Development of inter-American scholarships both for workers and for professional students;

h. Methods of implementing such resolutions on labor standards, collective bargaining, social security and social welfare as may be adopted by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace; and

i. Development of services for children and youth.

### Social Security

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D. F., February 24]

#### WHEREAS:

Freedom from want, good health, family security, and personal well-being cannot be achieved unless workers have reasonable protection against the risks of loss of income for causes beyond their control;

To meet these risks appropriate and all-inclusive programs of social security are necessary and should include or be related closely to measures for industrial safety and the prevention of accidents; and

The Governments of the American Republics, through appropriate national and international agencies, have carried on cooperative efforts for the development of common objectives and the adoption of increasingly adequate social security programs;

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

#### RECOMMENDS:

1. That the governments of the American Republics individually, or by agreements between them, take appropriate steps to develop the program for social security outlined in the resolutions adopted by the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, and programs for industrial safety and the prevention of accidents;

2. That they adhere to the Permanent Inter-American Committee established in the Statute of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security adopted at Santiago, Chile in September, 1942; and name representatives to become members of that Committee;

3. That they facilitate the exchange of technical information and services for the development and administration of social security programs; and

4. That they explore through the Permanent Inter-American Committee on Social Security methods of cooperation in building hospitals and

providing other capital equipment necessary for the development of a program for adequate medi-

cal care and in training doctors, dentists, nurses, and other personnel necessary for such a program.

### *The Admission and Surrender of War Criminals*

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D. F., February 24]

#### WHEREAS:

During the present world war the Axis leaders and their associates have caused heinous crimes to be committed in violation of the laws of war, and in violation of existing treaties, of the rules of International Law, or of the penal codes of civilized nations, or of the concepts of civilized life;

Individuals who have committed such crimes may have taken refuge in, or may seek refuge in, the territories of the American Republics;

Arrangements should be made to distinguish such criminals from ordinary political refugees;

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

#### RESOLVES:

1. To recommend that the governments of the participating American Republics do not give refuge to individuals guilty of the commission of such crimes;

2. To recommend that the governments of the participating American Republics shall, upon the demand of any of the United Nations, and in accordance with procedures to be agreed upon, return any individual who may be charged with the commission of such crimes, to the territory of any of the United Nations in which such crime may have been committed, or into the custody of such agency of the United Nations as may be set up for the purpose of trial and punishment of such criminals;

3. That the Inter-American Juridical Committee at Rio de Janeiro be requested to prepare and to submit for adoption by the governments of the participating American Republics, a plan of procedure by which it may be determined whether any individual charged with the commission of such crimes should be delivered to another United Nation or to an agency of the United Nations; and a plan of procedure by which such return or delivery should be effected.

### *Economic Charter of the Americas*

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D.F., February 24]

The fundamental economic aspiration of the peoples of the Americas, in common with peoples everywhere, is to be able to exercise effectively their natural right to live decently, and work and exchange goods productively, in peace and with security.

This aspiration must be given full recognition in the development of a positive economic program. Such an economic program which would enable the peoples of this Hemisphere and of the world to achieve higher levels of living is an indispensable factor in preventing the recurrence of war. All the acts and policies of governments in the economic field must be directed to providing the conditions in which this may be possible. At the same time, the freedom of action in the economic field that underlies the institutions of political and personal liberty must be preserved and strengthened. Indeed, the two pillars on which a positive

economic program can be built to satisfy the basic desires of the peoples of the Americas are rising levels of living and the economic liberty that will encourage full production and employment. These basic objectives can be attained only through a sense of security and freedom of opportunity derived from the acceptance of responsibility of all of the Americas for cooperation toward these ends, an acceptance of responsibility and of cooperation which will provide full use of labor, management, and capital in the efficient economic development of the agricultural, industrial and other resources of the Western Hemisphere.

The basis of rising levels of living is found ultimately in enabling the individual to become more productive. Only through recognition of labor's fundamental rights to organize and bargain collectively and by providing labor with conditions of employment and equipment, both in agriculture and industry, which enable it to produce more per unit of labor can the people increase

their earnings and consumption, enjoy better levels of living and thereby successfully take their place in an expanding international commerce. Labor is most productive if production is concentrated on those things in which nature has provided an endowment, and if it is based on advanced technology. The effective employment of labor depends upon the initiative of management, the most productive use of capital and natural resources, development of skills, union organization, and cooperation in industrial relations.

Individuals and groups of individuals must be encouraged to undertake new ventures. An atmosphere of confidence based on freedom from economic discrimination is an essential prerequisite to the development of natural and human resources and to the expansion of markets. The ability to trade without discrimination and without undue restriction will, moreover, provide a solid basis for the political and personal liberties of the peoples.

The economic strength of the Americas, based on rising levels of living and on economic liberty, and attained through cooperation to provide a sense of security and freedom of opportunity, will constitute a beacon of hope to the world. The American Republics, basing their positive economic program on the desires of their peoples and on the time-tested methods of social and economic betterment, will lay the groundwork for strengthening the inter-American system to meet war and post-war conditions.

#### DECLARATION OF OBJECTIVES

The American Republics collaborating in the war effort, fully aware of their traditionally close relations and of their position and responsibility as an integral part of the world community, declare their firm purpose to collaborate in a program for the attainment of:

1. The continuation of mobilization of their economic resources until the achievement of total victory.

2. An orderly transition of the economic life of the Americas from war to peace-time conditions with joint action looking to the maintenance of the economic stability of the American Republics during such transition period.

3. A constructive basis for the sound economic development of the Americas through the de-

velopment of natural resources; increased industrialization; improvement of transportation; modernization of agriculture; development of power facilities and public works; the encouragement of private investment of capital, managerial capacity, and technical skills; and the improvement of labor standards and working conditions, including collective bargaining, all leading to a rising level of living and increased consumption.

#### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The American Republics, in the attainment of these ends, recognizing that these objectives form a fundamental aspiration of peoples everywhere and given the cooperation of like-minded nations, declare as their guiding principles:

##### *Rising Levels of Living*

1. To direct the economic policies of the American Republics toward the creation of conditions which will encourage, through expanding domestic and foreign trade and investment, the attainment everywhere of high levels of real income, employment and consumption, free from excessive fluctuations, in order that their peoples may be adequately fed, housed, and clothed, have access to services necessary for health, education, and well-being, and enjoy the rewards of their labor in dignity and in freedom.

##### *Equality of Access*

2. To cooperate with other nations to bring about through the elimination of existing forms of discrimination and the prevention of new forms, the enjoyment by all nations of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

##### *Reduction of Trade Barriers*

3. To consult at an early date among themselves and with other nations to find a basis for practical and effective cooperative measures to reduce barriers of all kinds to the flow of international trade, and of promoting the cooperative action which must be taken in other fields, particularly the stabilization of currencies, and international investment.

##### *Private Agreements Which Restrict International Trade*

4. To seek early agreed action by governments to prevent these practices by cartels or through

other private business arrangements which obstruct international trade, stifle competition, and interfere with the maximum efficiency of production and truly competitive prices to consumers.

#### *Elimination of Economic Nationalism*

5. In order that international economic collaboration may be realistic and effective, to work for the elimination of economic nationalism in all its forms.

#### *Just and Equitable Treatment for Foreign Enterprise and Capital*

6. To act individually, and jointly with each other and with other nations by means of treaties, executive agreements or other arrangements, to assure just and equitable treatment and encouragement for the enterprises, skills and capital brought from one country to another.

#### *Endorsement of Financial and Agricultural Proposals*

7. As positive steps in international collaboration for the stabilization of currencies and to facilitate the development of productive resources, to seek early action by their governments with a view to bringing into operation the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

### *Maintenance and Development of the Internal Economies of the American Republics*

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D.F., February 24]

#### WHEREAS:

The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics resolved that each nation would do everything possible, subject to the practical limitations of the existing emergency, to supply the others with articles or products essential for the maintenance of the domestic economies of the consuming countries, in quantities sufficient to prevent consequences detrimental to the economic life of their peoples;

The American Republics here represented have set forth the principles of a positive economic program for the Americas, designed to create rising levels of living based upon the fullest possible utilization of human and natural resources, and based upon the opportunity to exchange com-

#### *Private Enterprise and Government Operations*

8. To promote the system of private enterprise in production which has characterized the economic development of the American Republics, to take appropriate steps to secure the encouragement of private enterprise and to remove as far as possible obstacles which retard or discourage economic growth and development, and to refrain from the establishment of state enterprises for the conduct of trade.

#### *International Action to Facilitate Distribution of Production Surpluses*

9. To provide, in exceptional cases of important primary commodities in which burdensome surpluses have developed, or threaten to develop, appropriate means for the solution of such problems by agreed national and international action by consuming and producing countries looking to the expansion of consumption and readjustment of production, with due regard to the interests of consumers and producers and the requirements of an expanding world economy.

#### *Labor*

10. To take appropriate steps to assure to the workers of the American Republics, under conditions of progressive economic development, the realization of the objectives set forth in the Declaration of Philadelphia, adopted by the International Labor Conference.

modities and technical information with as little restriction as possible; and

The American Republics here represented will put this program into effect progressively as the requirements of the present war and the essential requirements of the war-devastated and liberated areas of the United Nations will permit;

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

#### RESOLVES:

1. During the period of hostilities the American Republics here represented should continue their special efforts to assure a supply of commodities necessary for the conduct of the war and the maintenance of essential civilian economies.

2. The American Republics here represented should make every effort to make capital goods available to each other during the period of hos-

tilities in cases where the end-use is justified by war considerations, or, during the transition period which will follow the termination of hostilities in Europe, and within the limitations of the then existing central mechanisms of the exporting countries, where the end-use is justified by the relative urgency of the needs of the receiving countries.

3. During the period of hostilities and the transition period from war to peace, continued efforts should be made to improve the various transportation systems of the American Republics for the purpose of providing more efficient distribution of commodities and products needed for the war and for basic civilian economies.

4. After the cessation of all hostilities and after the removal of controls necessary during the transitional emergency period, the American Republics which produce raw materials, industrial machinery, transportation equipment, and other articles necessary for the development of production facilities and for civilian consumption, should impose no obstacles to making these items commercially available to other American Republics as freely as they are made available to their own citizens and to other countries.

5. The American Republics here represented should be guided by the principle that new enterprises should be well suited to local conditions, such as availability and cost of raw materials, capital, labor, and other basic factors, and not require the granting on a permanent basis of special governmental assistance in the form of subsidies,

restrictive tariffs, or any other preferential measures.

6. The American Republics here represented should facilitate through appropriate financial cooperation, the acquisition and installation of capital equipment for productive undertakings suited to each country, bearing in mind that private enterprise should be encouraged to undertake and carry forward economic development and that it is agreed as a basic principle that governments should not enter into competition with private enterprise unless such action is clearly necessary in the public interest.

7. The American Republics here represented should assist economic development through the loan of technicians, by facilitating the training of personnel, and by encouraging and sponsoring in appropriate ways the interchange of technicians and industrial technology, making full use of the Inter-American Development Commission.

8. The American Republics here represented should place no restriction on the transfer of technical information except for reasons pertaining to military security.

9. The American Republics here represented should, by amendment or repeal of burdensome laws and regulations, encourage full utilization of the enterprise, technical knowledge, and capital of other countries in their economic development, and should seek to remove discriminations which are imposed on the grounds of nationality against foreign persons or their skills, or against foreign capital.

## RESOLUTION OF MEXICAN DELEGATION DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS OF LOOTED AND ENEMY PROPERTY

*Statement by Oscar Cox*<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 2]

I should like to discuss briefly the resolution introduced by the Mexican Delegation which deals with the double problem of (1) requiring Germany and Japan to restore the property and assets which they have looted to the rightful owners; and (2) depriving these enemies of the assets and means with which to finance those activities which

have threatened and which may again threaten the safety and security of this hemisphere and of the post-war world.

The problem of how to prevent Germany and Japan from hiding these assets in this hemisphere and in other parts of the world for the ultimate benefit of their criminals is but one phase of the larger problem of how to prevent the Axis powers from ever waging war again. Mr. Stettinius in his address to the Conference on February 22

<sup>1</sup> Delivered on Mar. 2 in the session of Subcommittee A of the Fifth Commission. Mr. Cox is the spokesman for the American Delegation in the Subcommittee.



called attention to this fact when he pointed out that:

"The Axis leaders will, of course, attempt to escape the consequences of their crimes. We must be constantly on the alert for the flight to this hemisphere of Nazi funds and Nazi underground leaders who will seek to find a refuge here that can serve as a base for an ultimate come-back."

We are all well aware of the manner in which our common enemy built up its financial reserve abroad after the first World War. We now know particularly how she infiltrated into the economy of other nations, financed subversive activities, purchased war *matériel*, and deprived the United Nations of strategic processes and goods. Now that Germany and Japan foresee their certain defeat in the present conflict, their leaders are already plotting for the next war.

Germany and Japan have looted and plundered vast amounts of property of persons of occupied territories. By a variety of subtle and complex devices, and particularly through the use of cloaks, they have concealed these assets as well as their own, not only in the neutral countries but even in the United Nations. These assets, so long as they remain untouched, pose a real threat to our security in the post-war world. If Germany and Japan were to retain the wherewithal with which to build their nations for another war, or at the very least to engage in hostile activities undermining our economies and destroying our unity, much of what we have toiled and bled and died for would be in vain.

There is every evidence that our Fascist enemies are going underground—perhaps even overground—outside of Germany. We must devise, therefore, ways and means of frustrating these plans now, before the end of hostilities. We must not wait until the trail is cold. We must act before it is too late.

The United States is gratified that all of the American republics have here the opportunity to agree upon a unity of approach and upon such measures as are required to deal effectively with this problem. All of us, together with the other United Nations, must support and implement the several United Nations' declarations and resolutions dealing with the discovery and restitution of looted property. We must do everything poss-

sible and practicable to see to it that the neutral countries do likewise. The world as a whole must, so far as possible, recognize the essential justice of the claims of those persons whose property has been taken from them by fraud, force, duress, or other unjust means. Our every juridical and administrative procedure must be made available for that purpose.

To deal with looted and stolen property is not enough. We know that our common enemies have substantial amounts of property located throughout the world. We have already identified some of this property. However, substantial amounts of enemy property have gone underground. This property is still to be uncovered. Our enemies must also be prevented from finding a refuge for their assets in the future.

Germany and Japan are utilizing every scheme and device to build up their reserves outside of their borders. These reserves will undoubtedly be used to finance the refuge of war criminals, subversive and inimical activities, underground movements, and ultimately the rebuilding of the German and Japanese military machine. Here, too, we and the other United Nations must act promptly to forestall the enemies' plans, and we must make every effort to see to it that the neutral countries do likewise.

The resolution which has been proposed by the Mexican Delegation and which is now being considered by this subcommittee furnishes a sound basis to all of the American republics to participate in the solution of these problems. It points the way to an effective treatment of the problem on a world-wide scale.

The importance of this resolution is apparent. Our common enemies must not have the means with which to take care of their war criminals in hiding. Our common enemies must not be allowed to have the assets with which again to finance their criminal activities against the peace of the world. If we accomplish these ends, we shall have made substantial progress in eliminating or controlling the will, the power, and the capacity of our common enemies to provoke or make war again. We must accomplish these ends so that we can irrevocably eliminate this potential danger to the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere and of the post-war world.

# The Bretton Woods Proposals as Part of Post-War Organization

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY ACHESON<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 28]

One of the maxims which the world has thought it necessary to accept is that allies cannot work together when the common danger ends. Nothing could be more fatal to our cause than continuing to accept as conclusive this alleged verdict of history. Mankind cannot afford to be deceived again in its hope for a decent world in which mutual understanding and cooperation will replace suspicion and recurring warfare.

The achievement of our best hopes will depend in part on how well we have learned the techniques of joint action, and I believe you will all recognize our progress in this respect.

We are waging war through joint mechanisms, such as the Combined Chiefs of Staff, the Combined Boards for the allocation of production, resources, raw materials, and food, the Munitions Assignments Board, and our Allied commanders. We are supplementing these formal arrangements with frequent meetings of foreign ministers and chiefs of state.

Of almost equal importance is the fact that all of our joint efforts are not directed exclusively to wartime problems. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has been created and is preparing to assume its responsibilities in the areas liberated from the enemy. Already plans have been begun for the creation of a security organization after the war, and in April of this year these plans will be further advanced by the conference to be held in San Francisco.

As early as 1941, work was begun on international monetary problems. For three years the financial experts, both in government and in private business, carried on that work, and last summer, at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, delegates from 44 nations met and agreed upon proposals for the establishment of an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank

for Reconstruction and Development. Never before have the nations of the world been able to agree upon joint action so wide in scope in a field so complicated by national interests and individual preferences.

In the nineteenth century, by tacit consent, the world carried on its commerce through a general, but by no means unanimous or continuous, adherence to the gold standard and by actual shipments of gold across national boundaries when unfavorable foreign-trade balances required it. That these mechanisms, to which a number of nations subscribed as long as they could and as long as they found them advantageous, proved to be far from perfect is an historical fact. That most of the nations of the world have found since the last war that they cannot continue to employ them, or are unwilling to pay the price for doing so, is equally a fact.

Many countries which adhered to the gold standard after the last war and used gold as the medium of international payments experienced deflation, unemployment, and impoverishment during the "thirties." Whether correctly or not, many of them feel that to return to the gold standard would be to invite such disasters again. Others do not have sufficient gold to return to their previous course even if they considered it desirable. But all countries agree that something must be done to rid the world of wildly fluctuating exchange rates, multiple-currency practices, and arbitrary trade discriminations which have done so much in the recent past to stifle the expansion of international trade, which is essential to world prosperity. And all agree that a solution can be found through cooperation.

The importance of the Bretton Woods conference, however, goes far beyond the mere willingness of 44 nations to cooperate. The representatives of these nations agreed upon concrete proposals to bring order to the jungle growth of international financial transactions. Not content to throw up their hands and say, "If the gold standard doesn't work, nothing will", these repre-

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Conference of Private Organizations on the Bretton Woods Proposals at Washington on Feb. 28, 1945.

sentatives devised plans for new mechanisms, which they believe will succeed.

The gold standard and the use of gold to settle unfavorable balances of foreign trade were never ends in themselves. They were only the means by which men hoped to be able to carry on commerce by the exchange of goods and the investment of capital in new enterprises throughout the world. At Bretton Woods, the means as well as the ends were the subjects of consideration. Two institutions were proposed—a bank and a fund.

Through the Bank, we hope to facilitate investments in productive enterprises where they are needed. This does not mean that all investments abroad will be made by the Bank. Private lending will carry the principal burden. The Bank's function will be to investigate the soundness of projects for which capital is needed, and, when their soundness is determined, the Bank will facilitate private loans by adding its own guaranty. Where private capital is unavailable, the Bank may make direct loans, within limits.

Of course, foreign investments, alone, are not enough. The collapsing currencies and economic depressions which followed the last war destroyed the investments which had been made and reduced the international exchange of goods to a trickle. To help prevent the repetition of these calamities, the Bretton Woods conference proposed an International Monetary Fund. Subscription quotas in the Fund, amounting, in all, to \$8,800,000,000, were assigned to the nations participating. The United States quota is \$2,750,000,000. Each nation must pay in gold either 25 percent of its quota or an amount equal to 10 percent of its net official holdings of gold, whichever is smaller. The balance of its quota each country will pay in its own currency. In this way gold is retained as a basic part of the international monetary structure, but nations are not required to tie themselves to an inflexible gold standard, which, for many, has ceased to be a practical possibility.

The Fund provides a common pool or reserve of foreign exchange which member countries, in case of a temporary shortage, can draw upon to supplement their individual reserves of gold. If a member country is faced with a serious deficit in its international balance of payments, it can use its own currency to purchase from the Fund the foreign currencies which its businessmen need to meet their obligations to pay for imports or to pay

interest on loans. Member countries will no longer be entirely dependent on their own holdings of gold to meet emergencies.

This does not mean, however, that member countries are free to change the value of their currencies whenever the spirit moves them or in order to secure unfair trade advantages. One of the conditions of membership is that changes in the gold value of a member's currency shall occur only after consultation with the Fund. The Fund is a cooperative effort to achieve exchange stability; it does not, as some of its critics would have you believe, provide a license to indulge in exchange instability. Its assurance of help in case of need should contribute greatly to the expansion of trade and investment and to economic stability.

The objectives expressed in the proposal for an International Fund and a Bank were the objectives we had for centuries before the conference at Bretton Woods was held, but our previous efforts to achieve them failed. I look upon the investment of the United States in the Fund and the Bank as the amount we are willing to stake as a nation on the possibility of achieving these objectives in the future.

## Professor of English Accepts Visiting Professorship to Chile

[Released to the press March 2]

Leo L. Rockwell, of Hamilton, New York, has accepted a post as visiting professor of English at the University of Chile in Santiago. Dr. Rockwell has been professor of English literature and director of the School of Languages and Letters at Colgate University since 1936, and for three summer sessions was director of English House at the University of Michigan. He received his bachelor's degree from Bucknell University, his master's from Harvard, and his doctorate from New York University, where he was Ottendorfer fellow. He carried on graduate studies at Munich and Heidelberg.

Dr. Rockwell is a frequent contributor to professional journals and was assistant editor of the *Early Modern English Dictionary*.

His visiting professorship in the University of Chile is part of a program of cultural and scientific interchange between this country and the other American republics administered by the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State.

## "Building the Peace"

# Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 3]

VOICE No. 1: What has all this talk about "winning the peace" got to do with me?

VOICE No. 2: What is this Dumbarton Oaks plan? Is it any different from the old League of Nations?

VOICE No. 3: Are they trying to set up some sort of superstate?

ANNOUNCER: (Pause) These are questions which can and should be

answered. NBC's University of the Air brings you answers to them, and to other questions, from the nation's foremost authorities on international affairs—namely, top-ranking officials of our State Department itself.

This is the second of seven broadcasts on the problems of *Building the Peace*, as part of a larger series on "Our Foreign Policy" arranged by the University of the Air. At a time when we must prepare for peace, NBC brings United States foreign policy closer to Americans everywhere by this series, arranged as a public service for Americans at home and, through facilities of the Armed Forces Radio Services, for our service men and women overseas.

Tonight's program, like all those featuring Department of State officials, is under the chairmanship of Assistant Secretary of State Archibald MacLeish. With Mr. MacLeish are Under Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew and Alger Hiss, who has just been appointed Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs. Mr. Grew was Secretary-General of the American Delegation at the Peace Conference of 1919. Both Mr. Grew and Mr. Hiss attended the Dumbarton Oaks meet-

### PARTICIPANTS

JOSEPH C. GREW  
Acting Secretary of State  
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH  
Assistant Secretary of State  
ALGER HISS  
Director, Office of Special Political  
Affairs, Department of State  
KENNEDY LUDLAM  
Announcer for NBC

ings. Mr. Hiss has just returned from the Crimea Conference. And now . . .

MACLEISH: This is Archibald MacLeish. Those of you who heard last week's program in this series know how these broadcasts are run. I act as a kind of public interrogator, putting questions which have been asked the Department, either by letter—we get thousands a week—or in the press,

or otherwise. The answers are provided by responsible officers in the Department, who speak as such. I have here Mr. Joseph C. Grew who is Acting Secretary of State at the moment and Mr. Alger Hiss who was Secretary of the Dumbarton Oaks conference last September. We are going to talk about the proposals for a world organization. These are known as the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals because they were worked out at a conference of American, British, Russian, and Chinese delegates who met last September at a historic old mansion here in Washington called Dumbarton Oaks. We are going to talk, specifically, about the relation of these Proposals to people everywhere in this country—to people in Seattle and Indianapolis and Atlanta and Hartford—to every Main Street, and every other street in America, and to every farm and every village and every city block.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are important for a number of reasons. First, they are Proposals for united action to keep the peace—to accomplish the thing you and I—and 12 million American service men and women and their 120-odd million fellow countrymen here at home—hope for so eagerly. Moreover, the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are the first proposals ever drafted by a number of nations for submission to the peoples of the world—to the parliament of mankind—for discussion and debate. They constitute therefore

<sup>1</sup> This program broadcast over the National Broadcasting Company on Mar. 3, 1945 is the second of a series of seven broadcasts to be sponsored by the Department of State.

the highest point yet reached in international democracy. They are before you for discussion and debate now. In seven weeks, on April 25th, they will be submitted to the representatives of the United Nations at a conference in San Francisco. What will happen at San Francisco will depend, in large part, on what *you* think of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals—you and your neighbors and the people in the next town and the next—you overseas in the Army, or on shipboard, or wherever you are—all of you. I am going to begin by asking Mr. Grew to summarize the basic principles underlying the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Mr. Secretary . . .

GREW: I don't think I can do better, Mr. MacLeish, than to cite the four principles outlined by Secretary of State Stettinius. They are:

One: Peace can be maintained only if the peace-loving nations of the world band together for that purpose. In doing so, they have to recognize that each state has a right to a voice in the affairs of the family of nations; but also that nations are not equal in their power to prevent war.

Two: War can be prevented only if the great powers employ their dominant physical power justly and in unity of purpose to that end. Hence the prominence given to the Security Council, in which the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, China, and France would hold permanent seats.

Three: To prevent and suppress wars is not enough. If we are to have lasting peace, we have to build peace. Hence the need for a General Assembly which, as the highest representative body in the world, will extend the rule of law in international relations, and advance the material and cultural welfare of all men.

Four: As peace becomes more secure, armaments can and should be reduced progressively on a world-wide basis.

MACLEISH: In a mailbag of hundreds of letters a day, one of the commonest questions we get is this one: Does the Organization planned at Dumbarton Oaks differ from the League of Nations in any important respects? Is it any more likely to succeed than the League?

GREW: If you don't mind, I think that first we ought to go into the structure of the proposed United Nations set-up. Alger Hiss can summarize it very well.

MACLEISH: Fine, Alger, go ahead.

Hiss: First, as Mr. Grew has said, there will be the General Assembly, with an equal voice and vote for all nations, whose main task will be to promote international cooperation in all fields. Second, the Security Council will be responsible for maintaining international peace and security. It will have five permanent members—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France—and six members to be elected periodically by the Assembly. This Council will have the power to act promptly and decisively when necessary to preserve or restore peace.

MACLEISH: The Security Council will be on the job all the time then, in order to prevent conflicts, or to deal with them when they arise.

Hiss: Yes. Then there will be a Court of International Justice to settle legal disputes between nations. And, of course, there will be a permanent secretariat, run according to the best standards of a civil service. Finally, an economic and social council, acting under the authority of the General Assembly, would deal with international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems; promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and help coordinate the activities of special international organizations in such fields as trade and finance, labor, agriculture, education, culture, health, and the like.

MACLEISH: Now that you've covered the organizational framework, I'd like to come back to my previous question: What's the difference between the League of Nations and the proposed United Nations Organization? That seems to be an important question, judging from the number of times it comes to us. People say that the League didn't do so well when it came to preventing World War II. It makes them skeptical.

GREW: One answer is the simple answer that we weren't in the League and that it is proposed we shall be in the United Nations Organization. If we had been in the League, the League would have had a chance.

MACLEISH: I agree, but what about the differences between the League and this Organization in terms of structure, Mr. Hiss?

Hiss: Well, to begin with, a unanimous decision by all the members of the Council won't be necessary to label an aggressor this time. Another major point of difference is that we, and every other nation joining the United Nations Organization, would obligate ourselves to settle our disputes only by peaceful means and not by force.

There was no such clear and unequivocal statement about the use of force in the League Covenant.

Furthermore, we and all other nations would agree in advance to supply armed force, in the form of national contingents, to back up the decisions of the Security Council.

MACLEISH: In other words, the new Organization is being given teeth.

HISS: Yes. The League had no armed forces that it could call upon—neither an international police force nor national contingents available for instant use. The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals would put extensive forces at the disposal of the Organization.

MACLEISH: But what other types of positive action could be taken?

HISS: The Proposals provide also for the enforcement of peace by non-military measures, such as diplomatic pressure, and economic sanctions.

MACLEISH: But the League called for such sanctions against Italy when she invaded Ethiopia, and they didn't work.

HISS: True. But there were reasons why that attempt failed—and we have learned some lessons from them. First, some of the great powers weren't willing to impose those sanctions against Italy. Second, there was no certainty that force would be used to back them up, and Mussolini knew it. This time the Organization would be prepared to use force if necessary. But the very fact that military force is ready, in the background, may make it unnecessary to use force at all.

MACLEISH: A great many people want to know this: How will the small nations come out in the proposed set-up?

GREW: I can say this: The small powers are quite able to speak for themselves, and they do and will. They are interested primarily in the creation of a strong and effective organization which will save them from war.

MACLEISH: But it is obvious, of course, that the Proposals recognize a difference between the strong military powers and other nations by giving the major powers permanent seats on the Security Council.

GREW: They recognize that there is a difference, yes. They face up to the facts. To face up to the fact that certain powers are stronger than others

in a military and industrial sense does not mean that an unfair distinction is made among the powers. On the contrary, as the Secretary of State said at Mexico City, the purpose of the proposed organization is to put the military strength of the great powers at the service of all the nations for the keeping of the peace.

HISS: Then, too, the small nations are safeguarded. They will have six representatives out of eleven in the Security Council. In the General Assembly all nations will have one vote each and be members on a basis of sovereign equality. Also, they will enjoy full equality in the Economic and Social Council.

MACLEISH: There's one more thing that I think you should go into here. It is one of our most frequent questions. Why was the idea of an international police force abandoned? Why was the system of national contingents—that is, specific units of each nation's army allocated to the Security Council—chosen for the enforcement of peace, rather than some form of international police force? Alger, what was the background of that?

HISS: Well, first of all, under modern conditions an effective military force has got to have a national basis in terms of munitions, equipment, training, discipline, tactics, and everything else. The people who conferred at Dumbarton Oaks felt that an international police force, if widely distributed, would have difficulty maintaining its effectiveness and its morale. It would also lack the opportunity that a national force has for training. If, on the other hand, it were concentrated at one point, it would not be promptly available wherever needed. The military experts of the four powers at Dumbarton Oaks concluded that you would get the best results by depending on contingents allocated by the peace-loving powers, some of which would presumably be near by any potential trouble spot, rather than by an international police force.

MACLEISH: Here's another question that often comes up: Just how would the system of national contingents operate to stop an aggressor? Will you speak to that, Mr. Grew?

GREW: Before I answer that I'd like to emphasize that force would only be used as a last resort, if and when conciliation of all sorts had failed. I agree with Alger Hiss that the knowledge that such national forces would be immediately avail-

able would be the important thing. With that in the background, the Security Council could call upon parties to a dispute to negotiate or arbitrate with every expectation of settling the trouble that way.

MACLEISH: I'm sure we'd all agree to that. But what I'm getting at is: How would the system work if we should ever have to use it? Can you give us a line on that?

GREW: Well, if the dispute were not settled by peaceful means, and if the failure to settle it constituted a threat to international peace, the Security Council would decide what measures to take next. There are many non-military measures that could be taken. For example, trade and communications could be cut off, postal and telegraphic service interrupted, or financial relations broken off, to cite only a few ways of putting pressure on an aggressor nation. If the Council decided that these were not enough, then military measures would have to be taken.

MACLEISH: Let's be specific. Suppose a member of the Organization runs amuck and attacks another country, as Japan attacked Manchuria in 1931, and suppose that all possible diplomatic and economic pressures had been used, without forcing the aggressor country to pull out. How would the system of national contingents, that is, military forces at the disposal of the United Nations, have worked out then?

GREW: That is a difficult question, Archie. Just how it would work in a specific case would depend in part on the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council. This Committee, composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the major powers, and of other powers as necessary, would devise the strategy. If I might hazard a guess, though, I'd say that if such a situation were to arise again, as it did in 1931, the air resources of the pooled United Nations forces would be called into play. Perhaps Chinese, American, and other nearby air contingents would be used, if the Japanese started trouble again in Manchuria. They would stop the aggressor on the spot. Ground and naval forces would then move in immediately, if that were necessary.

MACLEISH: Suppose there should be a revolution within some country or colony. Would that be considered a cause for intervention by the Security Council?

GREW: Certainly, the Security Council would act if it considered that such a revolution

threatened international peace. There is no doubt in my mind that the Security Council would act if we were faced again by the kind of situations that arose in Germany and in Italy under Hitler and Mussolini before the war. And this time we would take action before a war can get started.

MACLEISH: That's clear enough. We've learned a great lesson in this war—that democracy and Fascism cannot live together. We'll have no more truck with Nazism and Fascism. No more appeasing of Hitlers and Mussolinis.

GREW: That's the general idea, though you have hardly stated it in the traditional language of diplomacy. Former Secretary of State Hull, to whom we owe so much for guiding this country along the path toward international cooperation, said it this way:

"We have moved from a careless tolerance of evil institutions to the conviction that free governments and Nazi and Fascist governments cannot exist together in this world because the very nature of the latter requires them to be aggressors and the very nature of free governments too often lays them open to treacherous and well-laid plans of attack."<sup>1</sup>

MACLEISH: There's another important part of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which isn't clear to the public, I gather from our mail. I mean the proposed Economic and Social Council. This "Council of 18" is something entirely new, and yet it has received much less attention than the Security Council. I wonder if it may not prove just as important, Mr. Secretary?

GREW: I'm glad you raised that question, Mr. MacLeish. It is natural that during a war which was caused by brazen aggression on the part of our enemies, people should be interested above all in those parts of the Proposals which aim at making any such aggression impossible in the future. Yet it would be a grave error to underestimate the importance of those provisions in the Proposals which are to open the way for closer international cooperation in the economic and social, and related fields. After all, cut-throat competition in international trade, starvation wages, unstable currencies, and similar economic and social ills can easily develop into menaces to world peace, if we let them. As I see it, from the very first day of its existence the proposed Organization could

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Apr. 15, 1944, p. 335.

devote its best energies to dealing with those problems before they can cause trouble. In the new Organization, this will be done through the General Assembly and its subsidiary, the Economic and Social Council.

MACLEISH: In other words, we are not merely policing the old world. We are doing more than that. We are creating a new world. Do you agree to that, Mr. Secretary? A great many millions of Americans seem to believe the answer must be "Yes". But some Americans seem to fear they will be laughed at if they say so.

GREW: I think the answer is "Yes." I think we all believe that we *must* build a new world system.

HISS: And the Economic and Social Council is the economic general staff for the planning of that future better world. I see no reason to be afraid of admitting that the people of the world are determined to build something better in the future than they have had in the past.

MACLEISH: Certainly it is a strange thing for Americans to be afraid of admitting. Americans have always believed in the future. So far as I can judge, they still do. The timorous voices speak only for themselves. But to get back to the Organization, Mr. Hiss—where does this economic and social general staff for the planning of the future fit in?

HISS: It serves the General Assembly, which will formulate the policies of cooperation among the member states. The Economic and Social Council—that is, the economic and social general staff—will serve the General Assembly. The Council will be made up of 18 member states, and it will use outstanding experts to make studies of economic and social problems.

MACLEISH: To make studies?

HISS: And to indicate to the world possible courses of action in the solution of common problems.

GREW: I think you should make it clear that the Economic and Social Council does something more than that. It will coordinate, under the General Assembly, the activities of a number of specialized economic and social organizations which either exist already or which may be created. The International Labor Office is an example. The United Nations Organization on Food and Agriculture is another.

HISS: Then, you have the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In other words, the general staff—the Economic and Social

Council—will work closely with all these operating agencies.

MACLEISH: But you still haven't answered my question. Will the Assembly and the Economic and Social Council deal with real issues, real problems, or will they just hire a lot of experts to "study" questions and issue research reports in four volumes several years later?

GREW: The United Nations Organization would be what we make it—no more, no less. There is no reason why the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council should not become the most powerful instruments in the world for the promotion of human welfare.

MACLEISH: The people who write in to us are interested in men and women as well as economics. As you know, Mr. Secretary, a world-wide "bill of rights" has been proposed by several civic and religious groups in this country; and a Protestant Church Conference out in Cleveland, while backing the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, asked that the projected Organization include a commission on "human rights and fundamental freedoms." What is the prospect for developing a world-wide "bill of rights" under the Charter of the United Nations Organization? And what about a world-wide guarantee of freedom of information?

GREW: Well, the United Nations Declaration itself endorsed the eight points of the Atlantic Charter. That is a good beginning. It might be expanded by adding a declaration on the freedom of information and other things.

MACLEISH: Declarations of intent are admirable, but shouldn't the new Organization go further than that?

GREW: You are quite right, Mr. MacLeish. The General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council would have to find additional ways of insuring human freedom. They could appoint a special commission to work on the problem, which obviously can't be solved overnight; perhaps the Assembly would adopt a bill of basic human rights; or a treaty might be negotiated, under which the signatory states agree to respect such rights as freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, of religion. Certainly, the American Government will always be in the forefront of any international movement to widen the area of human liberty.

MACLEISH: Underlying all these specific questions is one general question we hear from time to time—would the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals



set up a superstate? Some writers have raised the question of American sovereignty in this connection, Mr. Grew. Will you comment on this sort of talk?

GREW: There's nothing to it. The idea of a superstate has never entered our thoughts in connection with Dumbarton Oaks. The United Nations Organization could not legislate for the United States or any other country. Of course, we'd have to undertake certain obligations to help maintain peace so that our nation could be protected from the ravages of war. We would agree to settle all of our disputes peacefully, and we must be willing to commit some of our military forces in order to prevent a new batch of international gangsters from breaking loose. But that can hardly be called a sacrifice. It's more like an insurance policy.

HISS: "Sovereignty" has become a scare-word, but even so I'm convinced that very few Americans are worried about it in connection with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

MACLEISH: I agree. The word "sovereignty" appears in learned discussions and newspaper editorials, but mighty few people mention it in their letters to the Department of State.

Here's a related question: Would we have to go to war if the Security Council decided to use force against an aggressor? Would we be giving the Council a blank check?

GREW: Absolutely not—not a "blank check". First of all, the Security Council, in voting to use force to preserve or restore peace, could only call out the contingents of armed forces and the facilities which the nations would have agreed beforehand to put at the disposal of the Organization for just such an emergency. Such action would not put us into war, but would be designed to prevent war. In the second place, the representative of the United States would naturally not act without instructions from his Government at Washington. In any case, the force of public opinion would undoubtedly make itself felt, for the public would be well informed by press and radio as they were in the hectic days of 1938 and 1939.

MACLEISH: Another thing: Speakers from the State Department often get this question put to them. How would various regional agreements, such as our own inter-American system, fit into the Dumbarton Oaks security set-up? How about that, Mr. Grew?

GREW: Well, first of all, of course, the responsibility for establishing good relations rests on individual nations themselves. Any regional agreements which promoted harmony and co-operation would be all to the good. Only if they ran counter to the purpose and principles of the United Nations Organization would there be cause for objection. Certainly the Inter-American regional set-up, as we understand it, is entirely consistent with the Proposals.

MACLEISH: We have received some questions in the last week or two on the relationship of the inter-American conference at Mexico City to the San Francisco conference. Can you go into that, Mr. Secretary?

GREW: There is a very real relationship between them. A lot of preliminary spade work is being done in Mexico City and may be done in other places too before the San Francisco meetings get under way next month. Such conferences are most constructive, and I believe that the work they do will speed the work to be done at San Francisco. There should be as much discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as possible, between now and when the conference opens on April 25.

MACLEISH: Those who are critical of the policy which led up to the San Francisco conference are fond of saying that we can't make an international organization work because of "power politics". This type of statement usually refers to the situations in Greece and Poland, so I suppose you consider it to be pretty controversial, Mr. Grew. But I think we should deal with it.

GREW: Yes. I'd say this: Differences, from time to time, among the United Nations are probably inevitable, but I would like to point out that these particular issues might never have arisen in an acute form if we had had the machinery to deal with them in advance. The Yalta declaration on liberated countries points the way toward close cooperation by the big powers. In the future, the United Nations Organization will provide the means of working on such problems at an early stage, and every opportunity will be given for adjustment and compromise. The friendly spirit at the Dumbarton Oaks and Crimea conferences, and the large measure of agreement reached there, are themselves a guarantee that with a permanent organization power politics can be reduced to a minimum.

MACLEISH: Now, our time is running out. Now

I have collected a few more questions I'd like to get in. First, what nations will be invited to attend the conference in San Francisco?

HISS: The answer to that is to be found in the communiqué issued at the Crimea Conference. It says that the conference will be a conference of the United Nations.

MACLEISH: The neutrals won't be included?

HISS: No, they will not be invited to join at the initial conference. They may, however, be brought in later on the recommendation of the Security Council and approval of the Assembly. Eventually, even the present enemy nations will apply for admission, but I believe that they should give overwhelming evidence of their good faith and their capacity to live up to the obligations of membership before being considered at all. In other words, the burden of proof will be on them, to demonstrate that they are "peace-loving".

MACLEISH: Enthusiasts for world *federation* are critical of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals because they think they don't go far enough.

GREW: The practical choice at this time is clearly between an organization of the type proposed at Dumbarton Oaks and international anarchy. I will say this: The present plan, by demonstrating that nations can work together to solve their problems, will prepare the way for further improvements. In any case the Charter proposed at Dumbarton Oaks would carry provisions for amendment, like our own Constitution, but I'd like to add one thing more, and I can't make this point too strongly: The choice is not between an organization along the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and some ideal formula. It is between such an organization and *no organization at all* on a world-wide basis.

MACLEISH: You are speaking of the perfectionists, Mr. Grew. There are also, of course, the cynics who believe that because we have fought a war in every generation, we always shall. It's human nature, he says. But he forgets that the people of the United States and the people of the other United Nations did not want a war and would not have started one to expand their territory or their power. This war grew out of a vicious ingrown nationalism in Germany, Italy, and Japan. War can be eliminated if we root out its economic, social, and psychological causes, and set up a world organization to solve disputes peace-

fully and nip aggression in the bud. Even those Americans who think there will be future wars believe that we should at least do everything in our power to prevent them. Don't you agree, gentlemen?

GREW: Absolutely. Do the cynics want another war? Insisting on the inevitability of war is just an excuse for doing nothing to prevent it.

MACLEISH: To sum up, I think we can say that the foreign policy of the United States is directed toward securing the peace and welfare of American citizens; that peace and welfare are only possible in a just world order; and that we see in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals the cornerstone of such an order. (*Pause*) There is one question that I'd like to answer myself, though, before we close. It's a real question, and an important one: "What can the individual citizen, the man out there on Main Street, do to help bring about a peace organization such as we've been discussing here?" The answer is simply this: Find out about the peace Proposals. Make up your mind about them. Talk them over with your neighbors. If you want more information on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, drop a postcard to the Department of State, and we'll see that you get a brief pamphlet on the subject.

GREW: I'd like to add a parting word, too, Archie. Whatever plan may eventually emerge from the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, we can't afford to turn it down because it isn't perfect. We can't expect anything 100 percent to our liking. But we can be sure that plan will be a good one, entirely adequate for our purpose.

ANNOUNCER: That was Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew. With him were Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Public and Cultural Relations, and Alger Hiss, Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs in the Department of State. This was the second in a series of programs on "Our Foreign Policy", arranged by NBC's University of the Air. Five more programs will feature top officials of the State Department on the following subjects:

- World Trade and World Peace,
- What About the Liberated Areas?
- What About the Enemy Countries?
- Our Good Neighbors in Latin America, and
- The State Department Itself.

Following that, we will broadcast two programs from the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees. Questions are invited on these subjects from the general public and from our listeners in the armed forces. Send them to the Department of State in Washington. And if you wish a reprint of this entire series of broadcasts, or a copy of this particular program, just send your request to the Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

Next week's program will be entitled *World Trade and World Peace*. Archibald MacLeish will be back, this time with Assistant Secretaries of State William Clayton and Dean Acheson to answer such questions as these:

*Voice No. 1:* What does the world trade mean in terms of *my job*?

*Voice No. 2:* If we import more foreign goods, will American wage standards suffer?

*Voice No. 3:* What about cartels?

*Announcer:* These questions deserve answers—for they affect our very livelihood. We'll try to answer them next week at this same time. This is NBC in Washington, the Nation's Capital.

## Switzerland Relinquishes Italian Interests in United States

[Released to the press March 1]

The following notes have been sent to the Swiss Legation and to the Italian Ambassador:<sup>1</sup>

FEBRUARY 28, 1945

The Acting Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Honorable the Minister of Switzerland<sup>2</sup> and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Legation's note dated February 27, 1945,<sup>3</sup> stating that, upon instructions from the Swiss authorities, the Legation relinquishes the representation of Italian interests in the United States. It is noted that the Legation intends to release the Italian Embassy building to the Italian Ambassador on March 1, 1945.

The Department of State acquiesces in the relinquishment by the Legation of Switzerland of

the representation of Italian interests in the United States. It is noted that on March 1, 1945, the Legation will release the Italian Embassy building to the Italian Ambassador.

FEBRUARY 28, 1945

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to enclose for your information a copy of a note dated February 27, 1945, from the Legation of Switzerland concerning the relinquishment by the Legation of the representation of Italian interests in the United States.<sup>3</sup> It will be noted that the Legation also states its intention to release the Italian Embassy building to the Italian Ambassador on March 1, 1945.

I also enclose a copy of a communication which the Department is addressing to the Legation of Switzerland acquiescing in the Legation's relinquishment of the representation of Italian interests in the United States and noting its intention to release the Italian Embassy building in the circumstances set forth.

Accept [etc.]

For the Acting Secretary of State:

JULIUS C. HOLMES

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CRIMEA CONFERENCE—Continued from p. 326.

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again and expect the world again to survive.

The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries—and have failed.

We propose to substitute for all these a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live.

<sup>1</sup> Alberto Tarchiani.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Bruggmann.

<sup>3</sup> Not printed.

# Lend-Lease Agreements Between the United States and the Provisional Government of France

EXCHANGE OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN M. MONNET<sup>1</sup> AND ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press February 28]

FEBRUARY 28, 1945.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

I have just returned from France. As the American Ambassador in Paris has been advised by our Minister of Foreign Affairs, my Government is now prepared to sign the draft agreements sent to me by Mr. Clayton on February 8, 1945.

In its concurrence, my Government has taken full cognizance of your Memorandum accompanying the draft agreements.

Before my departure for Paris I agreed with Mr. Clayton the text of a Statement, attached hereto, which clarifies certain points and draws the attention of your Government to certain policies which we shall follow in the execution of the various agreements.

Yours sincerely,

JEAN MONNET

## STATEMENT

FEBRUARY 28, 1945.

1. We understand that the Master Agreement covers munitions now being or to be supplied hereafter on a straight Lend-Lease basis.

2. *Article 5.* We understand that in general it is not the intention of the United States Government to exercise its right to recapture any articles for which the French Government pays; if the recapture clause should be exercised in respect to any such articles, appropriate arrangements will be made for repayment to the French Government.

3. *Articles 6 and 7.* We understand that benefits provided to the United States by the Provisional Government of France includes benefits provided by the Comite Nationale, the Haut Commandement en Chef, and the C.F.L.N. and that in the conversations referred to in Article VII full cognizance will be taken of all such benefits as well as of all aid extended under the various operating agreements and the Master Agreement.

<sup>1</sup> Commissaire en Mission, Provisional Government of the French Republic.

## B. 3(c) AGREEMENT

1. *Article I.* We understand that the phrase "Continental France" includes Corsica.

2. *Article V.* We understand that the phrase "net losses" refers to out-of-pocket expenses, such as contract cancellation, transportation and storage expenses, incurred with respect to articles covered by a requisition or other formal request filed by the French Government.

## C. RECIPROCAL AID AGREEMENT

The franc account provision appears unnecessarily broad. We understand that you are prepared to substitute for it a provision which will be consistent with mutually agreeable working arrangements now in effect in France.

## II.

The purchase price clauses set forth in Section B of Schedule I of the 3(c) agreement are complex. There is some doubt in our minds that their precise operative effect can be accurately predicted now. On the other hand, we recognize that they have been drafted with the purpose of establishing a pricing method that will be fair to both parties. Accordingly we ask for no revision at the present time. If the pricing operations under these formulae appear unsatisfactory in practice, we will feel free to propose an alternative method. The adoption of such an alternative by mutual agreement would not, of course, be retroactive, unless the propriety of such retroactive action were also mutually agreed.

## III.

I wish also to direct your attention to certain policies we shall follow in the execution of these various arrangements.

1. In relation to reciprocal aid, it is our intention to put forth our maximum effort. The extent of reciprocal aid which it will be possible to render will, however, necessarily depend in large

measure on such factors as the availability of labor, power, and the flow of imported supplies.

2. In relation to the 3(c) agreement, it is our general intention to request and receive the articles and services in Schedules 1 and 2 up to the full amount of the financial limits provided for therein. However, we note our reserved right to have the programs or contracts cancelled upon paying the United States its out-of-pocket expenses; and it is our intention to review the articles and services in the schedules from time to time and particularly at the conclusion of hostilities in Europe in order to make such adjustments in our requests and acceptances as we deem necessary in the light of the changing situation.

FEBRUARY 28, 1945.

MY DEAR MR. MONNET:

I have your letter of today telling of your re-

turn from Paris and informing me that your Government is now prepared to sign the draft agreements which Mr. Clayton sent you on February 8, 1945, and that your Government has taken full cognizance of the Memorandum accompanying the draft agreement.

You attach to your letter the text of a statement, agreed to with Mr. Clayton before your departure for Paris, which clarifies certain points and which draws the attention of this Government to certain policies which your Government will follow in the execution of the various agreements. I wish to confirm your understanding with Mr. Clayton that this statement is acceptable to my Government.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH C. GREW

*Acting Secretary of State*

#### JOINT STATEMENT BY STATE AND TREASURY DEPARTMENTS AND FEA

[Released to the press February 28]

Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, and Leo T. Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, acting for the Government of the United States on lend-lease and reverse lend-lease discussions with Jean Monnet, representative of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, made the following statement on February 28:

Three agreements relating to lend-lease and reverse lend-lease aid have been concluded with the French: (1) A master agreement identical with those entered into with the United Kingdom, China, the Soviet Union, and other countries; (2) a reciprocal aid agreement similar to those entered into with the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and others; and (3) an agreement under Section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act.<sup>1</sup>

The first two agreements with the French are based on the same principles as the lend-lease and reverse lend-lease agreements made by the United States with our other Allies. The third agreement is the first to be concluded with any of the United Nations. A similar agreement is in negotiation with the Soviet Union.

The underlying fundamental principle of the

lend-lease agreements is the one previously laid down by the President of the United States: "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."

All of the supplies, services and information covered by the agreements with the French Provisional Government are directly connected with the prosecution of the war. The basic purpose of the whole program is to enable all French resources and the whole French nation—soldiers, workers, producers and farmers—to be mobilized and used for the war against the common enemy. Supplies, services and information solely for reconstruction or rehabilitation purposes are excluded from these agreements. Supplies required by the French solely for post-war purposes will have to be handled by other means since the Lend-Lease Act is, and is being administered as, a war supply measure. Economic and financial cooperation by all the United Nations in many different ways will doubtless be required to meet such post-war problems. Effective action in this field will require both international and national action by the respective governments, including in many cases legislative action.

<sup>1</sup>To be printed in the Executive Agreement Series.

As in the case of other lend-lease countries, the amounts and types of materials, services, etc., which are to be supplied under these lend-lease agreements continue to be subject, as always, to adjustments from time to time in accordance with the changing conditions of the war. When finished munitions are produced and available for delivery, they are assigned by the Munitions Assignments Board under the direction of the Combined Chiefs of Staff in the light of the strategic considerations prevailing at the time of the assignment. Similar procedures are and will continue to be in effect for other war supplies that each country may make available to the other.

The United States has already furnished France, under lend-lease, with guns, ammunition, tanks, and other finished munitions and supplies for eight French divisions, and 300 supporting units, aggregating in all zones 225,000 men, in addition to a French air force of about 15,000 men. In the words of Secretary of War Stimson:

"During the past year of operations some of those French divisions fought superbly by the side of our American troops in the Fifth Army in the very difficult campaign up through the Italian peninsula. Thereafter, these French troops took an indispensable part in the landing in southern France in support of our invasion of Normandy, resulting in the capture of the ports of Marseille and Toulon, the triumphant march up the Rhone Valley through Lyons, and the successful junction with General Eisenhower's forces on the German frontier. It is proper to say 'indispensable' because without those French divisions the American forces alone could not have carried through that campaign with any comparable saving of losses on our side. As it was, those losses were at a minimum. Subsequently, as members of the French First Army, these same French troops have helped effectuate the rescue of the Province of Alsace including Strasbourg and the present holding of the upper Rhine boundary."

Supplies to equip additional French divisions and units will be furnished under lend-lease pursuant to the terms of these agreements.

War production materials and other vital supplies and services will be furnished by the United States to the French under these agreements on lend-lease until a determination by the President

that they are no longer necessary for the prosecution of the war. After this determination, the French may under the 3(c) agreement continue to receive the undelivered balances of certain supplies in the program and to pay for them on specified credit terms, with the reserved right to have the programs or contracts cancelled upon paying the United States its out-of-pocket costs. The United States agrees to deliver the programmed supplies to the French, after this determination by the President, unless the President determines that it is not in our national interest to do so.

The maximum aid to be furnished the French by the United States under the 3(c) agreement is specified in two schedules. The articles and services in Schedule 1 and their estimated maximum cost are as follows:

Raw Materials For War Use and Essential Civilian Supply (Cotton, Metals, Steel, Chemicals, Synthetic Rubber, Drugs, Medical Supplies, etc.)-----	\$840,000,000
Food (Milk, Pulses, Edible Oils, Oil Seed, Seeds)-----	185,000,000
Petroleum Supplies-----	132,000,000
French Prisoner-of-war Supplies-----	48,000,000
Short Life Manufacturing Equipment for War Production-----	250,000,000
Freight Charges (Rental and Charter of Vessels)-----	220,000,000
	\$1,675,000,000

The supplies and services to be furnished under Schedule 1 include such items as cotton for the production of cotton duck for tents and other textiles for the armed forces, rubber for the production of tires for military vehicles, and similar war production materials. They also include other vital supplies such as petroleum, handtools and trucks for war production and other essential operations, and food and medical supplies for war workers and others of the French people so that they can fight, produce and work most effectively in the winning of the war.

Supplies and services under Schedule 1 do not

include finished armament, etc., for the use of French military forces. Up to the extent that they are not found to be necessary in the joint war effort by the President, any undelivered balances of Schedule 1 items may, subject to the reservation of the President to withhold in the national interest, be acquired by the French. Such items are to be paid for by the French in 30 annual installments beginning July 1, 1946 or on the first day of July following delivery with interest at 2½ percent per annum.

In addition to these supplies and materials provided under Schedule 1, certain categories of long-life capital goods will be provided under Schedule 2 to enable France to produce and transport military equipment and other war goods for our combined forces. This will reduce the burden on our own output of such goods and will save vital shipping. These long-life capital goods which have a war-connected use are to be supplied to the French who agree to pay for them in full against 20 percent down payment on delivery and the balance in equal annual installments within not to exceed 30 years, with interest at 2½ percent per annum.

The articles and services in Schedule 2 and their estimated maximum cost are as follows:

Locomotives -----	\$200,000,000
Railroad Cars -----	120,000,000
Merchant Marines -----	140,000,000
Harbor Watercraft -----	32,000,000
Fishing Fleet -----	8,000,000
Inland Watercraft (Barges) -----	50,000,000
Metal Working Machinery -----	100,000,000
Industrial Equipment -----	150,000,000
Machinery for Mines, Arsenals, etc. -----	100,000,000
	\$900,000,000

These long-life articles are being furnished under Section 3(c) of the Lend-Lease Act and are put on these terms because, while they have an important and useful part to play in the war, a large part of their usefulness may also serve postwar purposes. Under the agreement production and delivery will not have to stop on these goods even though the war should end before they were

finished. The French agree to take and pay for such goods and the United States Government can proceed with an orderly liquidation of the lend-lease contracts in the manner provided for under Section 3(c) of the Lend-Lease Act. The program for long-life equipment of this character is subject to substantially the same limitations as apply to Schedule 1.

Both of these programs are subject to periodic review in the light of the war conditions and particularly after the end of the European war. Such reviews will have as their central objective the carrying out of the intent of the Lend-Lease Act. From the beginning of the program in March of 1941, lend-lease aid has been extended for one purpose—and for one purpose only—the defense of the United States and to enable our Allies to bring the full weight of their men and resources to bear against our common enemies. Accordingly, it is understood between the two governments that the United States has a broad power to cancel or revoke procurement programs or contracts if the President determines that it is in our national interest to do so. Actual delivery will always be subject to the development of the military situation, and the changing demands of strategy, as well as to economic and financial factors which affect our national interest.

The reciprocal aid agreement—the second of the agreements noted above—has been made retroactive to D-Day in order to cover supplies and services provided to the armed forces of the United States by the French since that time and without payment by us.

The supplies and services being furnished to us by the French under reverse lend-lease include textiles, military-vehicle tires, batteries, telephone wire, chemicals and other vital war materials, railroad and port facilities and services, hotels, warehouses, and other facilities and services. The French have placed their industrial production, insofar as it can be brought into operation, at the service of the common war effort.

The reciprocal aid agreement reaffirms the central principle that the French are to render us benefits on reverse lend-lease thus putting into effect the kind of combined war supply operations which have previously been so effective in aiding the United Nations to progress to victory over the common enemies.

REPLY OF ACTING SECRETARY GREW TO THE AMBASSADOR OF THE  
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 28]

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note<sup>2</sup> of today's date signed by Your Excellency and M. Monnet concerning the principles and procedures applicable to the provision of aid by the Provisional Government of the French Republic to the armed forces of the United States of America.

In reply I wish to inform you that the Government of the United States agrees with the under-

standing of the Provisional Government of the French Republic as expressed in that note. In accordance with the suggestion contained therein, your note and this reply will be regarded as placing on record the understanding between our two Governments in this matter.

This further integration and strengthening of our common war effort gives me great satisfaction.

Accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW

*Acting Secretary of State*

STATEMENT BY ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press February 28]

A formal statement has already been issued giving the details of the agreements on lend-lease matters which have been signed with France this afternoon. I should like to express my own personal pleasure over the successful conclusion of

these negotiations looking to the greater coordination of our own efforts with those of the French people in prosecuting the war. The importance of this latest evidence of Franco-American solidarity cannot be exaggerated. Nor will the effect of these agreements be underestimated by our enemies.

## Conference on Books for Devastated Libraries

### ANNOUNCEMENT OF PLANS

[Released to the press February 27]

A Conference on Books for Devastated Libraries was held at the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D.C., on February 28 under the joint sponsorship of the Department of State and the Library of Congress. (Two sessions were scheduled, beginning at 10 a. m. and 2 p. m.)

The conference discussed proposals for a coordinated national effort by private organizations to aid libraries in war areas to restock scientific, technical, and scholarly books, periodicals, and pamphlets and heard reports concerning actual losses suffered by libraries abroad. It has been pointed out that assistance will be needed to replace many books destroyed and to equip libraries with new books published since the outbreak of hostilities.

The Acting Secretary of State welcomed the representatives at the morning session and Assistant Secretary of State MacLeish addressed the afternoon session. The morning session was presided over by Bryn J. Hovde, Chief of the Division of Cultural Cooperation, and the afternoon session by Luther H. Evans, Acting Librarian of Congress. The press was invited to both sessions.

Other speakers included Bernhard Knollenberg, former librarian of Yale University, and Harry M. Lydenberg, director of the Board of International Relations of the American Library Association.

Area reports were given for Europe by Grayson N. Kefauver, one of the United States delegates to the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, and for China and the Far East by Willys R. Peck, former Minister to Thailand. Both Mr. Kefauver and Mr. Peck are attached to the Division of Cultural Cooperation, Department of State.

<sup>1</sup> Henri Bonnet.

<sup>2</sup> Not printed.



## REMARKS BY ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press February 28]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is a pleasure to welcome you to this conference. I want to express to you the appreciation of the Department and the Library of Congress for your willingness, in these busy times, to devote a day of discussion to the problems before us. Yet how natural it is for us to come together in this way. Among the instinctive traits that have made our country great are those of community spirit and mutual helpfulness.

The reason for which we have gathered here is one of importance. It is a special form of the problem now confronting the whole civilized world. It is nothing less than the means by which civilization, as men have labored to achieve it through the ages, may be preserved. In this task the first and greatest honor must go to our soldiers and sailors, to the young Americans who in all the theaters of war are affirming, by the sacrifice of their lives, the principles of liberty in speech and thought, of freedom, justice, and the brotherhood of man. But surely there are honorable ways in which we too can support the effort in which they are engaged; actions by which, as librarians and members of learned societies, as officers in various foundations and organizations, we can aid in handing on to the future the heritage we have received from the past.

Civilization is not the work of one generation. It is not a web spun from the minds of a few wise men in any one day or age. It is an accumulation; it is the sum of the labors of many gifted and devoted men and women in widely separated times and places. Because human life is short and human memory even shorter, man has invented books and has made libraries the treasure houses of his spirit. In books he records his experiences and his hard-won discoveries and hands on to future men the clew to which they tie the thread of their own newer discoveries. Across twenty-three centuries Plato in Athens speaks to Emerson in Concord in words which preserve not only the shape of his thoughts but the very rhythm of his blood. Newton in London speaks to Franklin in Philadelphia and to Joseph Henry in Albany with no more difficulty than a man calling to his neighbor. In this fashion, provided always that books and libraries exist, science today can carry

on where science yesterday left off; man does not have to undertake the impossible task of reconstructing civilization anew in every generation. Without books to provide the necessary link, he would not make much headway. Fortunately, given reasonable protection, books are remarkably durable. Though made of perishable materials, they will outlast bronze and marble. With merely a shelf to stand on, they will endure an astonishing amount of neglect. They will survive dust, damp, and the attacks of insects. They will survive almost anything short of a deliberate attempt to destroy them.

Yet books are far from indestructible. Fire, whether it be a bonfire in a back yard or in a public square, or the burning of a library, has been disastrous to these priceless records of the centuries, especially where these conflagrations have been kindled with malice. Rockets and explosive and incendiary bombs have wreaked destruction. I am telling you nothing new when I say that our own time has been particularly dangerous to books; never in any age have the weapons by which books are most easily destroyed been employed against them in so many parts of the world and with so much system. The burning of the library at Louvain, which shocked the western world so greatly 30 years ago, was—in scale, at least—a small affair beside the planned destruction in the war-stricken countries during recent years.

It would be impossible to overestimate the extent of this damage. Many unique and irreplaceable volumes of priceless beauty and significance to the human spirit have been wantonly destroyed. Whole libraries have been deliberately set on fire. The end is not yet. And while there is no reason for facile optimism in these matters, it may be said, in respect to our present problem, that the modern world has certain advantages over antiquity. Once upon a time, when libraries were burned, there was no stock in existence anywhere from which to replace the destroyed books. When the treasures of Greek literature disappeared with the library at Alexandria, they were gone for good. There was then no New World, so far as anybody knew. Even less was there available a Union Catalog of the Library of Congress by means of which the missing copies of Sophocles and Menander might be replaced. The case is different now.

(Continued on page 372)

# Scope and Functions of UNRRA and Its Relations to Other Agencies

Address by CHARLES P. TAFT<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 27]

You of this Cooperative Federation, as well as the Cooperatives associated with your national organization, are deeply concerned with the situation of Cooperatives in the liberated areas, and you have launched a drive to give them advice and assistance. I propose tonight to describe how the governments, the public organizations, and the private organizations function in the occupied and liberated areas, in order to show you the framework within which your assistance must be given. That requires me to describe first what the governments and UNRRA and the American and International Red Cross do in those areas, for the private-agency function will normally be a supplementary and residual one.

There is the greatest confusion in this country with reference to the function of UNRRA, even among those whose experience or present duties should lead them to understand.<sup>2</sup> That makes it necessary to give a clear and authoritative explanation. I shall cover the Nazi-occupied areas first and then the liberated areas.

In the Nazi-occupied areas only certain church organizations, the International Red Cross, and the World Council of the Y.M.C.A. may go, and even those agencies have their troubles in some places. They serve prisoner-of-war camps and civilian internees. The Red Cross has the administration of the Geneva convention of 1929, which establishes the sanitary and nutritional standards of these camps. It handles the food packages and comfort kits which are sent through the blockade by the national Red Cross societies, like the American or British Red Cross, or by private relief agencies, like United Yugoslav Relief, or by national governments, or by U.S. lend-lease on behalf of national governments eligible for such

aid. Some food packages have even been sent by direct mail.

The World Council of the Y.M.C.A., represented in the United States by War Prisoners' Aid, furnishes (1) books, athletic goods, and similar articles; (2) morale, athletic, and organizational service in the camps.

The Greek Relief Scheme was a special project administered by the Swedish Red Cross and the International Red Cross to meet the special needs of the starving population of Greece and has continued in part since liberation.<sup>3</sup>

The War Refugee Board (Stettinius, Stimson, Morgenthau) leads and coordinates the efforts of the interested private groups to rescue the individuals who suffer from the special attentions of the Gestapo within Axis territory. Its emergency work for any individual ends as he reaches an area where other private or public agencies can begin to function in his service.

So much for the Nazi-occupied areas.

The first thing one must appreciate about the liberated areas is the state of the commercial economy when an area is liberated. Under the Germans there was a stringently regulated economy with rationing, price control, and reasonably adequate distribution. If the front area between the armies is stable for a while, the towns are devastated. Even if the front moves fast, the Germans take or destroy, or our airmen destroy, all transport and bridges. When our army civil-affairs organization comes in, all business and all distribution is stopped and very likely completely upset. Yet strangely enough many people have money of some kind. What is needed therefore at once in all cases is primarily civilian supplies, and only secondarily relief. This was true in North Africa and it was true in France.

The U. S. "relief" organization in North Africa, the forerunner of UNRRA, arranged for supplies

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Potomac Cooperative Federation in Washington on Feb. 27. Mr. Taft is Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State, and is acting chairman of the President's War Relief Control Board.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of May 20, 1944, p. 463, and Oct. 29, 1944, p. 501.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 17, 1944, p. 300.

to come to the North African ports, took them over, arranged with the Army for transportation to other depots by rail or ship, secured trucks and took the supplies inland to the important towns, and had a one- or two-day sale in each town. The mayor made up a list of his citizens and distributed tickets to them. For a few he indicated they could not pay. The people took the goods then needed, turned in the tickets, and paid for them, unless the ticket indicated otherwise. While the distribution organization had a net loss, it was nothing like what had been expected.

The process in France was different but was built on that experience. The Greek process was the same except that the free distribution was relatively greater, the revolution upset things, and the inflation and currency situation complicated them further. So it may be said that the term *relief* is a good deal of a misnomer for what is done in the first emergency period after the military turns over. It is civilian supply, with only a proportion of free distribution. It is not a social-welfare operation.

The second completely erroneous impression about the liberated areas held by most Americans, I find, is that UNRRA operates in all countries, France, Belgium, or Germany, for instance. Even the *Times* of London erred in this regard in a recent editorial on French supply problems. Mr. Richard Law had to correct this idea in Parliament two weeks ago.

Who then does handle this problem of emergency civilian supply immediately after liberation? So far as the American side is concerned the President placed the major responsibility on the Army for the military period. That in turn has two phases. Close behind the fighting it is handled by G-5 of the Army, as seen in recent stories from the Philippines. But as soon as possible the Army turns it over either to the indigenous government or to UNRRA, even though the Army still retains the over-all responsibility. Thus in France or Belgium, although it is still the military period for supply purposes, the supplies are turned over to the government for distribution. In Greece it was the Army, using UNRRA personnel and at Army expense until the revolution forced the civilian personnel out.

Well, you say, where does UNRRA come in at all? What does UNRRA do with all that money then?

When any one of the Allied governments does not have foreign exchange with which to pay for the necessary supplies, it may request UNRRA to come in and provide the goods. The Greeks, for example, have made that request, and UNRRA will operate there.

At some cut-off date, the Army withdraws entirely, and the government takes over. It gets its own shipping allocation and takes over also the goods in the Army pipe-line. So in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland it will be UNRRA, which will then assume the responsibility for securing allocations for procurement, shipping, and major distribution. But even in supply matters UNRRA is a supervisory service organization, not a glorified international family-welfare society.

France, Belgium, Holland, and Norway have not as yet asked for UNRRA's help in normal civilian supply, and UNRRA does not operate there in supply matters. It *will* operate in Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, by request and agreement of the governments. But you must understand that in those countries it is doing a government job, parallel to that of the French or Norwegian Governments in their territory. It is not doing an individual case-work relief job. Like France or Belgium, it will get an allocation of ships for its areas. It is a part of the total governmental supply service, whose objective is to get goods into regular channels of distribution for civilian use. Its first assigned ship is soon leaving for the Black Sea, with goods for Poland and Czechoslovakia.

I should note that, at the suggestion of the European Council of UNRRA, proposals have now been approved for the extension of UNRRA's functions in relief into the paying countries. This would be an emergency type of assistance, worked out on a mutually satisfactory basis, and deserves thorough investigation.

UNRRA, however, does have a unique major responsibility in connection with supply. It is required to review all the governmental supply programs, including its own, and to insure that the standards of supply in each Allied country are as nearly equal to each other as circumstances will permit, especially in essential items like clothing, textiles, or fats and oils, which are desperately short. It is the equalization board, so to speak.

Does UNRRA operate in the ex-enemy territories? Only if the UNRRA Council specifically approves, and it may be said that the democratically organized UNRRA Council is not enthusiastic about doing it. In the case of Italy the Council finally voted \$50,000,000 for special foods for mothers and children in Italy and for Italian refugees in Italy who had been driven out of their home towns, as well as for some of its general health work.

UNRRA has another major responsibility which does take it into ex-enemy territory. It is the helper and expeditor in connection with displaced persons of Allied nationality. The Allied nations send liaison officers into Germany or Italy to screen and repatriate their nationals, but UNRRA helps SHAEF, which makes the general plans and has to take care of the many for whom no government will take responsibility. UNRRA is managing a number of refugee camps in North Africa and in cooperation with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees is planning for the vanguard of stateless persons who will be the most tragic backwash of this war.

Apart from supply, UNRRA may be requested to provide advisory services of many kinds, in the fields of health, welfare, and agricultural and other rehabilitation. Many governments have already made such requests, and no question of ability to pay is involved.

The major UNRRA responsibility among these is in the field of health, already mentioned in Italy. It is, in cooperation with the armies and the governments, giving leadership in preventing disease and epidemics in all areas. There has been less said about this, although in many ways it is the most important of its functions. The top medical officer of UNRRA is Dr. Wilbur Sawyer, formerly of the Rockefeller Foundation.

I have spoken about the immediate emergency-supply problem after liberation. But that, too, gives a most incomplete picture. Neither the armies nor UNRRA nor the paying governments can go on indefinitely in the wholesale-distribution business. Besides, the armies as they move forward take the trucks along. They fix the main bridges, but not the back roads. They bring some seed and fish nets and agricultural machinery, but not much. They are faced with the restoration of a working economy, and one does not realize

what a complicated system feeds and clothes and pays us all until one has to build it from the ground up.

In that rebuilding process one finds at once that trucks and factories need spare parts or complete rebuilding of machinery. Then they need fuel and raw materials. Even if the raw materials and fuel are within the country, there is no adequate way to transport them. When the first coal barges came down the canals and the Seine to Paris, the populace turned out with music and flags to greet them, like a victorious fleet of battleships. Gradually the old channels of traffic were smoothed out and restored and the ports partially opened up, and then came global shortages of material, steel, or textiles, or many others, and shortages of ships to bring any of them. As one is faced with competing demands for ammunition or tents or uniforms or food for the troops on the two great world battlegrounds, who is to choose whether MacArthur shall move into Manila, or Eisenhower toward Berlin—or Frenchmen or Greeks shall be given work to do, useful, necessary work in necessary plants, that may prevent unrest and even revolution?

One first effort obviously must be to see whether it is better to ship raw materials to France or Belgium to be fabricated, instead of shipping the fabricated goods across the ocean. Then the utilization of shipping must be studied to make sure every ship has the optimum use. That is being done. And it may well be hoped that the choice will never have to be made between progress on both fronts at once and chaos in the liberated countries. Nevertheless, in the last analysis no one of the Allied nations can afford to allow chaos to exist, comparable in any way to the cruel domination of the Nazis, even for a few months. The Government of the United States cannot permit that to happen. We are fighting for liberty, not chaos, and there is no short cut.

In this major supply of the raw materials of a reviving economy in a liberated area, UNRRA has only a limited responsibility. Its terms of reference in the field of rehabilitation are specifically limited to those activities which are necessary to relief. "The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world", is the language of resolution 12 at the Atlantic City meeting of the UNRRA Council.

Its functions cannot go very much beyond the same scope as Army supply in the military period before UNRRA or the governments take over.

One more operation needs to be described, the relief work of the Red Cross, before I come to the private agencies.

It should be noted first that the American Red Cross does not usually operate abroad itself except in the service of the American soldier and sailor. In foreign countries its operations are through the national Red Cross societies or the International Red Cross. Its responsibilities for prisoners of war and internees have already been described. The great bulk of its funds, raised from the American public, go for the recreation service of the armed forces abroad, including the Red Cross clubs and hotels, for the services to individual soldiers and sailors in connection with their families and dependents, and for the recreation and other lay services and supplies in hospitals.

But the Red Cross does have civilian-relief responsibilities in addition to peacetime or wartime disaster relief. It spends for this about \$5,000,000 a year of its own funds, and it has now spent nearly all of the \$85,000,000 appropriated by Congress to the President during five years since early 1940 for the purchase and transportation of relief supplies, to be procured exclusively in the United States, for distribution abroad, "through the American Red Cross or such governmental or other agencies as he may designate".

None of these government funds as a matter of Red Cross and congressional policy has been spent in Axis-occupied territory. They have gone principally for medical supplies of all kinds and textiles which the chapters make up into garments.

The Red Cross has, of course, made in its chapters large amounts of bandages, and new garments, which have been stockpiled and shipped out to the countries in greatest need. The Red Cross has been the principal shipping agency for its own goods and those of private agencies to Europe and elsewhere.

Everything I have said to this point has been a matter of public record, but it is extraordinary how many intelligent supporters, and even officers of private relief, are firmly convinced that only through American Relief for Graustark or Ruritania will Graustarkians or Ruritarians be fed or clothed.

Consider the cost of feeding 40,000,000 Italians 2,000 calories a day, or even the cost of that part of the 2,000-calories diet that must come from overseas. No private agency could do even a fraction of it, to say nothing of fuel and clothing and medicine and shelter. That is not the job of the private agency. It is a basic, public, governmental responsibility.

The major problem today is not supply but transportation, and only a government can compete with military demands today and get ships allocated. A private agency can only ship filler cargo, which is most helpful but only a filler.

Finally, the bulk of the supplies sent are for distribution through regular civilian channels, not for "give away". The head of one recently liberated state has insisted on this, as he said, to preserve the morale of his people and called for the chance to work, not gifts; supplies through which jobs can be provided, not handouts.

Well, you may ask, what can the private agency do? It can do a lot, but it must have a full understanding of the problem and knowledge of how to fit its supplementary gifts and services into these other basic and established programs. Enthusiasm and promotional ability are fine in a private-agency staff, but what a mess these qualities can make in the absence of sound administrative experience in the welfare field!

Here are what the private agencies can do and are doing effectively:

They can provide special food and services for specialized groups, like mothers, children, or students.

They can make or collect garments, new or used. They can give leadership in recreational and morale work.

They can care for refugees who for one reason or another are not cared for by any government. This is one of the largest single fields of service.

Obviously their appeals for funds and costs of administration need to be regulated and their use of the funds supervised. That is the job of the President's War Relief Control Board.

We have reduced the foreign-relief agencies to a limited number of international agencies, like the American Friends Service Committee, or the American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and to one or two agencies for each country to be

served. Having started from over 60 agencies for Britain alone, for example, we think that is not a bad job.

To simplify the appeals, we organized the National War Fund, which includes 60 percent of the money and many of the agencies. The times of all appeals are adjusted to avoid interferences. The War Fund Budget Committee reviews all requests of its agencies and fixes totals subject to approval of the War Relief Control Board. The others are reviewed by the Board itself.

But the great problem remains of coordination of efforts in the field. The Board first helped to establish firmly the Council of Voluntary Agencies, which brings together, not for money raising but for coordination of programs, all agencies, in or out of the War Fund. This is related to the War Fund policies under the leadership of President Henry Wriston of Brown. This Council has committees for each country where all agencies contributing to that country are brought together.

The Board is now taking one more step. We called together last week the first of a series of conferences, one on each country, at which we have presented the Army program, the program of that country's government, the UNRRA program, the Red Cross program, and the private-agency programs. That gives an essential overall picture of the need and how it may be met in each place.

The next step is coordination in the foreign country. In the military period it is obviously up to the Army and under its control. In France or Belgium, for example, the government thereafter takes over through some agency of government and exercises general supervision. In the UNRRA countries, UNRRA by the agreement has that control. Proposals have recently been discussed, suggesting that such control should be extended to the paying countries, but this Government has not concurred. As I have said, UNRRA must see to it that what goes to liberated areas goes on an equal basis to all countries, but supervision of the private agencies is clearly the job of the government when it is in charge of civilian supply and relief distribution.

But in addition to government supervision over them the agencies themselves need to work together. No less than 32 agencies want to send something to France. American Relief for France

covers half the amount and the Friends and Joint Distribution Committee 30 percent more. But the others should have their chance, too, and the need is great. An excellent pattern has been worked out in Italy. Mr. Myron Taylor has organized a coordinating and distributing organization over there. He is the head of American voluntary relief, and his director is a former Red Cross director. He works through an Italian committee including representatives of the Italian Government, Italian Red Cross, the Church, and Italian labor organizations. His main contact in the United States is with American Relief for Italy, the largest single organization for Italy on this side of the water, and all must work through these two. We have already set out to secure similar results in the Philippines, and after that will come France.

So in each country, as the situation develops, the War Relief Control Board expects to lend its assistance to see to it (1) that there is a single main "country" organization in the United States; (2) that all organizations interested in that country work with the "country" organization in planning; (3) that there is an integrated operation of American relief activities in the foreign country itself, under American leadership.

I understand that your Freedom Fund proposals have nothing to do with money relief, but it might well be that you would wish to relate your advice and assistance to this operation in the foreign country.

Thus, we hope that to match basic governmental provisions for civilian supply there will be developed an adequate machinery to express freely not the divisions of foreign politics, or of domestic either, but the generous humanitarian impulses of the *whole* American people for victims of war and aggression.

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#### DEVASTATED LIBRARIES—Continued from page 367.

Of the books which have been destroyed in recent years, copies of many exist in this country—perhaps in greater numbers than we have need for here. It would be a thing full of promise for the future of the world if they could be used appropriately now; if there were some way of restoring through books those channels of communication in science and scholarship and art upon which the continuance of civilization depends.

# Adherence by Egypt and Turkey to the Declaration by United Nations

## EXCHANGES OF MESSAGES WITH ACTING SECRETARY GREW

### *Minister of Egypt*

[Released to the press February 28]

FEBRUARY 27, 1945

SIR:

At the outbreak of World War II, Egypt, as Your Excellency is well aware, severed diplomatic relations with Germany on September 4, 1939, and did likewise with Japan the day following its treacherous attack on the United States of America at Pearl Harbor. Immediately thereafter the Egyptian Government took all necessary legal action to supplement this step by rounding up Nationals of these countries and putting their property under a special administration entitled "Public Custodian for Enemy Assets."

Egypt, moreover, has given the United Nations all economic, political and military cooperation within its power.

In view of the above-mentioned facts, I have the honour to inform you that my Government have decided to give effect to an already existing situation and have instructed me to inform you that on February 26, 1945, Egypt declared a state of war with Germany and Japan; that Egypt has decided to adhere to the United Nations declaration of January 1, 1942; and that I have been authorised to sign that Declaration on behalf of my Government.

Accept [etc.].

M. HASSAN

FEBRUARY 27, 1945

SIR:

I have received your note of this date in which you state that Egypt severed diplomatic relations with Germany on September 4, 1939, and did likewise with Japan the day following the treacherous Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor; that Egypt has given the United Nations all economic, political and military cooperation within its power; that in view of these facts the Egyptian Government decided to give effect to an already existing situation and on February 26, 1945, declared a state of war with Germany and Japan; that Egypt has decided to adhere to the Declaration by United Nations; and that you have been authorized

to sign that Declaration on behalf of your Government.

The Government of the United States, as depository for the Declaration, is gratified to welcome Egypt formally into the ranks of the United Nations. Arrangements are being made for you to sign the Declaration on February 28, 1945.

Accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW

*Acting Secretary of State*

### *Chargé d'Affaires Ad Interim of Turkey*

[Released to the press February 28]

FEBRUARY 24, 1945

SIR:

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I have been instructed by my Government to communicate to the Government of the United States the following statement of the Turkish Government:

"Turkey having already, at the time of signing her alliance with Great Britain on October 19, 1939, embraced the cause of the Allied Powers in their struggle against aggression, has, since then, broken off her diplomatic and economic relations first with Germany and later with Japan, and having declared war on those two Powers on February 23, 1945, has decided to adhere to the United Nations Declaration.

"The Government of the Republic has, therefore, the honour to inform the Government of the United States of its adherence to the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942."

My Government has also directed me to inform Your Excellency that I have been authorized to sign, on behalf of the Turkish Republic, the Declaration by the United Nations. I should, therefore, be most grateful to Your Excellency if you would be kind enough to communicate to me the day on which I may sign the above-mentioned document.

Please accept [etc.]

ORHAN H. EROL

FEBRUARY 26, 1945

SIR:

I acknowledge receipt of your note of February 24, 1945 in which it is stated that Turkey had already, at the time of signing her alliance with Great Britain on October 19, 1939, embraced the cause of the Allied Powers in their struggle against aggression; that Turkey has, since then, broken off diplomatic and economic relations first with Germany and later with Japan; that Turkey declared war on those two countries on February 23, 1945; that the Government of Turkey has de-

clared to adhere to the Declaration by United Nations; and that you have been authorized to sign the Declaration on behalf of Turkey.

The Government of the United States, as depository for the Declaration, is gratified to welcome Turkey formally into the ranks of the United Nations. Arrangements are being made for you to sign the Declaration on February 28, 1945.

Accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State*

#### CEREMONIES ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION

##### *Remarks by the Minister of Egypt*

[Released to the press February 28]

Permit me, Mr. Secretary, to express my thanks for your generous welcome and allow me to take this opportunity to outline some of the reasons for the action taken this eventful day.

Egypt, while maintaining a status of non-belligerency in the past, has since the very beginning of hostilities contributed materially to the Allied cause, as I have on several occasions explained over the radio and in talks that I have been called on to make. Not only had Egypt severed diplomatic relations with the Axis powers, but this step was supplemented in time with all the legal and practical effects.

Moreover, Egypt has given the United Nations all political, economic, and military cooperation within its power.

We believe that this cooperation has made it possible for the Allies to turn the tide of war in Africa and to change their position from defense to attack and from attack to victory; in fact, we believe that the battle of El Alamein which was the turning point in the history of this war would have been difficult to achieve without the loyal support of the Egyptians.

The Egyptian people like to believe in these conditions, that they have done and are doing their utmost to achieve victory, and they like to hope that by putting their shoulder to the wheel they will help construct a just peace based on fraternity, equality, and freedom for all.

It is, therefore, a real privilege for me to affix my signature on behalf of my Government to this important document, thereby giving legal effect to an already existing situation.

##### *Remarks by the Chargé d'Affaires Ad Interim of Turkey*

[Released to the press February 28]

Since her birth the Turkish Republic has taken a definite stand against the aggressors by joining herself with the countries which were uniting their efforts to save the peace. It was with this spirit that Turkey, faithful to her ideal, has signed her treaty of alliance and since then has never deviated from the policy which she had then fixed.

The unanimous vote of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on February 23, 1945 in declaring war against Germany and Japan is a logical and natural sequel of this policy and constitutes the culmination of my Government's attitude of solidarity with all the powers which are bound by the ideals of justice and peace for all the nations in the fullness of their independence.

The Government of the Turkish Republic feels a very great satisfaction in taking the place which has been assigned to it in the family of the United Nations, and this joy is rendered all the more lively by the fact that this historic event takes place in the territory of the great republic of the United States of America.

I feel this is the proudest moment of my life, to have been called upon by my Government to affix my signature to the Declaration by the United Nations, and thus to consecrate for my country a document by which she once more affirms her unshakable attachment to the cause of the Allies and of all the nations which are united against aggression.



### Remarks by Acting Secretary Grew

[Released to the press February 28]

When the coalition of United Nations was formed during the darkest days of the war, 26 governments joined to constitute the original group. Since then many other nations and peoples from all parts of the world have embraced our cause until today, with the addition of Turkey and Egypt, the total is 44 nations. Never in all history has there been such a mighty coalition, mighty in the number of people concerned, in material resources, and in high purpose. During the first months the emphasis was on winning the war, but from the beginning the United Nations have looked forward to the establishment of permanent peace and security after the close of hostilities. At the present time the emphasis is both on winning the war and constructing an international organization so effective that never again can ruthless tyrants spread death and destruction throughout the world.

We are happy indeed to welcome formally to our ranks for this dual purpose two of the great nations of the Near East. Both of them, Turkey and Egypt, long ago embraced our cause and have been contributing materially in many ways to the prosecution of the war. Today they undertake the great responsibilities contained in this historic document, the Declaration by United Nations. They pledge their full resources in the war against Germany and Japan. They affirm their support of the common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter. And they express their conviction that complete victory over the common enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence, and religious freedom and to preserve human rights and justice. Thus, Turkey and Egypt, by affixing their signatures to the declaration manifest their determination to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other United Nations in winning the war and in building the machinery of peace.

I now take great pleasure in presenting Mr. Orhan H. Erol, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Turkey, who will sign the United Nations Declaration for Turkey.

I now take great pleasure in presenting The Honorable Mahmoud Hassan, Minister of Egypt, who will sign the Declaration for Egypt.

## Declaration of War by Saudi Arabia Against Germany And Japan

### EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES

[Released to the press March 1]

The President of the United States of America has received the following message from King Abdul Aziz (Ibn Saud) of Saudi Arabia:

JIDDA, February 28, 1945

Since the beginning of the World War we have been inclined to the cause of justice defended by the Allies. We have already taken our stand against the Axis Governments in several events, chiefly in their aggression and others which are well known to the Axis and the Allies. We have decided that it is for the good of our country that we should be in a state of war with both Germany and Japan from March 1, 1945. I have decided to adhere to the Allies in this war. We exclude from this declaration the zone of the Holy Shrines. Because of their sanctuary we should preserve complete neutrality for them. Thus they will not engage in war or will war be declared on them. They are the zone of safety and peace for all those who live therein, and all those Muslims who come to them. Thus I ask God to direct our steps to righteousness and to grant us to ever act in behalf of Islam and Muslims.

ABDUL AZIZ.

The President has sent the following reply:

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1945

I have received Your Majesty's telegram of February 28, 1945 stating that since the beginning of the war Saudi Arabia has been inclined to the cause of justice defended by the Allies; that Saudi Arabia has already taken its stand against the Axis Governments and has decided that it should be in a state of war with Germany and Japan from March 1, 1945.

I appreciate that long ago Saudi Arabia made known its sympathy with the cause of the United Nations and has been contributing to our war effort. It is a source of genuine satisfaction to have Saudi Arabia now formally aligned with the United Nations in the struggle against the common enemies and in building for the peace of the future.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

# International Economic Problems

Address by JOHN PARKE YOUNG<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 28]

I am speaking this evening about some of the international economic questions that are confronting this country and that are of importance to all of us.

Without detracting from our immediate urgent responsibility—to do everything within our power to contribute to the earliest possible winning of the war—we would do well to devote what efforts we can toward the solution of major problems in the field of international affairs. I propose to touch upon two of these problems, which are inseparable: the development of effective machinery to prevent future wars and the establishment of improved economic conditions throughout the world, without which no machinery for peace and security may be effective. I shall discuss particularly the second of these problems.

As we all know, plans for the development of a United Nations organization for peace and security are well along the way toward realization. First was the Moscow Conference in 1943 when the famous Four Nation Declaration was signed by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China. According to this Declaration the four nations pledged themselves to cooperate after the war in the building of a lasting peace as fully and whole-heartedly as they have worked together during the war. Then came the discussions at Dumbarton Oaks. The Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace is now in session at Mexico City. On April twenty-fifth there will assemble in San Francisco the United Nations Conference, called as a result of the Crimea Conference between President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin.

In the economic field events have also been moving along. A few days ago there were presented to the Congress for its consideration and action the proposals prepared by the United Nations

Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods. Other proposals will soon be ready for submission to the Congress.

The last decade has emphasized that prosperity and better living conditions at home cannot be attained apart from events and conditions in other countries. Political isolationism has been discredited, but we must be careful now that we are not dragged down by its twin, economic isolationism, which would have us attempt to live without regard for our economic relations with other countries. We would sell to them but make it difficult for them to sell to us. We would look after our own currency but not assist them in stabilizing their currencies. It is essential to our own well-being as well as to that of the world generally that we not place barriers in the way of world economic expansion and that we develop ways and means of effective international economic cooperation.

The United States today occupies a position in world affairs which gives it a special opportunity in the shaping of international relationships and in the determination of the nature of the post-war world. This country's policies and actions will do much to determine whether we slip back into the chaotic and unhappy conditions of the thirties, when nations were engaged in destructive economic warfare and narrow nationalism which almost stifled trade, caused serious friction, and did much to bring on the present war, or whether we go forward into a world of expanding trade, higher living standards, fuller employment, and of general security for all.

The type of economic conditions which this country hopes to see established after the war is set forth in general terms in the Atlantic Charter and also in the lend-lease agreements which this country has made with some 35 other countries. The Atlantic Charter sets the goal, according to its own words, for "all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity"; and of "the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security". The lend-lease agreements provide that

<sup>1</sup>Delivered before Occidental College Institute of Economics and Finance, Los Angeles, Calif., on Feb. 28, 1945. Mr. Young is Adviser in the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, Office of Financial and Development Policy, Department of State.

final settlements shall include provisions directed "to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce; to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers".

The United States international economic policy, in harmony with this, is to be thought of from the standpoint of several broad objectives:

1. The first aim of all economic policy is necessarily the maintenance of peace, or general security. Without peace economic progress and other goals become impossible of attainment. The economic policy of this government is therefore pointed toward the promotion of peace and to measures which provide a healthy background for peace. The opposite of this is the avoidance of actions which are in the nature of economic warfare and which lead to conditions threatening peace.

2. A second main objective is the attainment of high and rising levels of national income. This means the expansion of production, fuller and more effective utilization of the world's resources and productive techniques, ample employment, and as a consequence a larger consumption on the part of individuals not only in the United States but in foreign countries as well. Improved conditions abroad promote international stability and are of benefit to the prosperity and security of the United States.

3. A third main objective is economic stability or the avoidance of business depression, periodic unemployment, and other disturbances. A high level of employment, industrial activity, and prosperity generally is not adequate if this is to be followed by severe depression and unemployment, with all the destructive accompaniments.

These main objectives—peace, high levels of income, and stable economic conditions—are closely interwoven so that measures designed to achieve one help at the same time to achieve the others. Peace and general security are thus essential to prosperity and a high national income. Peace, however, needs to be supported by economic and social conditions throughout the world that promote peace. These conditions include a relatively free flow of trade in both directions, the absence of discriminatory and restrictive devices, of cartels and monopolistic practices, and the existence of orderly and healthy economic and financial conditions generally.

In regard to the maintenance of peace and the

attainment of better economic conditions, the proposals worked out at Dumbarton Oaks represent a significant step forward in the field of organized international action. Throughout history men have continually endeavored to devise ways and means to maintain peace. The League of Nations was a recent undertaking for this end; but in spite of these efforts war came. In approaching the problem today this government has made exhaustive studies of past efforts, of why they failed and of the type of machinery that seems best suited to accomplish the purpose. Out of these studies and similar studies by other countries has come the plan developed at Dumbarton Oaks by the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China.

According to this plan there would be established a permanent international organization with a general assembly consisting of representatives of all member states, which would be on an entirely equal basis. This General Assembly would be the highest representative body in the world. It would not be a legislative body but an agency wherein free nations could consider problems and arrange for common action on matters of international concern. It would formulate policies for cooperation in the maintenance of peace and security, including policies governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments. It would initiate studies and make recommendations for cooperation in political, economic, and social fields. It would make recommendations regarding the adjustment of situations which are likely to impair the general welfare of the nations. The General Assembly would endeavor to coordinate the activities of specialized international agencies dealing with economic, social, and other questions.

In addition to the General Assembly, there would be a security council of 11 members, partly elected by the General Assembly and partly representing the major powers, the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and eventually France. These countries necessarily must accept large responsibilities in connection with the maintenance of peace, and would have permanent seats on the Council. The Security Council would have definite authority to facilitate the settlement of disputes which threaten peace. It would suggest means of settlement, such as arbitration or reference to the Court of International Justice. These measures might fail, and it would therefore have full authority to take whatever measures are necessary to maintain or restore peace. It could sup-

press by force any breaches of the peace which might arise.

Before the Security Council undertook to apply force, it would first have done everything possible to have obtained settlement of a controversy by peaceful means. In becoming a member of the organization, each nation would pledge itself not to resort to any but peaceful means in the settlement of any disputes or the adjustment of any situation. If, in spite of this pledge, it should become necessary to take action against a particular country or against several countries, the Security Council would have wide authority to take whatever measures were necessary. It might take such measures as the severance by members of diplomatic and economic relations with an offender, or cutting off such nation from rail, sea, air, postal, and other means of communication. If diplomatic and economic pressure of this type failed, the Council would be in a position to act by means of armed land, sea, or air forces.

The military forces and other facilities that might be needed by the Council would be placed at its disposal by the member nations. The precise number of forces and kinds of military facilities to be supplied would be determined by special agreements among the nations concluded under the auspices of the Council.

It can be seen that these provisions for the maintenance and enforcement of peace represent a much bolder and more realistic attempt than anything undertaken heretofore by the League of Nations, by the Kellogg pact, or any other arrangement. The plans proposed mark a notable step forward in our effort to find means of preventing war.

In the economic field the proposals provide for the establishment of an economic and social council to operate under the General Assembly. This Council would consist of 18 members elected periodically by the General Assembly. It would be the agency through which the member nations would consider international, economic, social, and cultural problems. It would thus be a highly important body and would endeavor to arrange for a cooperative approach to these difficult questions which have such far-reaching consequences to the well-being of the peoples of all countries.

This Economic and Social Council would be a body of government representatives who would decide, under the guidance of the General Assembly, how far the member states are willing to go on

the road to closer cooperation on economic, financial, social, and other matters. It would be for this Economic and Social Council also to determine which are the most urgent issues requiring attention and what policies it believed should be pursued. In the light of these provisions, it is evident that the experts who formulated the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals attached great importance to the promotion of cooperation in the economic field.

The economic field is so large and varied that several special international agencies are needed to deal with special types of activities, such as those of finance, of trade, or of transportation. Some of these special agencies are now in existence, such as the International Labor Organization. Others that are being planned include the International Food and Agriculture Organization proposed at the conference in Hot Springs, Virginia; the International Monetary Fund and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, plans for which were worked out at Bretton Woods; the International Civil Aviation Organization proposed at the recent conference at Chicago; and other agencies having to do with trade, commodities, cartels, transportation, education, health, and other fields. The activities of these various special organizations need to be coordinated if they are not to overlap and lead to confusion. Responsibility for this coordination would rest in the General Assembly, which would operate through the Economic and Social Council.

Two of these specialized agencies are the International Monetary Fund and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Agreements for these institutions, drawn up at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, are now before the governments of the United Nations for their consideration and action. These companion institutions are designed to help bring order into international economic and financial affairs and to provide a basis for the expansion of trade and an increase in employment.

In the years before the war exchange rates were unreliable and moved erratically. Thus during the year 1933 the price of a pound sterling fluctuated between about \$3.50 and \$5.50, or from the standpoint of the British the price of the dollar varied in these amounts. Other currencies have fluctuated much more widely. Fluctuations of this type obviously handicap trade and financial

dealings and lead to consequences of a serious nature.

During these pre-war years most countries placed restrictions on exchange dealings and would not permit the free purchase or sale of foreign currencies. An American exporter thus had no assurance that he could convert his foreign money into dollars. These and various other devices were used by countries to divert trade away from economic channels and as weapons to carry on economic warfare or to obtain domination over another country. Germany developed these practices to a high degree.

If foreign trade is to prosper, exporters must have assurance that they will get paid for their exports. They do not want some blocked foreign currency but need United States dollars to pay wages and other costs and to have some profit for themselves.

The proposed Monetary Fund is designed to stabilize exchange rates and to promote the free inter-convertibility of currencies one for the other. The advantages of the Fund, however, are much broader and farther reaching than might be presumed from this simple statement. The Fund is not to be thought of as merely a financial device or as aiding only a limited group of people. The Fund has to do with matters of a fundamental nature and would aid in establishing healthy and prosperous economic conditions throughout the world and in creating more jobs and better living conditions here at home.

If trade does not move because of faulty currency and exchange conditions, production is slowed down or halted and workers are unemployed. Deflation and depression spread and may be cumulative. A train of events in the international field leads to attempts to overcome the difficulty by barter and nationalistic devices which are harmful to other nations and which contribute to war. Unsatisfactory currency and exchange conditions are at the root of much economic instability and underactivity.

In order to deal effectively with the problem of currency and exchange, international collaboration is necessary. An exchange rate by its nature concerns more than one country. The ramifications of the problem are such that orderly and satisfactory international economic relationships are impossible unless nations have some understanding in this field and work together toward common ends.

The Fund agreement represents the combined efforts of the technical experts of 44 nations to deal with this problem and is the culmination of study and informal discussions between these experts spread over an extended period of time.

The Fund would provide a consultative procedure whereby representatives of the member governments would regularly consider, in a dispassionate manner, their mutual problems. The proposed agreement, moreover, sets forth what the nations consider to be the principles and procedures or "rules of the game" in the field of currency and exchange, as well as with respect to certain aspects of commercial policy. It is significant that the experts from 44 nations have been able to agree on these rules of the game. A broad multilateral trading system, conducted on an orderly and free basis, is the type which the Fund aims to establish.

The basic principles or means by which the Monetary Fund would accomplish its purposes are fairly simple. These are essentially as follows:

1. Member countries would undertake to keep their exchange rates as stable as possible. They would agree to make no changes in rates unless this were essential to correct a fundamental disequilibrium. This provision outlaws competitive currency depreciation, which in the past caused such serious trouble.

2. If a change in rates becomes necessary, an adjustment can be made but must in all cases be made by consultation with the Fund and according to established procedures. Beyond certain limits no change in rates can be made except with the concurrence of the Fund. This recognizes that changes in rates may at times be unavoidable and provides an orderly means for making these changes.

3. Countries are to define their currency values in terms of gold or in terms of United States dollars. The stability of a currency is therefore to be measured by its relationship to gold. Gold, moreover, is to be accepted by all members in settlements of accounts. This bases currencies upon gold, but in view of other arrangements no country would need to be a slave to gold.

4. A common pool of resources would be established by the members and would be available to meet temporary shortages of foreign currencies. For example, if a country that normally exported large amounts of agricultural products had a crop failure and therefore lacked foreign currencies

with which to pay for its imports, such country could borrow from the Fund, provided of course the member had not previously borrowed to excess. This pool of resources would be available under safeguarding conditions to support a member's currency until that member had had time to correct the maladjustment causing the difficulty.

5. Member countries would agree not to engage in discriminatory currency practices, nor to impose restrictions upon the making of payments for current international transactions. Existing restrictions on the purchase and sale of exchange, with some exceptions, would be abandoned as soon as the post-war transitional period permits. This is an important provision and would help to restore greater freedom in the conduct of foreign transactions and in permitting trade to develop along economic lines.

These are the basic principles embodied in the Fund agreement. It can be seen that they represent a significant step forward in international collaboration and in an effort to provide orderly economic conditions throughout the world.

The other institution proposed at Bretton Woods is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The investment of United States capital abroad, under proper conditions, is generally agreed to be of substantial benefit to the United States and to the world at large. Such investment would contribute directly to economic expansion, full employment, high levels of national income, and to stable international conditions generally. It would provide a market for United States products and as the development of foreign economies takes place would tend to expand their purchasing power for this country's goods. It would facilitate adjustments in balances of payments, thereby reinforcing the Fund in promoting currency and exchange stability.

During the immediate post-war years the needs for capital for reconstruction are expected to be pressing. The United States with available capital can help to restore the productive power of war-torn countries and thereby promote economic and political stability. It can also facilitate the development of other parts of the world, improve the utilization of resources, and lift the incomes of backward areas. The best customers of this country are the economically advanced countries.

The international flow of long-term capital has been seriously disrupted for some years, partly be-

cause of the war and political uncertainty that preceded it and partly because of past excesses and careless lending. Under existing conditions, including the hesitancy of private capital to seek investment abroad, it does not appear likely that very large sums of money will be available for foreign investment unless constructive action is taken.

Private foreign lending must be on a basis which protects the interests of both investors and recipients of the capital if it is to revive and serve its purpose. The proposed Bank would endeavor to promote this condition by offering its facilities for loans that were properly approved and that came up to certain standards. The Bank is allowed to make direct loans itself, but most of its capital would be available only to guarantee loans placed through regular private-investment channels. The Bank presumably would not make or guarantee loans which imposed onerous terms or unreasonable conditions upon the borrower. According to the purposes of the Bank, loans would need to be scrutinized both from the standpoint of their investment soundness and their broad economic aspects.

The Bank would provide funds on a repayment basis for the reconstruction of devastated countries and for the development of resources in other parts of the world. The Bank would not compete with private lending and would be allowed to make or guarantee a loan only when the borrower would otherwise be unable to obtain the loan on reasonable terms. The Bank would make some loans itself, but most of its capital would be available only to guarantee loans made by private lenders. A borrower from the Bank, moreover, would need to obtain the guaranty of his national government.

The International Monetary Fund and the Bank are of course only part of the program to improve international relations. The reduction of trade barriers and the elimination of preferences and discriminations are fundamental to the attainment of lasting improvement. The old philosophy that we must push exports but shut out imports just does not work. An export for us is an import for another country, and the pre-war attempt of countries to restrict imports contributed to the piling up of surpluses, to stagnant trade, and to unemployment. Trade is a two-way street and means that we give something in order to receive some-

thing in return. We harm ourselves if we impose obstacles in the way of the foreigner sending his goods to us.

Moreover, if we do not buy the foreigner's goods he lacks dollars with which to buy our goods. The advantages arising out of international specialization of production, wherein each area produces those things it is specially suited to produce, are partly lost if trade is hampered.

The United States regularly exports large quantities of agricultural products and also of industrial products. This community right here produces goods for export and has an important and direct stake in a prosperous world trade.

The United States Government for the past 10 years has, through its trade-agreements program, been doing what it could to reduce barriers to international trade. It has endeavored to bring about this reduction in an orderly fashion and on a reciprocal basis. Foreign countries, through these agreements, have reduced barriers to our goods, and we in turn have reduced barriers to the import of their goods.

It is of course to our interest to reduce barriers to their goods, regardless of whether they reduce the barriers to our goods. The purpose of exports is to pay for imports, and the more imports we can obtain in exchange for our exports the more we have to consume. It is thus to our interest to facilitate imports. The more goods we buy from foreigners the more dollars these foreigners possess to spend here in purchasing our goods.

In spite of the progress which has been made in this field of reducing trade barriers, a great deal remains to be done. All over the world restrictions on the flow of trade are very great and constitute a serious obstacle to a revival of trade and to the establishment of healthy and prosperous economic conditions, as well as to a background conducive to world peace. The question is one of special importance to everybody.

Other countries are waiting to see what action the United States will take with respect to these international questions, including the Bretton Woods proposals, the formulation of which has been sponsored to a large extent by this Government. Failure on our part to participate in the Bretton Woods proposals would greatly prejudice solutions in other fields and would lead nations to look to their own devices and to adopt practices seriously damaging to this country and to the world generally. Our actions in the international

field in the near future will be considered as an indication of whether or not the United States is going to participate in a cooperative approach to international questions generally in the post-war world.

The period before us is one in which major decisions must be made on many issues. It is a period of flux when important constructive measures are possible and when patterns will be set which subsequently may not easily be changed. It is thus important that we give careful attention to actions which we may take or fail to take.

## Metallurgist Accepts Visiting Professorship to Brazil

[Released to the press March 1]

John P. Walsted, who since 1941 has been chief of the inspection department at Watertown Arsenal, has been appointed visiting professor of metallurgy at the University of São Paulo, Brazil.

Dr. Walsted, who is one of a group of professors and technical experts who are receiving travel grants from the Department of State for service in other American republics, expects to be at his new post about March 15. He will teach courses in physical metallurgy.

Dr. Walsted was educated at Oregon State College, the University of Illinois, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After receiving his doctorate in science from the last named institution, he taught metallurgy there until he became materials engineer for the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation. He was later chief metallurgist of the Whitin Machine Works in Massachusetts. He is a member of several professional and learned societies, including the American Society for Metals and the American Bureau of Welding. His publications include papers on welding and articles on such subjects as metallurgical classification of welds and evaluation of die steels.

Dr. Walsted will spend one year in Brazil. He is one of 16 educators and technicians who are taking active part in a program of cultural and scientific interchange between this country and the other American republics. The program is financed jointly by the Department of State and the receiving educational institutions and is administered by the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department.

# World Organization and Economic Phases

Address by CHARLES P. TAFT<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press February 26]

By all the polls the American public is overwhelmingly in favor of an international organization. The majority is impressive, but before summer is past that sentiment will be put to the test—will Dumbarton Oaks, as spelled out at San Francisco, meet the requirements of our constitutional procedures for approval? The only thing which meets that test is votes delivered on a rollcall at the crucial moment in a legislative body. Every effort of every supporter is going to be needed, applied so as to express itself through a vote where that vote is needed. I propose tonight to discuss that problem, beginning with some of the fundamental questions involved.

Is this war worth the lives of our dearest and best? Eighty years ago Abraham Lincoln was answering a question like that when he delivered his second inaugural. The question will plague us in the future, as the same question plagued us for the last twenty-five years after the first World War.

After that war both here and in England the flood of literature about the war pounded into our consciousness that war is devastation, disease, death, filth—in short, hell. As the years passed and the hopes for the League of Nations began to fade, there was added to that disgust with war a sense of its utter futility, because it seemed to have settled nothing right. The ministers of the churches took back all they had said in support of the war, and we moved toward fervent pacifism. Many looked back on the war years and told themselves we were high-pressured into a war that was none of our business, and fooled into sentimental enthusiasm and unseemly endorsement of evil.

We were not very smart about that or even very good in our history. Ask George Washington or Bismarck whether wars are futile.

Don't forget what that disillusioning process did to the returning soldier. Instead of a com-

munity that felt deeply the tragedy but the necessity of war and understood without explanation the unselfish contribution the veterans had made, they met an indifference and lack of understanding and that same denial of any virtue in the war.

Oliver Wendell Holmes was different after the Civil War. He saw all the terrible things of war in what was the nearest thing to our two world wars in past history, but he saw also the fine things in the human spirit at war and the heroism and unselfishness and steady endurance of the American boy. He continued to speak out for what they had done for freedom and justice. His contemporaries thought he was slightly cracked or a warmonger, just as the generation of the twenties would have looked on a similar position. The part of that generation of the twenties too young to get in the war felt cheated of the experience at the same time that they met the shock of disillusionment from the "realistic" literature that obscured the bravery and idealism of the soldier. The bonus march capped the climax.

That was shoddy thinking. I am not talking about the Senate isolationists of 1919 but about our whole people. The people were for international cooperation then and were cheated of it by a minority of far less than one third, but they had only a sentimental good-will and no sound philosophy about how to achieve progress toward an ideal in a hard world with plenty of evil but even more inertia in it.

The job we are now facing—to organize peace—is a long hard job. It only begins with the birth at San Francisco of a new world organization, or even with its implementation by our Government and the others. But San Francisco and then the approval in Washington are the first essential hurdles.

At San Francisco the nations come together to consider the general pattern of Dumbarton Oaks, the solution proposed for the problem of voting in the Security Council, and the yet undisclosed proposals for dealing with dependent areas.

In the Proposals a whole area, which many of us consider only second in importance to security,

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Presbyterian Social Union on Feb. 26, 1945 at Philadelphia, Pa. Mr. Taft is Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State.



will require consideration and planning. The world is gradually organizing itself for the operation of its post-war commerce and communication and production. The procedure is piecemeal and by functions at present, as Mr. Gideonse describes it, and he suggests that this procedure grows from bitter experience after the last war where we tried to do everything all at once. That may be. Certainly it is true that there are many discussions going on in every nation and between many nations in these fields of activity.

The list of functional fields and activities is impressive. The Combined Boards have been dealing with problems of supply and shipping for the war effort so far as the two great supplying nations are concerned, the United States and the United Kingdom. The Combined Food Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board, the Combined Production and Resources Board, all are to stop at the end of the war, but their knowledge and experience is made available to all post-war planning agencies.

UNRRA picks up, for the countries without foreign exchange resources who request it, some of these supply functions of the two powers and runs for the early relief and temporary rehabilitation period.

The Combined Shipping Adjustment Board evolves into the United Maritime Authority and goes for six months after the war. Discussions proceed as to what shall become of the great United States surplus of ships, and what shall be done to replace the losses of the United Nations' fleets by enemy action.

Among the agencies of the League of Nations the International Labor Organization is the major one in the economic and social field which carries through from before the war and still plans for the organization of peace.

Then comes the Food and Agriculture Organization, recommended at Hot Springs, plans for which have been formulated by the Interim Commission. Most of the United Nations except ourselves have already approved of the new constitution.

The Bretton Woods legislation has now been submitted to Congress and will no doubt have the vigorous support of this group and the friends of international cooperation. The recent reversal of the almost unanimous opposition to the Bank from financial circles last summer suggests the need for a further careful and open-minded study

by them of the Fund and of the reasons why it was agreed to by all the nations represented at the conference, before they seek to torpedo one of the key elements in the ultimate stabilization of international trade.

The aviation conference at Chicago did not reach full agreement, but the outstanding achievement of most of its objectives has been somewhat obscured by the emphasis on the remaining points of disagreement. It is not generally recognized how well the United States Government departments concerned have planned together, reached a reasonable platform of essential elements in a United States position, and carried out superbly their instructions.

The next and basic problem upon which we must reach our own definition of views is in the broad field of international trade policy, with its connected discussion of how to maintain high levels of employment. Certainly, if we go into a depression and unemployment, we force all other nations to take defensive and restrictive measures. On the other hand, there are some methods proposed for keeping all our people at work, which have direct adverse effects upon other nations. While that is not a necessary result of such programs, it must be kept constantly in mind that we are pledged to a reduction of trade barriers, to the elimination of undesirable control practices, and to cooperation for the handling of commodity surpluses and for preventing their causes by shifting to more desirable production. All that may well require another international body for consultation and coordination.

Besides the human problems involved, the refugees after this war will constitute an economic problem of major importance. The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees was formed at Évian in 1938 and must be considered in this group of specialized economic agencies.

So we are faced with a task at San Francisco or later of coordinating all the interests of these specialized groups under the Economic and Social Council. For it is clearly recognized by all of us, I am sure, that while liberty, justice, and security are the moral ideals that move human beings in the great moments of crisis, the opportunity for earning a living and raising a family and enjoying leisure are so essential that the world will go to pieces, for sure, without sound economic integration and free and mutually profitable international economic foundations.

The opposition will not be present at San Francisco in person, but they will be working without ceasing. Their attack is not frontal, for they can read the polls like anyone else. They will play upon our fears and our prejudices.

The true isolationists are essentially cynics and materialists. They have harped on the necessity for looking out for number one. They repeat almost word for word Karl Marx' denial of the existence of any idealism and his insistence that only the economic influences count for anything. They say, for instance, with a prominent radio commentator that Stalin's pledge for a free election in Poland, though joined to Roosevelt's and Churchill's, is worthless. Their attitude toward Russia plays upon all the possible domestic prejudices of religion or nationality.

The true isolationists play also upon the theme of power politics, and its evils, at the very same time they are proclaiming our complete security now and in the future because of our invincible Navy and demanding the seizing, without delay or bother about rights, of every island in the Pacific which our strategy needs. What a pleasant, peaceful world they would make!

The cynics draw into a curious fellowship the idealists who will accept nothing less than perfection in any organization or planning, even though on its face it makes agreement with any other nation impossible. Let me quote the answer to the perfectionist of a great Christian thinker which puts it much better than I can:

"Power is not itself an evil: it is a capacity to act, whether for good or evil. As opposed to impotence, the possession of power is a good. The use of force, as an activity of power, may be an indispensable instrument of order. Hence the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are not to be condemned merely because they accept the fact of power-difference among states, and assign to the great powers special responsibilities. It might conceivably be better for the peace of the world if the effective power in international relations were not at this juncture centralized in three or four great states; but this centralization cannot at once be banished. The task is to make centralized power serve the ends of justice, rather than its own ends alone. As over the former League, the Dumbarton Oaks plan has this virtue, that it seeks to make power and responsibility commensurate.

"If we ask how centralized power can be made

to serve the ends of justice, one may be inclined to answer, 'By subjecting it to a greater force'. But if any one of the great powers were to be condemned by the others and the force of the organization were brought to bear, this would be tantamount to the inauguration of another world war. Whatever the force at the disposal of the Security Council it cannot be great enough to be decisive in such an emergency. This may be the consideration which leads the great powers to avoid the constitutional possibility of a condemnation by the others. If there is to be security or peace at all, it must lie therefore not in superior force as against the great powers, but in a degree of good will and good faith on the part of the great powers, subjected to the constant play of public opinion.

"Whether this unanimous good will and good faith do or do not exist among the great powers party to this plan, is a question of fact, momentous for the world. It is equally fatal to hold an attitude of suspicion when good faith is present, and to hold an attitude of credulity when it is absent."

That is Christian realism in answer to perfectionism. Here is another fine statement of the Christian position:

"We cannot expect our Government to seek to cooperate on world problems unless that is what the American people want and unless they want it sufficiently to be tolerant of results which, in themselves, will often be unsatisfactory. . . .

"This 'tolerance.' . . . is not a compromise of our ideals. Rather, it is the acceptance, provisionally, of practical situations which fall short of our ideals. The vital word in that sentence is the word 'provisionally'. We cannot agree to solutions which fall short of our ideals if thereby we become morally bound to sustain and perpetuate them. That would be stultifying. It is the possibility of *change* which is the bridge between idealism and the practical incidents of collaboration. That possibility is an imperative for Christians."

We must act so as to promote that good-will and good-faith, and not destroy it.

The campaign for the world Organization thus supported by idealism has to be organized. That means an organized stimulation of individuals. You have to get people to the point where, being

informed, they have the inner gumption to nail the lie, to answer the argument when they hear it, from friend or acquaintance, or even stranger.

To be informed and stimulated the individual has to be reached by group organization and by all the media of educational publicity. That means local news and plenty of effective literature and leaflets. It means good motion-picture material. It means good spot radio stuff especially using series for which an audience is built up. I am more than glad to call attention to the splendid cooperation of radio in another series in which Congress and the State Department are taking part, which began Saturday, February 24, and will run for 7 weeks. The reaction from the Department series a year ago was so outstanding that Assistant Secretary MacLeish and his associate John Dickey are looking forward to even better results this time, for understanding of the problems we face and for unity in solving them.

Neighbors and neighborhoods grow as people grow, slowly, by experience and by the force of example, built on friendship and feeling for people.

Proximity is not enough. We are told almost every day that the shriveling of this world has forced better international relations. But don't forget that friction only appears when two surfaces rub together. You can't get heat between two pieces of wood by waving them in the air ten feet apart. You can't have a spat with a neighbor you never see. You can only be bored by a bore who pushes into the chair next to you. The shrinking world by itself does not produce peace; it can produce world war quicker than before. And don't forget that the change from stagecoach to railroad and from sailing ship to steam shrank the world more than the airplane.

So it is that we have to work at being neighbors in order not to be enemies. The closer we live together the less we can be indifferent. Isolation is impossible because everybody else is in our backyard, on the roof, or firing off torpedoes across the creek, which is no longer 2,500 miles wide but only six and one-half hours by air. There is no isolation. The sole problem is how you deal with your neighbors.

The number one plank in my platform on that subject is the number one plank in our democratic heritage and in our Jewish-Christian tradition. People are human beings, children of God, worthy of affection, of assistance, of understanding. That

is the instinct which led the small independent churches of England 300 years ago to insist to Cromwell that every Englishman in the new Commonwealth should have a vote irrespective of his property. That is the feeling for people which is so deep in us Americans that Britishers and French and Indians and Chinese can't miss it in their contact with our boys abroad.

We have to struggle for peace together or we get no peace. That is a long, slow, hard process, building good relations with neighbors around the world which are so strong that they form an impassable barrier to war or threats of war. It takes work and determination besides the good-will. The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are the tools for that determination to make the world a good neighborhood.

## Chinese Doctor To Study in The United States

[Released to the press March 3]

The young Chinese doctor who gave vital medical care to Capt. Ted Lawson and his four companions when they crashed in China after the 1942 raid on Tokyo is now en route to the United States. Dr. Shen-yen Chen will study surgery for two years at American Government expense. This chance to realize an ambition which he has long had is given to him as a gesture of appreciation of his sacrifice and risk in tending the injured American fliers behind the Japanese lines and guiding them to safety in free China.

Dr. Chen's story is well known to Americans who have read or seen the screen version of Captain Lawson's book, *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*. The young Chinese doctor was working in his father's hospital in an inland city in Japanese-occupied territory when the Tokyo raiders were brought in by their guerrilla rescuers. At great personal risk and refusing all compensation, Dr. Chen and his father treated the wounded fliers. As soon as the men were well enough to move, young Dr. Chen traveled with them on the long journey to Kunming to make sure of their safety. There he parted with the fliers in June 1942. Since that time Dr. Chen has been in the Medical Detachment of the Chinese Air Force in Chungking. The invitation for him to study in America was extended by the Department of State in connection with its program of cultural relations with China.

## Consideration of Pending Telecommunication Problems

[Released to the press February 28]

A telecommunication delegation has left Washington for London to discuss cable charges in the Mediterranean and also to consider informally other rate questions including the question of traffic between the United States and Brazil. After the delegation has concluded its task in London it will proceed to Paris and then to Rome where it will have an opportunity to consider various pending telecommunications problems.

The American Delegation is composed as follows:

*For the State Department:*

HARVEY B. OTTERMAN, Assistant Chief, Telecommunications Division.

*For the Federal Communications Commission:*

Commissioner RAY C. WAKEFIELD, an expert on rate matters.

M. H. WOODWARD, Chief of the International Division.

*For the War Department:*

Colonel ORLA ST. CLAIR, Signal Corps.

*For the American Embassy in London:*

Colonel MARION VAN VOORST, Assistant Military Attaché.

JOHN ORDWAY, Third Secretary, Vice Consul.

*For the Western Union Telegraph Company:*

JOHN R. HYLAND, the company's United States cable manager.

*For the Commercial Cable Company:*

JAMES A. KENNEDY, General Counsel.

The British delegation in London will be composed as follows:

R. A. GALLOP and R. T. CALLENDER, Foreign Office

H. TOWNSEND, Director of Telecommunications Post Office

G. T. ANSTEXY, Accountant General's Department Post Office

R. L. P. HARVEY, Treasury

Group Captain H. G. LEONARD WILLIAMS, Chairman, British Joint Communications Board

R. E. LUFF, Cable and Wireless Limited

## Geologist Accepts Visiting Professorship to Brazil

[Released to the press March 1]

Kenneth E. Caster, of Cincinnati, Ohio, has been appointed visiting professor of geology at the University of São Paulo, Brazil. He will inaugurate courses there on paleontology and

stratigraphic geology. Dr. Caster is one of a group of distinguished educators who have received travel grants for visiting professorships under the program administered by the Department of State for the exchange of professors and technical experts between this country and the other American republics.

At present on leave from his post as assistant professor of geology and fellow of the graduate school of the University of Cincinnati, Dr. Caster has specialized in research on invertebrate fossils of the Devonian period from Portuguese West Africa, the eastern United States, and the Colombian Andes. The Guggenheim Foundation has awarded him a grant to complete his work in the latter area when circumstances permit. He has worked also in the Paleozoic paleogeography of South America.

Dr. Caster, for the past two years president of the Paleontological Research Institution, has published some 45 papers, bulletins, and monographs in the *Bulletin of American Paleontology*, the *American Journal of Science*, the *Journal of Paleontology*, and other learned and professional organs. Much of his work has been illustrated by Mrs. Caster, who is also a geologist and has collaborated with him in research. She will accompany him to Brazil. They expect to leave for São Paulo early in March.

### THE DEPARTMENT

#### Appointment of Officers

Loy W. Henderson

[Released to the press March 3]

Mr. Loy W. Henderson, the present American Minister to Iraq, has been appointed Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs in the Department of State. He will succeed Mr. Wallace Murray, whose appointment as Ambassador to Iran has already been announced.

The following persons have been designated or redesignated to the positions indicated in the Office of Assistant Secretary Clayton, effective February 1, 1945:

George L. Warren, Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons;

Robert M. Carr, Executive Secretary, Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy;

Otto W. Schoenfelder, Executive Assistant;  
Nancy W. Davis, Acting Informational Liaison  
Officer.

The following persons have been designated or redesignated to the positions indicated in the Office of Commercial Policy, effective February 1, 1945:

Donald Hiss, Adviser, and

Leo D. Sturgeon, Adviser on Fisheries.

Frederick Livesey has been designated as Adviser in the Office of Financial and Development Policy, effective February 1, 1945.

## Abolition of the Division of Territorial Studies<sup>1</sup>

*Purpose.* This order is issued to insure that the geographic Offices and divisions of the Department shall receive the full potential of service of its territorial research staff.

*Background.* Several years ago a special staff was organized in the Department to analyze and conduct background studies on post-war territorial settlements. The time has now arrived when post-war-planning problems and policy have become current problems and policy; therefore the closest association in the staffs is advisable.

1 *Abolition of the Division of Territorial Studies and transfer of its staff.* The Division of Territorial Studies of the Office of Special Political Affairs is hereby abolished, and its functions and staff transferred among the several geographic Offices and divisions, in accordance with the determination of the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration in collaboration with the Directors of the Offices concerned. The staff shall continue its research activities, organized in the Offices and divisions as the Directors of Office shall determine. Several members of the staff of the Division of Territorial Studies are hereby transferred to other divisions of the Office of Special Political Affairs.

2 *Departmental Order Amended.* Departmental Order 1301 of December 20, 1944 is accordingly amended.

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State*

<sup>1</sup> Departmental Order 1309, dated Feb. 27; effective Mar. 1, 1945.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Surveys To Be Made at American Embassies and Consulates

[Released to the press March 3]

The Acting Secretary of State announced today that Mr. Stettinius, before he left for Yalta, had personally prepared plans to send abroad a number of experts to study the work of our Embassies and Consulates and to make recommendations for increasing their effectiveness.

In line with the Secretary's wishes, Mr. Grew said that he is selecting three teams of experts to make these surveys. One team will visit Europe, another South America, and the third Africa and the Middle East. The Secretary will ask each team to appraise the needs of the Foreign Service establishments in the area it surveys, and to make suggestions for an increasingly effective Foreign Service to represent the United States abroad.

To assure objective recommendations each team will include management experts from outside the Government, as well as representatives of the Executive Office of the President and the Department of State. The team itineraries will include typical Foreign Service establishments.

The Acting Secretary of State declared in making the announcement:

"The responsibilities of the Foreign Service are constantly increasing at an unprecedented rate in this period of political, social, and economic changes. Clearly the Service will benefit from an objective review of its organization, personnel, equipment, facilities, and administrative procedures. The survey teams we are selecting can be depended upon to develop sound recommendations for the increased effectiveness of the Foreign Service which is primarily responsible for representing the United States Government abroad."

Three teams will be utilized in order to expedite world coverage. The surveys will require approximately two months. The teams will depart in March. Their recommendations will be made to the Secretary upon their return.

The personnel of the teams and a list of the principal establishments to be visited abroad will be made public at a later date.

## Revocation of Certain Executive Orders Regarding Foreign Service Regulations

Executive Order 9521 on the subject of "Revocation of certain Executive Orders prescribing regulations relating to the duties of officers and employees of the Foreign Service of the United States" was intended, as stated therein, to promote effective administration of the Foreign Service of the United States.<sup>1</sup> It will facilitate the issuance of regulations to govern the Foreign Service and will result in increased efficiency in administration. It will also serve the immediate purpose of expediting the work now being done to revise the Foreign Service Regulations.

Heretofore Foreign Service Regulations have been issued by Executive Order. Under authority of Executive Order 9452 of June 26, 1944, as amended by Executive Order 9514 of January 18, 1945, the Secretary of State is authorized, with certain exceptions, to prescribe regulations relating to the duties of officers and employees of the Foreign Service of the United States and the transaction of their business. Executive Order 9521 enables the Secretary to carry out the authority contained in those two Executive Orders.

The revocation of any existing Executive Order listed in Executive Order 9521 will be effective only when the Secretary of State issues a regulation to take its place.

### Confirmations

On February 27 the Senate confirmed the nomination of George R. Merrell as American Minister to India.

## PUBLICATIONS

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Venezuela Extending With Modifications the Agreement of February 18, 1943—  
Effected by exchange of notes signed at Caracas June 28,

1944; effective July 1, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 427. Publication 2268. 7 pp. 5¢.

Air Transport Services: Agreement Between the United States of America and Denmark—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington December 16, 1944; effective provisionally January 1, 1945. Executive Agreement Series 430. Publication 2255. 10 pp. 10¢.

Air Transport Services: Agreement Between the United States of America and Sweden—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington December 16, 1944; effective January 1, 1945. Executive Agreement Series 431. Publication 2263. 10 pp. 5¢.

Rights of American Nationals: Agreement Between the United States of America and Syria—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Damascus September 7 and 8, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 434. Publication 2265. 5 pp. 5¢.

Rights of American Nationals: Agreement Between the United States of America and Lebanon—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Beirut September 7 and 8, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 435. Publication 2266. 5 pp. 5¢.

### FOREIGN COMMERCE WEEKLY

The article listed below will be found in the March 3 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:

"Saskatchewan Government to Participate in Business," based on a report from Walter S. Reineck, consul, American Consulate, Regina.

## THE CONGRESS

Report on the Yalta Conference: Address of the President of the United States delivered before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives on the subject of the Yalta Conference. H. Doc. 106, 79th Cong. 13 pp.

Foreign Service of the United States. H. Rept. 51, Part 2, 79th Cong., to accompany H. R. 689. 4 pp.

Water Treaty With Mexico. Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Seventy-ninth Congress, First Session, on Treaty With Mexico Relating to the Utilization of the Waters of Certain Rivers. Part 1. January 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26, 1945, iii, 310 pp. [Department of State, p. 191]; Part 2, January 29, 30, 31, February 1, 2, 3, 1945. iii, 350 pp.

Estimate of Appropriations To Cover Claims Allowed by the General Accounting Office. Communication from the President of the United States transmitting estimates of appropriation amounting to \$2,995,579.47 to cover claims

<sup>1</sup> 10 *Federal Register* 1991.

allowed by the General Accounting Office and for the services of the several departments and independent establishments. H. Doc. 88, 79th Cong. 42 pp.

Prohibiting Proof of Acts Done by an Inventor in Foreign Countries. H. Rept. 217, 79th Cong., to accompany H. R. 1439. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Providing for the Registration and Protection of Trade-Marks Used in Commerce, To Carry Out the Provisions of Certain International Conventions. H. Rept. 219, 79th

Cong., to accompany H. R. 1654. 16 pp. [Favorable report.]

First Deficiency Appropriation Bill, 1945. H. Rept. 221, 79th Cong., to accompany H. R. 2374. 29 pp. [State Department, pp. 2, 10, 14, 26.] [Favorable report.]

Constitution, Jefferson's Manual and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, Seventy-ninth Congress. By Lewis Deschler, Parliamentarian. H. Doc. 810, 78th Cong. xiii, 721 pp.

## Contents—Continued

TREATY INFORMATION	Page
Lend-Lease Agreements Between the United States and the Provisional Government of France:	
Exchange of Communications Between M. Monnet and Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	362
Joint Statement by State and Treasury Departments and FEA . . . . .	363
Reply of Acting Secretary Grew to the Ambassador of the Provisional Government of the French Republic . . . . .	366
Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	366
Adherence by Egypt and Turkey to the Declaration by United Nations:	
Exchanges of Messages With Acting Secretary Grew:	
Minister of Egypt . . . . .	373
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Turkey . . . . .	373
Ceremonies on the Occasion of the Signing of the Declaration:	
Remarks by the Minister of Egypt . . . . .	374
Remarks by the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Turkey . . . . .	374
Remarks by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	375
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	386
Abolition of the Division of Territorial Studies . . . . .	387
<b>THE FOREIGN SERVICE</b>	
Surveys To Be Made at American Embassies and Consulates . . . . .	387
Revocation of Certain Executive Orders Regarding Foreign Service Regulations . . . . .	388
Confirmations . . . . .	388
<b>PUBLICATIONS</b>	
Publication of "Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1930", Volume I . . . . .	330
Lists . . . . .	388
<b>THE CONGRESS</b> . . . . .	388



# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 298

MARCH 11, 1945

## *In this issue*

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE UPON RETURN FROM  
CONFERENCES IN THE CRIMEA AND AT MEXICO CITY

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

*Statement by the Secretary of State*

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

*Statements by the Secretary of State*

"BUILDING THE PEACE"

*World Trade and World Peace*

COMPARISON OF THE CHICAGO AVIATION CONVENTION WITH THE  
PARIS AND HABANA CONVENTIONS

*By Stephen Latchford*

ILO PREPARES FOR 1945 INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

*By Bernard Wiesman*

*For complete contents  
see inside cover*



THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## BULLETIN

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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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## Contents

	Page
<b>AMERICAN REPUBLICS</b>	
Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace: Expression of Tribute by the Secretary of State at the Final Plenary Session . . . . .	398
Statement by the Secretary of State on the Conclusion of the Conference . . . . .	398
Draft Resolution on the Inter-American Defense Board . . . . .	400
Visit of the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil . . . . .	410
Statement by the Secretary of State on Arrival at Habana . . . . .	397
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Reassertion of Policy Toward Austria: Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	397
Presentation of Letters of Credence: Ambassador of Belgium . . . . .	421
Ambassador of Italy . . . . .	422
<b>FAR EAST</b>	
Transmission of Funds to Americans in the Philippines . . . . .	408
Repatriation of Americans From the Philippines . . . . .	427
<b>NEAR EAST</b>	
Declaration of War by Saudi Arabia Against Germany and Japan: Exchange of Messages . . . . .	408
Regulations for Postal and Telecommunications Activities, United States and Greece . . . . .	426
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
The Bretton Woods Proposals: International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Statement by Assistant Secretary Acheson . . . . .	409
The Proclaimed List . . . . .	423
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
Statement by the Secretary of State Upon Return From Conferences in the Crimea and at Mexico City . . . . .	393
United Nations Conference: Invitations to Conference Including Voting Provisions Supplementary to a Section of Dumbarton Oaks Proposals . . . . .	394
Statement by the Secretary of State . . . . .	395
Statement by the Secretary of State Regarding Voting Procedure in the Security Council of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals . . . . .	396
"Building the Peace". World Trade and World Peace . . . . .	401
Comparison of the Chicago Aviation Convention With the Paris and Habana Conventions. By Stephen Latchford. ILO Prepares for 1945 International Labor Conference. By Bernard Wiesman . . . . .	411
	424
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
Proclamation of Double-Taxation Convention With Canada . . . . .	423
UNRRA Agreement. Poland . . . . .	426
Aviation Agreements. Costa Rica . . . . .	426
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	427
<b>THE FOREIGN SERVICE</b>	
Issuance of Foreign Service Regulations, Orders, and Instructions . . . . .	428
Consular Offices . . . . .	428
PUBLICATIONS . . . . .	427
THE CONGRESS . . . . .	428

# Statement by the Secretary of State Upon Return From Conferences in the Crimea and at Mexico City

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[Released to the press March 10]

I am glad to be home again.

It is only six weeks since I left Washington on my way to Malta and the Crimea. Yet I have traveled 26,000 miles—more than the distance around the world—and spent over half of my time at the conferences in the Crimea and at Mexico City. In one and the same day I said good-by to Mr. Molotov at Moscow as the early-morning snow swirled around us and in the evening I talked in Cairo with Emperor Haile Selassie, who had come there to meet the President. Less than 48 hours later I had crossed Africa, the Atlantic, and the Equator, and I was conferring with President Vargas of Brazil at his summer home near Rio de Janeiro.

It is literally true today that we Americans are the neighbors—*next-door neighbors*—of every other people on the earth. We can go to any other country, and the people of any other country can come to us, in a few hours' time. We cannot shut ourselves away from what happens in the rest of the world, because the rest of the world is right next door.

How secure and how durable the peace will be after victory will depend upon whether we can work together with the other United Nations even more closely and successfully than we have in this war. We have no other choice except economic disasters and another and far more terrible war. From now on we Americans must share—for our own sake—in the responsibility of establishing and maintaining peace everywhere in the world.

I have been away on two major assignments—to assist the President at the Crimea Conference and to head the United States Delegation at the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace in Mexico City. I have also performed missions in Moscow, Cairo, Monrovia, Rio de Janeiro, Guatemala City, and Habana.

All the labors of this trip have been toward the same end—establishing the bases of a lasting peace in which Americans and other peoples can live in

the assurance of greater security and freedom and of wider opportunities. I believe great progress has been made in the last six weeks toward this goal—both at Yalta, where the President's leadership was outstanding, and in Mexico City, where the cooperation of the American republics was tremendously strengthened.

We were fortunate to have Senators Tom Connally and Warren R. Austin and Representatives Luther Johnson and Edith Nourse Rogers as members of the American Delegation at Mexico City. They contributed much to the success of the Conference. Important contributions were also made by the members of our Delegation representing labor, agriculture, and business.

The next step ahead of us is the conference of all the United Nations at San Francisco on April 25—little more than six weeks from now. San Francisco will be a turning point in the history of the world and of America. I look upon the preparation of a charter for the world Organization as a responsibility as heavy and a duty as sacred as that which fell to the delegates to the Constitutional Convention of Philadelphia in 1787.

Like the men who founded this Republic, of this generation are called upon to pioneer a new way. It is symbolically appropriate that we should meet at San Francisco for this purpose—for our pioneering has always been westward and San Francisco is at the crossroads of the eastern and western worlds.

I do not for one moment underestimate the difficulties that we must overcome before we can realize our ultimate objective, nor should any American underestimate them.

We have first to write the Charter of the world Organization. It must then be accepted by the peoples of the world. And after that we shall have the continuing task of making the new Organization really work—the task of creating over the years those political, economic, and social conditions essential to a lasting peace.

Like a great many Americans I have been brought up in business and I have been trained to

look reality squarely in the face. But I share also with most Americans an abiding faith in the power for good of our people and in the aspirations for which America stands.

In the past few weeks, although I have not been to the battle-fronts, I have seen something of the miracles wrought by Americans in spanning the

oceans and the continents so that the full power of our military might could be brought to the homelands of the enemy. No one who has witnessed even a small part of these achievements can doubt the capacity of Americans in cooperation with our Allies to win also the battles for the reestablishment of peace and its maintenance in the future.

## United Nations Conference

### INVITATIONS TO CONFERENCE INCLUDING VOTING PROVISIONS SUPPLEMENTARY TO A SECTION OF DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

[Released to the press March 5]

At the Crimea Conference the Government of the United States of America was authorized, on behalf of the three Governments there represented, to consult the Government of the Republic of China and the Provisional Government of the French Republic in order to invite them to sponsor invitations jointly with the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to a conference of United Nations called to meet at San Francisco on April 25, 1945.

Those consultations have now been held. The Government of the Republic of China has agreed to join in sponsoring invitations to the San Francisco conference. The Provisional Government of the French Republic has agreed to participate in the conference but, after consultation with the sponsoring Governments, the Provisional Government—which did not participate in the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations—is not joining in sponsoring the invitations.

On March 5, at noon Washington time, representatives of the Government of the United States of America stationed at various capitals throughout the world presented to the Governments of 39 different United Nations the following invitation:

"The Government of the United States of America, on behalf of itself and of the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Republic of China, invites the Government of [name of Government invited was inserted here] to send representatives to a conference of the United Nations to be held on April

25, 1945, at San Francisco in the United States of America to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The above-named Governments suggest that the conference consider as affording a basis for such a charter the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization, which were made public last October as a result of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and which have now been supplemented by the following provisions for Section C of Chapter VI:

"C. Voting.

"1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.

"2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

"3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A, and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting."

"Further information as to arrangements will be transmitted subsequently. In the event that the Government of [name of Government invited was inserted here] desires in advance of the Conference to present views or comments concerning the proposals, the Government of the United States of America will be pleased to transmit such views and comments to the other participating Governments."

The invitation has been presented to the Governments of the following United Nations:

Commonwealth of Australia	Republic of Liberia
Kingdom of Belgium	The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg
Republic of Bolivia	United Mexican States
United States of Brazil	The Kingdom of the Netherlands
Canada	Dominion of New Zealand
Republic of Chile	Republic of Nicaragua
Republic of Colombia	Kingdom of Norway
Republic of Costa Rica	Republic of Panama
Republic of Cuba	Republic of Paraguay
Czechoslovak Republic	Republic of Peru
Dominican Republic	Commonwealth of the Philippines
Republic of Ecuador	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
Kingdom of Egypt	The Republic of Turkey
Republic of El Salvador	Union of South Africa
Empire of Ethiopia	Oriental Republic of Uruguay
Kingdom of Greece	United States of Venezuela
Republic of Guatemala	Kingdom of Yugoslavia
Republic of Haiti	
Republic of Honduras	
India	
Empire of Iran	
Kingdom of Iraq	

#### STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 5]

I am happy to be able to make a most significant announcement, here in Mexico City, concerning the future world Organization for peace and security.

As I arise to speak, the Government of the United States, acting on behalf of the sponsoring Governments—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China—is transmitting invitations to the United Nations conference to be held at San Francisco on April 25th.

I regret exceedingly that the Provisional Government of France has not accepted our invitation to become one of the sponsoring countries for the San Francisco conference.

Issuance of the formal invitation to meet only seven weeks from now in San Francisco is another step toward a goal which is in the minds, and in the hearts, of all of us—establishment of an enduring peace after victory in this war.

In October 1943 the signatories of the Moscow Declaration pledged themselves to cooperate with each other and with the other nations devoted to peace in creating a general international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference was the next step necessary in the carrying out of this vast program. From that Conference there emerged

the Proposals which we are studying here in Mexico City.

The Conversations at Dumbarton Oaks left open the question of voting procedure in the Security Council. A proposal on this subject has now been agreed upon in the manner stated in the text of the invitation to the San Francisco conference, which I shall read to you in a moment. This was one of the great accomplishments under President Roosevelt's leadership at the Crimea Conference.

In Mexico City the 20 countries here represented are taking another important step toward the establishment of a world organization. Our task here has been to exchange views, and to clarify our thoughts, on the essential features of the world Organization of the future and on the relationship to it of our own inter-American system; and thus to prepare ourselves more fully for the work to be undertaken at San Francisco.

It is my great pleasure now to read to you the text of the invitation to the Conference, which includes the proposed provisions for voting in the Security Council.

[Here follows the text of the invitation as printed on page 394 of this issue of the BULLETIN.]

The proposed provisions for voting in the Security Council are those which were presented by the President of the United States at the Crimea Conference; they were there agreed to by Great Britain and by the Soviet Union and have since been approved by China.

I wish at this time to comment to you briefly on the significance of the proposal on voting procedure. This procedure means that whenever any member of the Council—including any permanent member—is a party to a dispute, that member cannot vote in any decision of the Council involving peaceful settlement of that dispute. Consequently, the Council can examine the dispute thoroughly and the remaining members can make recommendations to all the parties to the dispute as to methods and procedures for settling it. They can refer the legal aspects of the dispute to the international court for advice. They can refer the dispute to the General Assembly if they wish; and they can take any other appropriate steps short of enforcement measures to obtain a settlement of

<sup>1</sup>Made at Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City on Mar. 5, 1945.

that dispute without the vote of the member of the Security Council involved in the dispute.

This means that all members of the Security Council when they are parties to a dispute will be on the same footing before this Council. It means that no nation in the world will be denied the right to have a fair hearing of its case in the Security Council, and that the equal, democratic rights of all nations will be respected.

If the dispute is not settled by such means, the major question before the Council is whether force needs to be employed. In that event, it is necessary that the vote of the permanent members of the Council be unanimous. They are the nations which possess in sufficient degree the industrial and military strength to prevent aggression. However, the decision of the Council can be reached in such a case only by a majority of seven members, which means that the permanent members cannot alone decide to take action. It also means that the non-permanent members can prevent action.

I am happy to say that I have here to hand to each of you a more detailed memorandum on the voting procedure which I am sure you will wish to study.

The invitation to the San Francisco conference suggests that the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals be

considered as affording a basis for the Charter of the world Organization. It is the wish of the United States, as it is, I am confident, of the other sponsoring nations, that there should also be the fullest opportunity at that conference for consideration of the views and suggestions of all the participating Governments. I know that the contributions of the distinguished statesmen of the American republics will be most valuable in the writing of the Charter.

The responsibility for the establishment and maintenance of a peaceful world order is the common responsibility of all the United Nations. It is on them that the duty has now fallen to write a charter for the international Organization so firmly rooted in the realities of the world as it is, and so clearly expressing the free and democratic ideals for which the United Nations stand, that it will truly represent both the *will* of the peoples of the world for lasting peace and their *capacity* actually to build and to maintain such a peace together.

We have the opportunity. We have the will. May God grant us the *vision* and the *strength* to sustain us. It is my faith that together we *will* build this world of freedom and security—a world at peace at last.

#### STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE REGARDING VOTING PROCEDURE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

[Released to the press March 5]

Today, with the issuance of the invitations to the San Francisco conference, there have been made public the provisions of the text on voting procedure in the Security Council of the general international Organization proposed at Dumbarton Oaks.

The practical effect of these provisions, taken together, is that a difference is made, so far as voting is concerned, between the quasi-judicial function of the Security Council in promoting the pacific settlement of disputes and the political function of the Council in taking action for the maintenance of peace and security.

Where the Council is engaged in performing its quasi-judicial function of promoting pacific settlement of disputes, no nation, large or small, should be above the law. This means that no nation, large

or small, if a party to a dispute, would participate in the decisions of the Security Council on questions like the following:

- (a) Whether a matter should be investigated;
- (b) Whether the dispute or situation is of such a nature that its continuation is likely to threaten the peace;
- (c) Whether the Council should call on the parties to settle a dispute by means of their own choice;
- (d) Whether, if the dispute is referred to the Council, a recommendation should be made as to methods and procedures of settlement;
- (e) Whether the Council should make such recommendations before the dispute is referred to it;
- (f) What should be the nature of this recommendation;

(g) Whether the legal aspect of the dispute should be referred to the Court for advice;

(h) Whether a regional agency should be asked to concern itself with the dispute; and

(i) Whether the dispute should be referred to the General Assembly.

Where the Council is engaged in performing its political functions of action for maintenance of peace and security, a difference is made between the permanent members of the Council and other nations for the practical reason that the permanent members of the Council must, as a matter of necessity, bear the principal responsibility for action. Unanimous agreement among the permanent members of the Council is therefore requisite. In such matters, therefore, the concurrence of all the permanent members would be required. Examples are:

(a) Determination of the existence of a threat or breach of the peace;

(b) Use of force or other enforcement measures;

(c) Approval of agreements for supply of armed forces;

(d) Matters relating to the regulation of armaments; and

(e) Matters concerning the suspension and expulsion of members, and the admission of new members.

## Statement by the Secretary of State on Arrival at Habana<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 9]

I am most happy to be able to accept the invitation of His Excellency Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín, President of the Republic of Cuba, to pay an official visit here in Habana on my way back to Washington from the conferences in the Crimea and at Mexico City.

Your President not long ago paid our country the honor of a visit, and I bring with me on this occasion the personal greetings to him and to you all of the President of the United States.

The Republic of Cuba and the United States are linked together by the strong ties of our traditional friendship and our mutual respect for each other. We have made common cause in two

world wars to preserve our freedom, and we have worked closely together in peace.

It is my conviction that the Mexico City conference has resulted in building a firm foundation for great advances in the political and social co-operation of the American republics and in the economic development of this hemisphere, to the benefit of all the people.

It was the Declaration of Habana that proclaimed an act of aggression against any American state an act of aggression against all of us, and it is in that spirit that we have gone forward at Mexico City to strengthen our common security against aggression through the Act of Chapultepec.

## Reassertion of Policy Toward Austria

Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW

[Released to the press March 11]

Seven years ago on March 11, 1938 Hitler began his conquest of Europe with the invasion of Austria.

This is a fitting time to reassert the policy of the American Government towards Austria. That policy stands firm and clear in the declaration made by the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom at Moscow on November 1, 1943, in which Austria was reminded that "she has a responsibility which she cannot evade for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation."

It is the sincere desire of this Government to see reestablished a free and independent Austria in which the Austrian people themselves can guide their own destiny in harmony with the other nations of the world seeking peace, security, and well-being.

This cannot be accomplished solely through the efforts of the outside world, but only if the Austrian people themselves are imbued with that ideal and themselves strive for its realization.

A crucial period, in which heavy responsibilities toward that end will rest upon Austrian patriotism, lies immediately before us.

<sup>1</sup> Made on Mar. 9, 1945.

# Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace

## EXPRESSION OF TRIBUTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE AT THE FINAL PLENARY SESSION<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 8]

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES: I wish to speak to you for two minutes only on a matter close to my heart at this moment.

In the name of President Roosevelt, and on behalf of the United States Delegation, and of the people of my country, I wish to pay tribute to His Excellency Manuel Avila Camacho, the President of Mexico; and to Dr. Ezequiel Padilla, President of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace.

I would express appreciation, also, to the people of Mexico, whose hospitality, generosity, and good-will have been so apparent to us all. We have worked among friends.

At the opening hour of the Conference, we heard the wise and generous words of the President of Mexico, and we have constantly felt his deep interest and helpful influence in our labors for the welfare of the American republics and the security of the world.

Dr. Padilla is known and esteemed throughout the Americas. His powerful leadership for continental solidarity, for victory in war, and for

social welfare and peace have been recognized by us all since the days of the conference at Rio de Janeiro.

His outstanding work in organizing this historic assembly and the brilliant manner in which he has conducted its deliberations have contributed beyond measure to its success. He has shown himself once again to be a great patriot and a great statesman, whose vision of the destinies of the Americas is an inspiration to all the peoples of this hemisphere.

I know that my distinguished colleagues, the Foreign Secretaries and delegates of the other American republics here represented, join me in paying this tribute, which carries, furthermore, our deepest sentiments of affection and recognition for his kind courtesies, and for his intelligent and skilful direction of our tasks, which end today with such unprecedented success.

May I repeat again that I hope that it will be my good fortune to have the privilege of welcoming many of you at San Francisco a few weeks from now.

## STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 8]

I believe that every delegate to the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace here in Mexico City would agree with me that the Conference has achieved truly historic results.

What has been accomplished by the 20 American republics represented at this Conference will mark an historic turning-point in the development of inter-American cooperation for peace and security

from aggression and for the advancement of standards of living for all the American peoples. It will contribute much to the success of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco and to the creation of a world organization to maintain peace.

The way has also been prepared for the Conference of American States at Bogotá in 1946, when we may confidently expect that many of the projects initiated here for the broad and definitive reorganization and strengthening of the inter-American system will be completed.

Of the many notable agreements reached at this Conference there are at least six that seem to me of outstanding significance.

<sup>1</sup> Made on Mar. 8, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> Made on Mar. 8, 1945. The material included in this statement was the subject of a radio address delivered by the Secretary of State from Mexico City on Mar. 8, 1945 over the network of the Columbia Broadcasting System and station XEW in Mexico City (see press release 213 of Mar. 8, not printed).



First, we have reaffirmed our wartime collaboration in the common struggle against the Axis. We have agreed to intensify our cooperative measures to stamp out every vestige of Nazi influence in this hemisphere and have declared the formal adherence of the American republics to the Declaration on War Criminals made in October 1943 by Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup> Under the resolutions adopted here, no Axis leader, official, or agent who is guilty of crimes against law and civilization in this war will be able to escape punishment by finding refuge in this hemisphere.

Second, after full discussion the 20 American republics have endorsed the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as a basis of the Charter for the world Organization to be written at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. At the same time the resolution adopted here provides a sure means by which the thoughts and recommendations of the statesmen of the American republics will be given full weight at San Francisco.

After the Conference here at Mexico City, the world can rest assured of the unanimous resolve of the American republics here represented to join with the other United Nations in successfully establishing and maintaining the new world Organization.

Third, in the Act of Chapultepec<sup>2</sup> we have taken a significant step beyond the Act of Habana in developing machinery for united action by the American states in the face of aggression or the threat of aggression whether from within or without this hemisphere.

By the terms of this act the American republics, in accordance with their respective constitutional processes and wartime powers, have agreed that we should act together in the use of whatever measures, including force if necessary, that may be required to prevent or suppress aggression against any American states. At the same time we have provided that measures taken under the Act of Chapultepec must conform to the principles of the world Organization when it is established.

I believe that the Act of Chapultepec represents one of the greatest advances in inter-American cooperation for the maintenance of peace and security in the history of this hemisphere.

Fourth, the Mexico City conference has also adopted sweeping and specific measures toward

strengthening and reorganizing the inter-American system and preparing it for whatever new responsibilities it may assume within the world Organization.<sup>3</sup> It is my firm belief that as a result of the decisions taken at this Conference the inter-American system of the future will be far stronger and more effective than it has ever been in the past.

I refer to our agreements for regular annual and special emergency meetings of the Foreign Ministers; for more frequent conferences of the American states; for reforming and increasing the powers of the Pan American Union; for continuing the Inter-American Juridical Committee, the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, and the Inter-American Defense Board; for establishing a permanent Inter-American Economic and Social Council; and for completing by the end of this year a draft of a detailed Charter for the Improvement of the Pan American System, including a "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of States" and a "Declaration of the International Rights and Duties of Man".

Taken together these and other similar measures agreed upon here at Mexico City constitute a tremendous undertaking, which will require all the support and active participation that each of our countries can contribute between now and the Conference of American States at Bogotá next year.

Fifth, in the Declaration of Mexico and in other resolutions, we have rededicated ourselves at this Conference to American principles of humanity and to raising the standards of living of our peoples, so that all men and women in these republics may live decently in peace, in liberty, and in security. That is the ultimate objective of the program for social and economic cooperation which has been agreed upon at Mexico City.

We have faced squarely the difficult, immediate economic problems of transition from war to peace, and we have found an answer which we believe will protect the economies of our countries during this period of adjustment.

We have agreed upon principles and upon methods of joint action for increasing trade among our countries and the rest of the world and for

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 6, 1943, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in BULLETIN of Mar. 4, 1945, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 4, 1945, p. 341.

developing the industrial and agricultural resources of this hemisphere to our mutual benefit. This program—this Economic Charter of the Americas—can become the foundation for advances in the living standards of our peoples far beyond anything achieved up to now.

Sixth, every one of the 20 American republics represented at this Conference has joined in a resolution stating a united policy toward Argentina. Unanimously, these 20 American republics have called upon the Argentine nation to unite with us in our common struggle against the aggressors and so to guide its policies that it may become eligible to sign the Declaration by United Nations and adhere to the final act of this Conference. It is our common desire that Argentina be able to resume her traditional place in the family of the American nations and restore in full measure the solidarity of this hemisphere.

As we review the results of the Mexico City conference, it is necessary to remember that much remains to be done to carry out what has been done here. Here we have agreed upon the principles and procedures for common action. We have assumed responsibilities that all of us will share—the Governments and peoples of the American republics.

In my opening address to the Conference I expressed my faith that this Conference would be a great, historic milestone on the road to lasting peace. I believe that faith has been more than justified. It is now our task to carry on from here, knowing that we cannot rest upon the great accomplishments of this Conference but must use them and build upon them in the months and years ahead.

I wish to pay tribute to the vision and steadfastness of the statesmen of the other American republics at this Conference. The results of the Conference are truly the joint results of the contributions made by the representatives of all the republics here represented.

I wish also to say that the United States Delegation has been fortunate to have the constant advice and collaboration of a distinguished group of advisers including members of the Congress of the

United States and representatives of labor, business, and agriculture.

Finally I wish to express particularly, on behalf of the entire United States Delegation, our gratitude and felicitations to the Republic of Mexico for its warm and generous hospitality; to His Excellency Manuel Ávila Camacho, President of Mexico, the Honorable Dr. Ezequiel Padilla, Foreign Minister of Mexico, for their outstanding statesmanship; to Señor Don Manuel Tello, Secretary General of the Conference; and to all the officials, advisers, and assistants who have contributed to the success of this Conference.

The labors of this Conference have been followed with constant interest and good wishes by the President of the United States, whose steadfast and successful effort to foster friendship and cooperation among the American republics is so well known to us all.

In our agreements here, I believe, we have given concrete expression to that spirit of the Good Neighbor which has long since found acceptance among all the peoples of the Americas.

## Draft Resolution on the Inter-American Defense Board<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, México, D. F., February 24]

### WHEREAS:

The successful cooperation of the armed forces of the American Republics represented at this Conference has contributed in large measure to the effective defense of the hemisphere against aggression;

The successful prosecution of the war to its ultimate victorious end calls for the continued close relationship of the armed forces of the Republics;

The organization of the Inter-American Defense Board has provided a valuable agency for the exchange of views, the study of problems and the formulation of recommendations relating to hemisphere defense, and for the encouragement of close collaboration on the part of the military, naval and air forces of the republics;

### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE RESOLVES:

That the Inter-American Defense Board be continued as a permanent agency of inter-American defense.

<sup>1</sup> Presented by the United States Delegation. For other draft resolutions presented to the Conference by the United States Delegation, see BULLETIN of Mar. 4, 1945, p. 343.

## "Building the Peace"

# World Trade and World Peace<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 10]

VOICE No. 1: So they're going to talk about world trade. So what?

VOICE No. 2: Why should I be interested in world trade?

VOICE No. 3: Won't it knock down wages over here if we bring in more stuff from other countries?

ANNOUNCER: These and many other questions from the people of America will be answered by officials of the Department of State in the next half hour. This is the third of seven State Department programs on the problems of *Building the Peace*, as part of a larger series on "Our Foreign Policy," arranged by NBC's University of the Air, not only for listeners in this country but also for our service men and women overseas, to be transmitted to them wherever they are, through the Armed Forces Radio Service. Our topic this time is "World Trade and World Peace," and the chairman of these State Department programs, Assistant Secretary of State Archibald MacLeish, is here with two other Assistant Secretaries—William L. Clayton, who is in charge of economic affairs, and Dean Acheson, who is responsible for congressional relations. And now—

MACLEISH: This is Archibald MacLeish. Before we start, I would like to express my appreciation for the many hundreds of letters we have received in the last two weeks as a result of these programs. We will try to answer as many of the questions asked in those letters as we can in this and subsequent programs.

Some of you have asked how these programs are produced. For your information we *do* use written scripts in the broadcast, though we don't always follow them word for word. The scripts are based on actual conversations. We select the questions in which the public shows the greatest interest, and these are put to responsible officers of the State Department in informal talks. A

### PARTICIPANTS

DEAN ACHESON  
Assistant Secretary of State.  
WILLIAM L. CLAYTON  
Assistant Secretary of State.  
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH  
Assistant Secretary of State.  
KENNEDY LUDLAM  
Announcer for NBC.

stenographer takes down the questions and answers. The transcript is then boiled down to a 30-minute script for this program. That's how it is done.

This week we're talking about world trade and world peace. You who have written in seem to believe the two are related, and we agree with you. You can't have genuine peace without healthy world trade; and you certainly can't

have healthy trade without genuine peace.

Today the world can produce enough raw materials and enough finished goods to supply everybody in the world with all of the necessities of life. Or rather it could, if we could find a way of getting the goods and the people together. Will Clayton here is Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. He deals with those questions every day. Then I have here another Assistant Secretary who has lived with the problem for many years—Dean Acheson. What would you say, Dean, is the main choice we have to make in our foreign economic policy?

ACHESON: We have the same choice that we were faced with in last week's broadcast on Dumbarton Oaks. The same alternatives are present. Are we going to aim at a collective security system with a world organized for peace; or are we going to fall back on the old system of "going it alone", with each nation relying on its own powers and resources to pull itself up at the expense of other nations?

MACLEISH: I take it you mean we're in for trouble if we try again what has been unsuccessfully tried before—if we try to go it alone. Is that your thesis, Mr. Acheson?

<sup>1</sup>This program broadcast over the network of the National Broadcasting Company on March 10, 1945 is the third in a series of seven broadcasts to be sponsored by the Department of State.

ACHESON: Exactly. That's just as basic in the economic and financial fields as in the political and military fields. That is what the agreements made last summer at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, are all about—an attempt at international organization in the field of money. We can't do it alone. We can only do it in conjunction with other nations.

MACLEISH: That's an assumption which a considerable number of people would have challenged, did challenge, a generation ago. Don't you think you had better spell it out?

ACHESON: It spells itself out. We're talking about conditions, not theories. Look at the world as the war will leave it. Millions of men and women dead. Other millions pulled out of their ordinary jobs, their ordinary lives, into military service. Industry turned to war uses. Trade forced out of normal channels or destroyed. Purchasing power gone in a great part of the world. Credits exhausted.

MACLEISH: But there's another side of the picture, isn't there, Will Clayton?

CLAYTON: Yes, of course, and here in the United States, to say nothing of Russia and England, the greatest production machine the world has ever seen is rolling along in high gear with millions of men who used to work in industry carrying guns instead—and wanting their old jobs again.

MACLEISH: You gentlemen seem to agree that the economic reconstruction of the world after this war will take some doing.

CLAYTON: I can't speak for Mr. Acheson, but I should say it would take all the brains and all the resources we have in the world—and they'll have to work together. They can't work alone and do the job.

ACHESON: You can speak for me when you say that.

MACLEISH: Mr. Clayton, how about the argument that unemployment in this country will be taken up by our deferred demands for civilian goods?

CLAYTON: Even after we have done that, we'll still have surplus productive capacity.

MACLEISH: Well, let's go back to Bretton Woods. How will the Bretton Woods agreements help the disorganized and shattered world to function? You were there, Dean Acheson. Can you tell us about that?

ACHESON: First, I'd like to fill in the background. I'll make it brief. In the twenties and thirties, nations discovered various monetary tricks which they employed to further their own national interests at the expense of other countries, all of which impeded the operation of the old international gold system. Eventually the gold system collapsed in all but a very few countries, and was replaced by a confused patchwork of currencies and exchange controls that played havoc with foreign trade.

MACLEISH: I think you'd better explain that term *exchange controls*.

ACHESON: They simply mean that no one is allowed to spend any money outside the country without permission of his government.

MACLEISH: Can we expect anything different after this war is over?

ACHESON: After the war, the United States can do one of two things: It can say that it will play the game of monetary devices and exchange controls itself. If we make that choice, we will be destroying the economies of other countries and the world will revert to a financial jungle. The Bretton Woods agreements are the other alternative. These agreements, which are the product of the experts of 44 countries, point the way out of chaos and economic warfare toward a new system based on cooperative action. To push these agreements aside is like dealing with a highly complicated irrigation problem by calling in a medicine man instead of using modern equipment such as dams and locks and irrigation canals.

MACLEISH: Maybe you'd better describe the agreements before we go into the arguments about them.

ACHESON: The Bretton Woods agreements provide for an International Bank and a Monetary Fund. This Fund, as proposed, is a substitute for international monetary warfare. Membership in the Monetary Fund requires the nations to agree to four primary propositions. The Fund says to each nation: First, will you agree to define your money in terms of gold? Second, will you agree to keep your money within one percent of its defined exchange value in terms of gold? Third, will you agree not to place restrictions on current transactions; that is, agree *not to prevent* your people from obtaining the currencies they need to pay for imports and meet other current obliga-

tions? And fourth, will you consult with the Fund whenever a problem comes up which you feel makes it necessary to change in any way the value of your currency? These points are basic elements of stability as envisaged at Bretton Woods.

CLAYTON: You might add, Mr. Acheson, that a change in the value of a particular country's currency is of importance not only to that country, but to all countries. When any one country starts tearing the fabric, the whole thing goes to pieces.

ACHESON: That's right. Now, what this proposed Fund will do is this: It will create a big basket of currencies into which each country must put some of its own currency. Then, any nation which is a member of the Fund can come to that basket and obtain a limited amount of currency, that is, the currency of another nation, when it has need for it and cannot obtain it as a result of some temporary difficulty.

MACLEISH: In other words, the Fund is an instrument to achieve security in the financial and economic fields—to give each country the strength of all through common use of the common reservoir.

ACHESON: Yes, that's right.

MACLEISH: Well, it's no news to you that some private bankers have expressed the fear that it won't work that way. These bankers are afraid that countries with relatively unstable currencies would draw too heavily on the Fund—that they might get dollars which they could not pay back and that their borrowing might undermine the Fund. Is there an answer to that, Mr. Clayton?

CLAYTON: The fact is, Mr. MacLeish, each country will have money invested in the Fund, and plenty of safeguards have been written into the agreement. If you want to use the Fund, you have to satisfy the Fund's management and keep them satisfied of your good faith as long as you use the Fund. With prudent management, which it should certainly have, the Fund is very unlikely to get into trouble.

MACLEISH: Now, what about the other half of the Bretton Woods agreements—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development? As I understand it, the Bank's purpose would be to lend money to devastated and undeveloped countries. That would help to build them up until they can contribute more to world trade and the

wealth of the family of nations. But how would the Bank be organized, Mr. Acheson?

ACHESON: The capital stock of the International Bank would be subscribed to by all of the United Nations. The Bank will in some instances make direct loans, but most of its activities would consist in the guaranteeing of loans made by private investors through usual investment channels.

MACLEISH: Couldn't all of this financing be handled by private investors?

ACHESON: Most of it will be. But private investors might well feel that the risk involved was too great to warrant their making the loan. The International Bank can look at the problem of foreign lending from a broader basis. If the International Bank agrees that the loans are sound, it will guarantee these loans, even though they are made by private banking institutions. Then if there should be a default, the International Bank would make the loans good; but by virtue of the government guaranties, any loss would be spread among all of the countries that are members of the Bank. It's like an insurance policy.

MACLEISH: We are agreed that the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and the Bretton Woods agreements are both based on the same concept of security through collective action. But isn't it also true, Mr. Acheson, that any real security must be based on an expanding economy. Isn't it true that unless there is a great expansion in the production of wealth, and a marked rise in the level of living, we can't be secure; and the entire world order is threatened?

ACHESON: Yes, that's fundamental. And there's one thing more I'd like to say about the Bretton Woods agreements. They are, in themselves, the result of long and careful planning by all of the United Nations. A great many American experts, from the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Board, the State Department, and from private business, contributed to the plan. After that, innumerable conferences were held, by representatives of 30 nations, over a period of two years, before the final plan was drawn up by 44 United and Associated Nations at Bretton Woods last summer.

MACLEISH: Yes, anyone who knows how difficult it is to get more than three or four persons to agree on anything will recognize that an agreement among the financial experts of 44 countries is something of a miracle.

ACHESON: It's important, I think, to keep these things in perspective. People who are anxious about the sums of money required might bear in mind that the total amount of money which the United States will have to put in will be less than we are now spending for three or four weeks of the war. This is a small risk when we stand to gain so much; the alternative to it is financial anarchy.

MACLEISH: In other words, we have a stake in peace and economic order, and Bretton Woods will help protect that stake.

ACHESON: That's right. It will make possible an expanding international economy.

MACLEISH: Now, I'd like to ask Will Clayton: What does all this mean to John Anderson, who works in a meat-packing house out in Albert Lea, Minnesota? We all realize that with 12 million men and women in the armed forces and 15 million or more in civilian war work, we'll have to scratch hard after the war to find enough jobs to go around. But what, precisely, can foreign trade contribute here, Will? What does it mean to John Anderson?

CLAYTON: Today we are exporting over 14 billion dollars' worth of goods a year. We simply *can't afford* after this war to let our trade drop off to the 2- or 3-billion figure it hit in 1932 during the depression. That would make another depression almost certain, and John Anderson certainly wouldn't like that. But that's just what will happen if we come to the end of the war without a well-rounded foreign economic program.

MACLEISH: And how would you define that well-rounded program?

CLAYTON: To build up foreign commerce, and to remove barriers that stand in the way, whether they are government barriers or private barriers.

MACLEISH: With half of the world devastated by war, how will our customers overseas be able to pay for the increased amount of goods we would like to sell them, Mr. Acheson?

ACHESON: For the most part they'll pay with what they sell to us; but for awhile they must have loans as well. Very large sections of the world will be in bad shape after the war. The people of these areas have been impoverished. In order to help them to get back on their feet and to become better customers for United States goods, we'll have to help them get the tools, machinery, and supplies to get their industries going again.

MACLEISH: Some letters that come in to us ask whether the British are not going to out-trade us in all this. What about that, Mr. Clayton?

CLAYTON: Well, Mr. MacLeish, I'd say that the problem is not that, but rather how the British can make both ends meet. Their production of peacetime goods has been knocked into a cocked hat by three things: the blitz, all-out conversion to war industry, and the exhaustion that results from being an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" under almost constant attack for five years. No, the professional worriers might do better to worry about British recovery.

MACLEISH: I think we've *got* to help Britain get back on her feet, not only out of gratitude for saving the situation for a whole year when she held out against the Nazis almost single-handed, but for selfish reasons as well—she's always been one of our best customers and will be again.

ACHESON: The same applies to our other Allies, in Europe and Asia. The U.S.S.R. may be one of our best customers after the war. And China—a nation of 450 million, about to have a great industrial development.

CLAYTON: And Latin America, too. I've just returned from the Inter-American Conference at Mexico City, where plans were made to develop trade with our good neighbors to the south.

MACLEISH: It's pretty plain that you both think of foreign economic policy and domestic economic policy as being so closely related that they amount to the same thing. But how are you going to persuade John Anderson that his job depends on foreign trade?

CLAYTON: I think there are two principal reasons why John Anderson, and everyone else in the United States, should be interested in foreign trade. In the first place, a lot of the products John Anderson packs find their way overseas. As far as the rest of the country is concerned, there are whole regions whose products normally move extensively in foreign trade and whose prosperity depends on this trade. The South, for instance. The South is deeply interested in foreign trade because the people there raise more cotton and tobacco than this country has ever been able to use. Normally, everybody in the South, whether he is growing cotton or tobacco or not, is pretty dependent on foreign trade in cotton and tobacco. That, more than anything else, determines the buying power and hence the prosperity of the South, and

to some extent the whole country. If the South has its buying power cut, the whole country suffers.

ACHESON: And the same is true of the West Coast. We used to ship abroad almost half of the prunes raised in California. We exported two thirds of the wheat raised in the Pacific Northwest; and apples from out there were also one of our top exports. Take away the foreign trade on these items and prices collapse and the whole region's economy is disrupted. I think you had a second reason, Will?

CLAYTON: I was going to add that John Anderson's job will probably depend on a high level of production after the war; and we can't have that unless we have markets for our goods. It's true that the greatest market for American goods is in the United States, but in some things our productive capacity is so great that the United States alone can't absorb all of it.

MACLEISH: Mr. Clayton, what would be the value of the goods you figure we must sell abroad each year after the war in order to achieve a high level of employment?

CLAYTON: Some of our best economists estimate that we would probably have to sell 10 billion dollars' worth of goods a year abroad if we want to have relatively high level employment and a national income in the neighborhood of 150 billion dollars. In other words, we've got to export three times as much as we exported just before the war, if we want to keep our industry running at somewhere near capacity.

MACLEISH: Can you translate that into terms of jobs?

CLAYTON: I think it would mean at least 3 to 5 million jobs in industry, and maybe another million more for farmers and people who handle farm products. Compare this with the number of men and women who'll return to civilian life from the armed forces, and you'll see how important it is. It would supply about half of the jobs we need for veterans.

ACHESON: I think you can say that in industry every tenth job depends on foreign trade. If you work in a machine shop with 2,000 workers, for example, the chances are that 200 of the people in your plant will have their jobs lopped off if our foreign trade drops off to almost nothing.

MACLEISH: That puts it clearly, especially for industries with large exports, Mr. Acheson. But how about John Anderson, out in Albert Lea, Min-

nesota? The packing house he works for sells most of its products right here at home. Why should he worry about losing his job?

ACHESON: Because, even if none of the products that Anderson packs were shipped out of the country, he would have to sell them somewhere. Now, if that machine shop we were talking about has a full staff of 2,000 people at work, perhaps they'll buy 2,000 hams a month. But if 200 of them were to be laid off, John Anderson's packing plant and others like it will probably sell only 1,800 hams to that same group of people the next month.

MACLEISH: I think you've made your point that sales abroad mean more jobs at home. But there are economists here and in other countries who complain that a huge export program may amount to exporting unemployment unless you balance it with imports. What do you say to that, Mr. Acheson?

ACHESON: In the long run we've got to import at least as much as we export or our customers won't have any way of getting the money to pay us.

MACLEISH: But won't imported goods destroy domestic jobs?

ACHESON: What we've got to make clear is that we're not giving anything away when we build up our trade. We're buying something we can use, and selling something we have a surplus of. The more prosperous we are, the more we buy from the outside world—and the more they buy from us. When you have to pull in your belt, you don't buy much abroad. But in good times we can absorb an amazing lot of goods from other countries. And for every dollar we spend that way, remember, they spend a dollar for American goods. Trade is a two-way proposition. Cut it down at either end, and production and employment drop at both ends.

MACLEISH: What some people have in mind of course when they ask their questions about the effect of foreign imports on jobs is the tariff issue. I suppose it goes without saying that if we are to have a greatly expanded foreign trade, we've got to lower tariffs and other trade barriers all over the world. Let's take tariffs first. Do you see any hope for foreign trade if we return to the high tariff system we had in the 1920's, Dean?

ACHESON: Well, I don't see how we can hope to attain either prosperity in the United States or world prosperity from a long-range point of view

if we make it impossible for other people to buy from us by refusing to permit our people to buy from them. After the first world war, we said, in effect, "We'll sell you goods and lend you money but we'll be hanged if we'll allow you to pay us back."

MACLEISH: Will, how can we make it possible for them to pay their loans this time?

CLAYTON: I think we might do it in part through a substantial cut in the tariff.

MACLEISH: That brings up a very common question: Would a substantial cut in tariff hurt wage rates in this country?

CLAYTON: I certainly don't think so. The tariff has no effect on wages *now* because everything is geared to war demand and war controls. After victory most plants will have to convert from war to peace production. They can convert in various ways, and if they see tariff rates coming down and foreign markets opening up they will convert to the things that offer the best opportunities under those conditions.

MACLEISH: You don't think high tariffs necessarily make high wages then?

CLAYTON: On the contrary. Mr. Hull always used to say that the industries that depended upon tariff protection had the lowest wage rates in the country. And that is no accident. If they have to depend upon protection, it is because they are less efficient. Our export industries are able to pay the highest wages because they are the most *efficient* industries.

ACHESON: As a matter of fact, relatively few people benefit from the tariff. Out of 45 million people employed in this country in 1940, only 2 or 3 million were actually in industries which might have been in danger from foreign competition without tariff protection. The rest of the 45 million were probably more harmed than benefited by the tariff system. It costs the consumer hundreds of millions of dollars a year in increased prices.

MACLEISH: Here's a question that we get very often: If we lower tariffs, wouldn't we be flooded with cheap goods? How about that, Will?

CLAYTON: I don't think so. I'd like to point out that there is an implied contradiction in that phrase "flooded with cheap goods". The consumer would *like* to be flooded with cheap goods that are honestly cheap—that is, cheap in price, because other countries can make them more efficiently

than we can; these are exactly the goods we *should* import.

ACHESON: Of course, in the long run, and not too long a run either, living standards in other countries must be brought closer to ours, if we want them to be good customers. We can do this by helping them to industrialize. As their standards are raised, and become equalized with those of the United States, they will be less likely to undercut our market by producing goods that are too low in price because of sweated labor.

MACLEISH: There are people, of course, who begin to talk about "a quart of milk for every Hottentot" whenever they hear of a program of international economic cooperation. They seem to think, Dean, that when they have said that phrase they have disposed of the whole subject.

ACHESON: Criticisms of that sort are extremely unfair. They assume that international economic cooperation means international charity. It doesn't. As a matter of fact, I'm all for helping the Hottentots to reach a stage of economic civilization where *they* may be able to *produce* a quart of milk for everyone—do it themselves, that is. Then they would be good customers for the rest of the producing nations of the world.

MACLEISH: I'd like to ask Will Clayton about reciprocal trade agreements. Haven't they been fairly successful in lowering tariff walls?

CLAYTON: They have accomplished a great deal. The average rate of duty on goods affected by the tariff has been reduced almost one third—from about 48 percent to about 33 percent. The records show that up to the beginning of the war our trade improved substantially due to trade agreements.

MACLEISH: Do you mind explaining how the reciprocal trade agreements law works?

CLAYTON: It's very simple, actually. The law has been in effect for over 10 years now. It authorizes the President to sign agreements with other countries, whereby we cut tariffs that interfere unduly with their export to us, and they do the same for us.

MACLEISH: Of course the reciprocal-trade legislation is about to expire.

ACHESON: That's right. It must be renewed by June 12. But more than renewal is needed. We have done about everything we can under the old act. If we are to negotiate further cuts in tariffs, here and in other countries, a broadening



and strengthening of the Trade Agreements Act will be necessary.

MACLEISH: Now, speaking of the barriers to an expanding world trade, our mailbag shows a lot of interest in cartels. Will Clayton, can you start out by giving us a good definition of cartels?

CLAYTON: Well, Webster's defines a cartel something like this: an arrangement between competitors, usually of international character, for control of production, distribution and pricing of commodities.

MACLEISH: Do cartels ever operate in the public interest?

CLAYTON: As they have operated in the past, they have nearly always been against the best interests of the general public. Their object is to protect the financial interests of corporations by making prices higher than competitive prices would be. Such restrictive arrangements I think should be condemned. In general, I am opposed to cartels, no matter what kind they are.

MACLEISH: Can you conceive of any situation where restrictive arrangements might be justified?

CLAYTON: If control of production or of exports is to be undertaken by international agreement it should be by agreements between governments rather than between private business interests.

MACLEISH: What fields might such government agreements cover?

CLAYTON: I think that inter-governmental commodity agreements should be confined to those commodities which are produced by a great number of producers, and where serious surpluses now exist or threaten to develop. For example, an international arrangement on wheat has already been made. And if any beneficial results do come from these arrangements, the benefits should go to the people who earn their livelihood in those industries.

MACLEISH: If other nations continue to have private cartels, would that influence us?

CLAYTON: If the products we import are controlled by cartels we will have to pay a higher price for them. This is what happened in some commodities before the war. What other countries do does not make it necessary for our firms to join cartels; in fact, we have a better chance of expanding our exports if we stay outside the cartel system.

MACLEISH: To sum up our discussion, our foreign economic policy is intimately tied up with

the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for an international security organization. The idea behind Dumbarton Oaks is that the peace-loving nations of the world must get together to underwrite a permanent peace. But we won't be able to do this unless we build economic peace at the same time. The two go hand in hand. An expanding world trade is one of the foundations of world peace.

CLAYTON: You might say the Dumbarton Oaks plan will provide police protection for the world community and much in the Bretton Woods Proposals suggests a world-wide building and loan association.

ACHESON: The Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods Proposals are two basic steps toward world peace. But they are only part of the total picture. We also have an obligation to join in setting up the proposed International Organization for Food and Agriculture, which sixteen other countries have already approved since the initial conference at Hot Springs in May 1943. We already belong to the International Labor Office, which is trying to raise labor standards and living conditions of laboring peoples throughout the world. We have made some progress, too, toward freedom of air traffic throughout the world, although the Chicago conference on this was not 100 percent successful.

MACLEISH: And other conferences are coming up. They fit together as a pattern for economic freedom and prosperity, in the United States and elsewhere in the world.

ANNOUNCER: That was Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Public and Cultural Relations, leading a discussion on the subject of World Trade and World Peace. With him were Assistant Secretaries Dean Acheson and William L. Clayton. This was the third of seven State Department programs on *Building the Peace*. These are part of a larger series on "Our Foreign Policy", arranged by NBC's University of the Air. Four more programs remain in this portion of the series. They are:

What About the Liberated Areas?

What About the Enemy Countries?

Our Good Neighbors in Latin America, and The State Department Itself.

Immediately after these programs, NBC will bring you leading members of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees. If you wish copies of the program you have just heard, or a printed pamphlet including all seven State Department broadcasts which will be issued

later, write the Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

Next week's program will be on the question, "What About the Liberated Areas?" Archibald MacLeish will be back this time with Assistant Secretary of State James C. Dunn, who is in charge of European, Near Eastern, African and Far Eastern Affairs, and Charles Taft, who is a Special Assistant to William L. Clayton on Economic Affairs. They will answer such questions as these:

**VOICE No. 1:** What are we doing to relieve economic misery in the liberated countries?

**VOICE No. 2:** How will we work with Great Britain and the Soviet Union in liberated areas, under the decision of the Yalta Agreement?

**VOICE No. 3:** Will the Yalta policies be applied to Asia too?

These are vital questions for they may affect the peace of the world. Listen in next week at the same time for the answers. This is NBC in Washington, the Nation's Capital.

## Transmission of Funds to Americans in the Philippines

[Released to the press March 8]

The Department of State announces that in accordance with an arrangement made with the Treasury and War Departments it is now prepared to receive from persons in the United States deposits covering funds to be remitted to liberated American citizens in the Philippine Islands. Remittances should not exceed \$500 monthly for each individual or family group and should be sent to the State Department in the form of a certified check, bank draft, or money order made payable to the Secretary of State. In view of the still unsettled conditions in the Islands, the Department can assume only normal administrative responsibility for the safe transmission of funds and cannot be held responsible for losses in transit or more than routine identification of the payee.

Until it is possible for the American Consulate General at Manila to undertake the transmission of private funds to American citizens in the Philippines, deposits received by the State Department will be turned over to the War Department, which will in turn instruct by airmail the appropriate Army authorities attached to General MacArthur's staff in the Philippines regarding actual payment of the money.

It is emphasized that for the time being deposits will be accepted from the public only in behalf of American citizens; persons wishing to remit funds to non-American citizens should communicate directly with the appropriate diplomatic missions at Washington.

## Declaration of War by Saudi Arabia Against Germany And Japan

### EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES

[Released to the press March 6]

The following messages were exchanged between His Royal Highness Amir Faisal, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and Acting Secretary Grew:

JIDDA, *March 1, 1945.*

Saudi Arabia as proof of its demonstrated solidarity and cooperation with the United Nations has declared this day March 1, 1945, that it is in a state of war with Germany and Japan. The Saudi Arabian Government has decided to participate in the declaration of the United Nations dated January 1, 1942 and by means of this communication it considers itself an adherent of that declaration.

AMIR FAISAL

WASHINGTON, *March 5, 1945.*

I have received your message of March 1, 1945 stating that Saudi Arabia, as proof of its demonstrated solidarity and cooperation with the United Nations declared on that date that it is in a state of war with Germany and Japan; that the Saudi Arabian Government has decided to adhere to the Declaration by United Nations; and that by means of this communication it considers itself an adherent to that Declaration.

Saudi Arabia's action brings to 45 the number of states which have subscribed to the Declaration by United Nations, thereby manifesting their determination to stand together in winning the war and in building the machinery of peace. The Government of the United States, as depository for the declaration, is gratified to welcome Saudi Arabia formally into the ranks of the United Nations.

JOSEPH C. GREW

# International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Statement by ASSISTANT SECRETARY ACHESON<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 8]

In considering the Bretton Woods proposals for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank, we must realize how great an issue is involved. It is the same issue with which the United Nations will be faced at San Francisco. Shall we and the other nations go forward to construct a system of collective security in a world organized for peace, or shall each nation use its powers and resources at the expense of other nations in a struggle for survival? The response of all sections and groups in the country to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals makes it clear that they are determined to meet resolutely the tasks and responsibilities of international collaboration.

But we cannot achieve collective security in the political and military fields alone. Collective security is not divisible. Without international collaboration in the economic and financial fields, organization for security in other fields will not assure us a lasting peace. That is why the Bretton Woods proposals are of such major significance. They are an attempt at international organization in the field of money and finance as a part of a whole. If we permit this fact to be obscured by disagreement over details, we will have failed to meet the responsibilities of the issue before us.

Three years were spent in preparation and discussion with the United and Associated Nations before the monetary conference was held at Bretton Woods last summer. The field discussed was complicated and had long been the subject of debate among technical experts. But not only did the representatives of 44 nations discuss these problems in a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding, but they succeeded in agreeing to recommend to their governments a particular set of proposals. The importance of this achievement completely overshadows any matter of detail. Many of the details might have been written some other way, but if the fundamentals of the proposals provide a sound approach to economic peace and cooperation instead of to economic warfare they will merit your acceptance.

Of course, you do not want to take anybody else's word for the wisdom and efficacy of the plan agreed upon. You want to decide for yourselves whether you think it holds within it the seeds of success, and I would like to try to tell you about the proposals and explain why I think they will work.

It is useless to talk about the International Bank and Fund out of the context of the conditions with which they will have to deal and the defects which they seek to correct.

Perhaps the first fact to bear in mind is that great areas of the world have been devastated by the war. Military action between contending armies or by aircraft has left a wake of unexampled destruction in many countries. Many countries will have their economies and monetary systems so weakened or disrupted that in the absence of mutual help they must fight for survival with all the economic weapons the use of which they have so well learned during the war and the years preceding it.

Import quotas, restrictions on current transactions involving foreign exchange, multiple currencies in a single country, each of which had its own value and could be used only for certain purposes, are the obvious weapons. They work only until other governments begin to utilize them. Then they become economic warfare. The net result is a shrinking international trade, lower levels of living, and hostility between nations.

The Bretton Woods proposals present us with a chance to avoid this disaster by acting in common with the other nations of the world to put aside the implements of economic warfare and make possible an expansion of production and consumption and trade. The proposals include plans for an

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives on Mar. 7, 1945. For the President's message to the Congress on the International Fund and International Bank, see BULLETIN of Feb. 18, 1945, p. 220. See also BULLETIN of Mar. 4, 1945, p. 352 and p. 376, and Nov. 5, 1944, p. 539.

International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The Fund is designed to create order in foreign-exchange transactions, without which expanding trade and investment would be impossible. The Fund is a substitute for international monetary warfare. Any member who agrees to become a member of the Fund agrees upon four principles: First, to define its money in terms of gold; second, to keep its money within 1 percent of its defined value; third, not to restrict current transactions in its currency; and fourth, to consult with the Fund whenever a problem comes up which it feels makes a change in the value of its currency necessary. These four principles are the basic elements of stability. They provide the rules of the game. Countries which join the Fund agree that they will abide by the rules and will act together for the common good.

In order to enable the member countries to abide by the rules, the Fund provides a method by which members obtain foreign currencies during periods of temporary difficulty without resorting to restrictive methods which injure other nations. For this purpose each member pays into a common fund its own currency and a smaller amount of gold. A member in temporary difficulty is enabled to purchase from this fund, with its own currency, the currency of another member. This permits normal business to continue.

The technical operation of the Fund and the many safeguards which are provided to prevent misuse of its resources and to keep it in sound condition will be described to you by other witnesses. What I wish to stress is that in essence the Fund is a common effort by the nations which subscribe to it to put aside practices which are destructive of others and of the common good of all, and to provide the means which make that possible. No nation has more to gain from such a result than our own.

The International Monetary Fund provides collective security, because it seeks to establish order in the financial and economic fields, and order in those fields cannot be divorced from order elsewhere. The Fund gives one country the strength of all by permitting each to use the common reservoir.

The second institution proposed at Bretton Woods was the International Bank for Reconstruc-

tion and Development. The Bank will facilitate investments and productive enterprises where they are needed. This does not mean that the Bank will supersede private lending. In the normal case, a country will borrow from private bankers, but where private banks, because of the risk, cannot make the loan upon terms which are possible for the borrower, both borrower and lender may need the assistance of the International Bank. The Bank's function will be to investigate the soundness of the projects for which capital is desired, and, if it agrees they are sound, it will guarantee the loans made by private banks. It will also require the government of the country in which the money is to be used to guarantee the loan. In case of a default which results in the necessity of payment by the International Bank, the loss would be spread over the whole world by virtue of the Bank's guaranty. In addition to its guaranty of private loans, the International Bank proposed may make direct loans within certain limits, when private capital is not available.

The whole basis of the Bretton Woods proposals is the conception of an expanding economy and collective security through common action. Unless we achieve a great expansion in production and an increase in the standards of living of all people through orderly arrangements, the solution of the vast problems before all the nations may well be rendered impossible.

Bretton Woods is the complement of Dumbarton Oaks. To construct a peace, there must be one peace—an economic peace as well as a political and military peace. The Bretton Woods proposals should be judged in their place in the structure of an enduring peace.

## Visit of the Acting Minister Of Foreign Affairs of Brazil

[Released to the press March 9]

His Excellency Senhor Pedro Leão Velloso, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, arrived on March 9 by plane from Mexico City and was to remain in Washington for the next few days as the guest of this Government. Senhor Velloso was accompanied by his wife and his secretary, Senhor Enrique de Sousa Gomes.

# Comparison of the Chicago Aviation Convention With the Paris and Habana Conventions

ARTICLE 80 of the multilateral Convention on International Civil Aviation adopted at Chicago reads:

By  
STEPHEN LATCHFORD<sup>1</sup>

"Each contracting State undertakes, immediately upon the coming into force of this Convention, to give notice of denunciation of the Convention relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation signed at Paris on October 13, 1919, or the Convention on Commercial Aviation signed at Habana on February 20, 1928, if it is a party to either. As between contracting States, this Convention supersedes the Conventions of Paris and Habana previously referred to."

The purpose of this compilation is to comment on certain differences between the articles of the aviation convention concluded at Chicago and those of the multilateral conventions on aviation signed at Paris and Habana.<sup>2</sup>

In the drafting of the Chicago convention the delegates to the Chicago aviation conference were in a position to profit by the experience gained in the practical application of the multilateral convention adopted in Paris in 1919 and the multilateral convention adopted at Habana in 1928. The Chicago convention, for instance, contains a number of articles covering matters of procedure for which there are no equivalents in either the Paris or Habana convention, and the Chicago convention deals with the establishment and functioning of international aeronautical bodies in a more elaborate manner than the Paris convention. The Chicago convention makes provision for an assembly to meet annually and to have certain jurisdiction over a 21-member council also to be created pursuant to the terms of the convention, whereas under the Paris convention the only international aeronautical body provided for is the International Commission for Air Navigation, frequently referred to as the CINA.<sup>3</sup> It will be observed that no international aeronautical body was set up under the Habana convention. It is evident that the activities of the International Civil Aviation Organization under the Chicago convention, embracing both the Assembly and the

Council, will be more far-reaching than the activities of the CINA. Although the Council under the International Civil Aviation Organization will prepare a number of international standards and recommended practices covering various technical subjects analogous to the technical regulations developed by the CINA, the Council will in addition be charged with the important duty of making studies and formulating plans concerning all aspects of air transport which are of international importance.

Both the Paris and Habana conventions make use of the ambiguous term *innocent passage*. It appears from the many public discussions on the question of international aviation that there is a general impression that the term *innocent passage* includes the general right of transit for scheduled international airlines. Under article 2 of the Paris convention each contracting state undertakes to accord freedom of innocent passage above its territory. The first paragraph of article 15 of that convention provides that every aircraft of a contracting state shall have the right to cross the airspace of another contracting state without landing. That these provisions do not accord a general right of transit for scheduled airlines is evi-

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<sup>2</sup>The text of the Chicago convention may be found in part I of the Final Act of the Chicago conference. The technical annexes drawn up at Chicago appear in part II of the Final Act. The Chicago convention was signed on behalf of the United States and a number of other countries and will come into force when it has been ratified or adhered to by 26 states. The text of the Paris convention can be found in *International Convention Relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation, Dated October 13, 1919* (Department of State publication 2143). The Paris convention was signed on behalf of the United States, but was never ratified by this Government. The United States is a party to the Habana convention (Treaty Series 840).

<sup>3</sup>Initials of the French name of the organization.

dent from the last paragraph of article 15, which provides 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".

Article IV of the Habana convention, like article 2 of the Paris convention, provides that each contracting state shall undertake to accord freedom of innocent passage above its territory to the aircraft of the other contracting states.<sup>4</sup> Article IV is of interest in connection with article XXI of the Habana convention. Article XXI provides that "the aircraft of a contracting state engaged in international air commerce shall be permitted to discharge passengers and a part of its cargo at one of the airports designated as a port of entry of any other contracting state, and to proceed to any other airport or airports in such state for the purpose of discharging the remaining passengers and portions of such cargo and in like manner to take on passengers and load cargo destined for a foreign state or states". Since the Habana convention does not state specifically that the operations of a scheduled air line of any contracting state over the territory of another contracting state shall be subject to the prior authorization of the latter state, article IV providing for innocent passage considered in connection with article XXI might, if the two articles were given a literal interpretation, be interpreted to mean that each contracting state undertook to grant blanket authorization for scheduled international airlines of other contracting states to operate in transit through its territory or to have commercial entry into such territory. In practice, however, none of the countries parties to the Habana convention interpreted the convention as giving any blanket right of transit or of commercial entry into its territory. Actually, therefore, the term *innocent passage* in both the Paris and Habana conventions was interpreted as according the general right of entry and of transit only for civil aircraft operated on non-scheduled services.

In connection with the foregoing it will be observed that the term *innocent passage* does not appear in any part of the Chicago convention. Article 5 of the Chicago convention specifically

grants the right of entry and of transit for civil aircraft not operating on scheduled services subject to the conditions set forth in the article. Article 5 is not, however, applicable to state aircraft. The entry of such aircraft into the territory of a contracting state is subject to the prior permission of such state in accordance with the terms of article 3 of the Chicago convention. Article 6 of the Chicago convention definitely states that "no scheduled international air service may be operated over or into the territory of a contracting State, except with the special permission or other authorization of that State, and in accordance with the terms of such permission or authorization". Articles 5 and 6 of the Chicago convention therefore establish in a much more specific and satisfactory manner than do any articles in either the Paris or Habana convention the conditions under which scheduled and non-scheduled aircraft of a contracting state may be permitted to fly into or over the territory of another contracting state.

Article 7 of the Chicago convention contains provisions similar to those of the Paris and Habana conventions under which a contracting state has the right to reserve cabotage to its own aircraft. However, article 7 of the Chicago convention goes further by setting forth that each contracting state undertakes not to enter into any arrangements which specifically grant the privilege of cabotage on an exclusive basis to any other state or to an airline of any other state, and not to obtain any such exclusive privilege from any other state. It is of interest to note, however, that under the Paris convention a contracting state which establishes "reservations and restrictions" against the transportation of passengers and goods for hire between two points in its territory by aircraft of other contracting states may have its aircraft subjected to the same reservations and restrictions in the territory of any other contracting state even though such state does not itself impose such reservations and restrictions on other foreign aircraft. Neither the Chicago nor Habana convention contains a similar provision.

Article 15 of the Chicago convention provides that each contracting state shall accord to the aircraft of other contracting states the same treatment as accorded to its own aircraft with reference to charges and facilities in connection with the use of public airports, similar provisions being found in the Paris and Habana conventions. However, article 15 of the Chicago convention further

<sup>4</sup> See "The Right of Innocent Passage in International Civil Air-Navigation Agreements", by Mr. Latchford, BULLETIN of July 2, 1944, p. 19.

provides that the Council, which is to function under the terms of the convention, shall have the right upon representation by any interested contracting state to review the charges imposed by any other contracting states for the use of airports and other facilities and that the Council shall report and make recommendation thereon for the consideration of the state or states concerned. Moreover, article 15 of the Chicago convention contains a provision not found in the Paris and Habana conventions to the effect that no fees, dues, or other charges shall be imposed by any contracting state in respect solely of the right of transit over or entry into or exit from its territory of any aircraft of a contracting state or persons or property thereon. This provision would prevent any contracting state from imposing any charge merely on the right of transit or on the right of entry of the aircraft and persons and property on board. It would not, however, prevent the imposition by any state of any normal charges such as visa fees and customs duties.

Both the Paris and Habana conventions contain an article stating that with regard to the salvage of aircraft wrecked at sea the principles of maritime law will apply in the absence of any agreement to the contrary. With respect to this provision, it is to be observed that a multilateral convention relating to assistance and salvage of aircraft and by aircraft at sea was adopted at the Fourth International Conference on Private Air Law held at Brussels in 1938. That convention deals with the conditions under which commanders of aircraft shall be obligated to render assistance to other aircraft and to surface ships, and the conditions under which surface vessels shall be required to render assistance to aircraft in distress at sea. There are included in the Brussels convention of 1938 the principles to be applied in the matter of remuneration of the salvor for salvage services and the payment of indemnity for expenses incurred in efforts to save human life. In addition the International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts, known as CITEJA,<sup>5</sup> which prepares preliminary texts of conventions for submission to private international air law conferences, has on its agenda a proposed convention relating to assistance and salvage of aircraft and by aircraft on land. The question of salvage, as referred to in the Paris and Habana conventions and as covered by the Brussels convention of 1938, was not dealt with in exactly the same manner in

the Chicago convention. The Chicago convention does not place an obligation on individuals to assist aircraft in distress but imposes certain obligations upon the contracting states. Article 25 of that convention provides that each contracting state shall undertake "to provide such measures of assistance to aircraft in distress in its territory as it may find practicable, and to permit, subject to control by its own authorities, the owners of the aircraft or authorities of the State in which the aircraft is registered to provide such measures of assistance as may be necessitated by circumstances. Each contracting State, when undertaking search for missing aircraft, will collaborate in coordinated measures which may be recommended from time to time pursuant to this Convention." More detailed provisions relating to assistance and search for aircraft in distress are contained in annex L of the technical annexes adopted in provisional form at the Chicago civil-aviation conference. This annex deals with cooperation among the contracting states with reference to search for aircraft reported lost in the territory of a contracting state and to the rescue of the aircraft personnel. It is indicated in annex L that special consideration will be given to the conditions under which search and rescue will be conducted in uninhabited land areas and on the high seas. It is obvious that careful consideration will have to be given to the bearing which annex L will have not only on the proposed land-salvage convention under study by CITEJA but also upon the Brussels sea-salvage convention of 1938.

The Habana convention further provides that so long as a contracting state shall not have established appropriate regulations the commander of an aircraft shall have rights and duties analogous to those of the captain of a merchant steamer according to the respective laws of each state. With reference to this provision, which has no equivalent in the Paris and Chicago conventions, it may be of interest to remark that CITEJA, which as stated has been preparing preliminary texts of international conventions on subjects of private international air law, has already adopted provisionally a draft convention dealing with the rights and duties of commanders of aircraft and that this project is to receive further consideration by CITEJA.

<sup>5</sup> For a description of the activities of this international drafting committee see BULLETIN of Jan. 7, 1945, p. 11.

Article 27 of the Chicago convention provides that aircraft of a contracting state while in the territory of another contracting state shall not be subject to seizure or detention on the ground of infringement of any patent, design or model. A similar provision is incorporated in article 18 of the Paris convention of 1919 except that under the Paris convention exemption of the aircraft from seizure on the ground of infringement of any patent, design, or model is subject to "the deposit of security the amount of which in default of amicable agreement shall be fixed with the least possible delay by the competent authority of the place of seizure." No similar provision is found in the Habana convention. Article 27 of the Chicago convention makes the exemption from seizure or detention applicable also to the storage of spare parts and spare equipment for the aircraft and to the right to use and install the parts and equipment in the repair of the aircraft, provided that such patented articles are not permitted to enter into the commerce of the country entered by the aircraft. Article 18 of the Paris convention does not make mention of spare parts and equipment.

The purpose of the provisions on exemption in article 27 of the Chicago convention is, of course, to avoid any unnecessary impediment in the way of expeditious operation of aircraft in international air navigation. However, the benefits of the provisions of article 27 are applicable only to such states as either (1) are parties to the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, or (2) have enacted patent laws giving adequate protection to inventions of nationals of states parties to the Chicago convention. It would appear that in making the enjoyment of the benefits of article 27 subject to the conditions outlined in the preceding sentence, the Chicago conference has compensated for the omission of any requirement for the deposit of security as provided for in the Paris convention.

It is provided in article VII of the Habana convention that the registration entry and the certificate of registration shall contain a description of the aircraft and state the number or other mark of identification given by the constructor of the plane, the registry marks and nationality, the name of the airdrome or airport ordinarily used by the aircraft, and the full name, nationality, and domicile of the owner, as well as the date of registration. There is no corresponding article in the body of the Chicago convention, although it is of

interest to note that the substance of the provision of the Habana convention referred to is dealt with in annex A to the Paris convention and that substantially the same data for the registration of aircraft are provided for in section 6 of annex H of the technical annexes drawn up in provisional form at the Chicago civil aviation conference.

Article 31 of the Chicago convention provides that every aircraft engaged in international navigation shall be provided with a certificate of airworthiness issued or rendered valid by the state in which it is registered. Article 33 of the Chicago convention provides that certificates of airworthiness issued or rendered valid by the contracting state in which the aircraft is registered shall be recognized as valid by the other contracting states, provided that the requirements under which such certificates were issued or rendered valid are equal to or above the minimum standards which may be established from time to time pursuant to the Chicago convention. Article 39 of the Chicago convention provides that when any aircraft does not conform to an international standard of airworthiness existing at the time of its certification it shall have endorsed on its airworthiness certificate an enumeration of the details in which it fails to conform to the international airworthiness standard. Article 40 of the convention states that no aircraft having certificates so endorsed shall participate in international air navigation except with the permission of the state or states whose territory is entered. There are no provisions in the Paris and Habana conventions corresponding to these provisions of articles 39 and 40 of the Chicago convention.

Article XII of the Habana convention places a limitation upon the recognition by a contracting state of a certificate of airworthiness issued by another contracting state in that the state entered may refuse permission for the foreign aircraft to proceed if upon examination by the appropriate authorities of the state entered it is found that the aircraft is not reasonably airworthy in accordance with the requirements of that state. It will be observed that while the Chicago convention places emphasis upon compliance with international standards of airworthiness the Habana convention sets forth the necessity for meeting the national standards of airworthiness. This difference can perhaps be explained by the fact that no international aeronautical body with authority to adopt uniform technical regulations including airworthi-



ness standards was provided for in the Habana convention.

Article 11 of the Paris convention provides that the aircraft of each contracting state shall in accordance with the conditions laid down in annex B of that convention be provided with a certificate of airworthiness issued or rendered valid by the state whose nationality the aircraft possesses. Article 13 of the Paris convention provides that certificates of airworthiness issued or rendered valid by the state whose nationality the aircraft possesses, in accordance with the minimum airworthiness standards established by the CINA, shall be recognized as valid by the other contracting states. Article 13 of the Paris convention is analogous to article 33 of the Chicago convention referred to above.

Article 32 of the Chicago convention provides that the pilot of every aircraft and other members of the operating crew engaged in international navigation shall be provided with certificates of competency and licenses issued or rendered valid by the state in which the aircraft is registered, and article 33 provides for the reciprocal recognition of such certificates and licenses if they meet the minimum standards to be adopted pursuant to the Chicago convention. Article 39 of the Chicago convention provides that any person holding a license who does not satisfy in full the conditions laid down in the international standard as to competency of aircraft personnel shall have endorsed on his license an enumeration of the particulars in which he does not meet such standard. Article 40 of the Chicago convention provides that no personnel having certificates or licenses so endorsed shall participate in international air navigation except with the permission of the state or states whose territory is entered. The Paris and Habana conventions contain no provisions corresponding to these provisions of articles 39 and 40 of the Chicago convention.

The Paris convention contains provisions similar to those of article 32 of the Chicago convention, the minimum standards as to competency of aircraft personnel being those established by the CINA. The Paris and Habana conventions provide for the reciprocal recognition of certificates of aircraft personnel as does article 33 of the Chicago convention, but the Habana convention contains no reference to minimum standards as to competency of aircraft personnel. However, the Habana convention stipulates that the certificates

of competency issued by the state of registration to its pilots shall certify that in addition to fulfilling the requirements of the state issuing the certificate the pilot has passed a satisfactory examination with respect to the traffic rules existing in the other contracting states over which he desires to fly. The obligation placed by the Habana convention on each contracting state to certify that its pilots have passed a satisfactory examination on the traffic rules of the other contracting states is very unusual and does not so far as is known appear in any other bilateral or multilateral aviation convention. The failure of the Habana convention to provide for an international organization to develop international standards probably had an important bearing on the placing of this obligation upon the contracting states.

The Chicago convention provides that the right accorded to a contracting state to refuse permission for the entry of aircraft not meeting an international airworthiness standard, or whose personnel do not meet the international standard as to competency, shall not apply prior to the expiration of certain specified periods after the date of the adoption of the international standard.

Article XXVIII of the Habana convention states that reparations for damages caused to persons or property located in the subjacent territory of a contracting state shall be governed by the laws of such state. No similar provision is found in either the Chicago or Paris convention, this subject having been dealt with in the development of private international air law. The development of private air law has been through preparation of preliminary drafts of conventions by CITEJA, and final action on such drafts has been taken at periodical international conferences on private air law. It is of interest to observe that a multilateral convention dealing with the liability of the air-transport operator for damages caused to persons and property on the surface was signed at Rome on May 29, 1933 during the Third International Conference on Private Air Law, and that a protocol relating to insurance under that convention was adopted at Brussels in September 1938 during the Fourth International Conference on Private Air Law. The Chicago, Paris, and Habana conventions are, of course, within the field of public air law.

Special attention is called to the provisions made in the Chicago convention for the establishment of a council. This Council is to be composed of 21

contracting states to be elected by the Assembly. An election is to be held at the first meeting of the Assembly and thereafter every three years. In electing the members of the Council the Assembly will be required to give adequate representation to (1) states of chief importance in air transport; (2) the states not otherwise included which make the largest contribution to the provision of facilities for international civil aviation; and (3) the states not otherwise included whose designation will insure that all the major geographic areas of the world are represented on the Council. No representative of a contracting state on the Council shall be actively associated with the operation of an international air service or financially interested in such a service.

It will be noted that while only 21 states can be represented on the Council provided for in the Chicago convention, each state a party to the Paris convention may be represented on the CINA. The establishment under the Chicago convention of a council with limited representation renders it possible for more expeditious action to be taken on the various questions coming before the Council. However, the Chicago convention has not overlooked the desirability of providing for representation in the Assembly by all countries ratifying or adhering to the convention. Moreover, any contracting state not represented on the Council may participate without a vote in the consideration by the Council and by its subordinate bodies of any question which especially affects the interests of that state. No state which is a member of the Council will be permitted to vote in the consideration by the Council of a dispute to which such state is a party. The provisions relating to the Council referred to in this paragraph have no equivalents in the Paris and Habana conventions.

Mention might also be made of the important functions to be performed by working groups serving under the Council. The Council is to appoint and define the duties of an air-transport committee which shall be chosen from among the representatives of the members of the Council and which shall be responsible to it. It will be recalled in this connection that, while a number of technical subcommissions have functioned under the CINA, the Paris convention did not establish any committee or subcommission to deal solely with air-transport problems. In addition, the Council is authorized, where appropriate and as experience may show to be desirable, to create subordinate

air-transport commissions on a regional or other basis and to define groups of states or airlines with or through which the Council may deal to facilitate the carrying out of the aims of the convention. This is another departure from the plan of the Paris and Habana conventions. The Chicago convention also provides that the Council shall establish an air-navigation commission which will be charged with the duty of developing technical regulations within the field of international air navigation and of performing such other duties as may be assigned to it by the Council. The duties of the air-navigation commission in the field of technical regulations are analogous to those of the CINA in the same field under the Paris convention.

The Chicago convention makes provision in article 60 for the enjoyment by the officials and personnel of the International Civil Aviation Organization of the immunities and privileges which are accorded to corresponding personnel of other public international organizations, so far as this may be possible under the constitutional procedure of the contracting states. It will be observed that there is no corresponding provision in the Paris and Habana conventions. The purpose of this provision is, of course, to facilitate the work of the Council.

The granting of immunities and privileges to the personnel of international bodies has recently been provided for in agreements concerning the proposed International Monetary Fund and the proposed International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; in the proposed Constitution of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization; in resolutions adopted by UNRRA; and a resolution proposed by the International Labor Organization. A bill providing for the granting of immunities and privileges for UNRRA was introduced in the Seventy-eighth Congress.

Under article 64 of the Chicago convention the International Civil Aviation Organization may, with respect to air matters within its competence directly affecting world security, by vote of the Assembly enter into appropriate arrangements with any general organization set up by the nations of the world to preserve peace. Article 34 of the Paris convention placed the CINA under the direction of the League of Nations, although in practice the CINA was practically autonomous. As indicated in this article no international aeronau-

tical body was provided for in the Habana convention.

It is provided in article 66 of the Chicago convention that the International Civil Aviation Organization shall carry out the functions placed upon it by the International Air Services Transit Agreement and by the International Air Transport Agreement drawn up at Chicago on December 7, 1944, in accordance with the terms and conditions therein set forth. The purpose of this provision is to confer upon the Organization the power of review with respect to economic difficulties that may arise in giving effect to these two agreements, one of which grants the so-called "two freedoms" and the other the so-called "five freedoms".<sup>6</sup> This power of review is an important function for which there is no exact equivalent in either the Paris or Habana convention.

The Chicago convention sets forth in articles 67 to 79 inclusive certain provisions relating specifically to international air transport not found in either the Paris or Habana convention. Several of the important provisions of these articles are as follows:

It is stated in article 69 that if the Council should be of the opinion that the airports or other air-navigation facilities of a contracting state "are not reasonably adequate for the safe, regular, efficient, and economical operation of international air services, present or contemplated, the Council shall consult with the State directly concerned and other States affected" and make appropriate recommendations. Article 70 makes provision for the possible conclusion of an arrangement between the Council and a contracting state whereby the Council may at the request of such state provide for all or a portion of the costs involved in giving effect to the Council's recommendations if the state concerned is not disposed to undertake the necessary expenses. It is contemplated in article 71 that upon the request of a contracting state the Council may agree to provide, man, and maintain airports and air-navigation facilities required in the territory of that state for the operation of international air services of the other contracting states. Subsequent articles set forth the conditions under which the Council may arrange for the necessary financing for the purposes indicated above, including provisions for reimbursement of expenditures made by the Council. A state in which improvements of airports and other facilities have been made may subsequently take them

over by paying an amount which the Council considers reasonable in the circumstances.

Articles 77 and 79 permit two or more contracting states, through their own governments or their airline companies, to constitute joint air-transport organizations or international operating agencies, and to pool their services on any routes or in any regions, provided that any agreements on the subject shall be registered with the Council which shall have authority to determine the manner in which the provisions of the convention relating to nationality of aircraft shall apply to aircraft operated by international operating agencies.

Article 78 states that the Council may suggest to contracting states concerned that they form joint organizations to operate air services on any routes or in any regions.

Articles 84 to 88, inclusive, contain important provisions in regard to the settlement of disputes arising under the Chicago convention as a result of disagreement between two or more contracting states relating to the interpretation or application of the convention and its annexes. It will be noted from a comparison of these articles with the corresponding provisions of the Paris and Habana conventions that several new principles with reference to settlement of disputes have been included in the Chicago convention.

Under the Paris convention the CIANA was given power to pass upon disputes pertaining to the technical annexes attached to the convention. Questions arising with reference to the interpretation of the convention would be settled by reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice, or if one of the states concerned in the dispute had not accepted the Statute of the Court it could demand a settlement by arbitration. If there was a question whether the convention or an annex was involved in the dispute, the matter would be settled by arbitration. The Habana convention makes provision for arbitration of differences arising under the convention, but it contains no reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Under the Chicago convention any differences that arise with regard to the articles of the convention or to the technical annexes that cannot be settled by negotiation shall, upon the application of any state concerned, be passed upon by the Council, with the right, however, of appeal from the Council's decision to the Permanent Court of Interna-

<sup>6</sup> For information in regard to these two agreements see BULLETIN of Dec. 31, 1944, p. 843, and Jan. 7, 1945, p. 33.

tional Justice, or to an *ad hoc* arbitral tribunal, if one of the states a party to the dispute has not accepted the Statute of the Court. While both the Paris and Habana conventions make provision for the selection of arbitrators in certain instances through the intercession of disinterested states, the Chicago convention, in lieu thereof, makes provision for the designation by the president of the Council of arbitrators from a panel of qualified persons maintained by the Council, if the parties to the dispute fail to name the arbitrators, and, if the arbitrators do not agree upon an umpire, one shall be designated from this panel. Unlike the Paris and Habana conventions the Chicago convention specifically provides that the decision by the Permanent Court of International Justice or by arbitration shall be final and binding, and obligates the contracting states not to allow operation over their territory of an airline of a contracting state if the Council finds that the airline is not conforming to the final decision on the dispute. A further new provision of the Chicago convention is that the Assembly shall suspend the voting power in the Assembly and the Council of any contracting state which is found in default under the chapter of the convention dealing with the settlement of disputes.

Article 38 of the Paris convention states that "In case of war, the provisions of the present Con-

<sup>7</sup> The first paragraph of art. 41 of the Paris convention as signed in 1919 read: "States which have not taken part in the war of 1914-1919 shall be permitted to adhere to the present Convention."

By a protocol dated June 15, 1929, effective May 17, 1933, the first paragraph of art. 41 was amended to read: "Any State shall be permitted to adhere to the present Convention."

The protocol also deleted art. 42 of the convention as signed in 1919, which article read:

"A State which took part in the war of 1914-1919 but which is not a signatory of the present Convention, may adhere only if it is a member of the League of Nations or, until January 1, 1923, if its adhesion is approved by the Allied and Associated Powers signatories of the Treaty of Peace concluded with the said State. After January 1, 1923, this adhesion may be admitted if it is agreed to by at least three-fourths of the signatory and adhering States voting under the conditions provided by Article 34 of the present Convention.

"Applications for adhesions shall be addressed to the Government of the French Republic, which will communicate them to the other contracting Powers. Unless the State applying is admitted *ipso facto* as a Member of the League of Nations, the French Government will receive the votes of the said Powers and will announce to them the result of the voting."

vention shall not affect the freedom of action of the contracting States either as belligerents or as neutrals". Article XXIX of the Habana convention is the same as article 38 of the Paris convention. It is recalled that some of the delegates at the Chicago aviation conference thought that it was not clear whether the provisions of the Paris and Habana conventions referred to would be applicable in the case of outbreak of war in some part of the world remote from particular areas in which aircraft happened to be operating internationally. Article 89 of the Chicago convention reads: "In case of war, the provisions of this Convention shall not affect the freedom of action of any of the contracting States affected, whether as belligerents or as neutrals. The same principle shall apply in the case of any contracting State which declares a state of national emergency and notifies the fact to the Council." The word *affected* is understood to have been inserted in article 89 of the Chicago convention for the purpose of making the article clearer than the corresponding provisions in the Paris and Habana conventions. Article 38 of the Paris convention and Article XXIX of the Habana convention do not include a provision corresponding to the last sentence of article 89 of the Chicago convention.

Article 93 of the Chicago convention provides that states other than the United Nations, countries associated with them, and countries which have remained neutral during the present world conflict may, "subject to approval by any general international organization set up by the nations of the world to preserve peace, be admitted to participation in this Convention by means of a four-fifths vote of the Assembly and on such conditions as the Assembly may prescribe; provided that in each case the assent of any State invaded or attacked during the present war by the State seeking admission shall be necessary." The present text of the Paris convention contains no limitation as to the states that may become parties to the convention, although, as originally signed in 1919, that convention contained certain limitations on the right of the defeated nations in the war of 1914-19 to become parties to the convention, which appear to have had the same general objective as that of article 93 of the Chicago convention.<sup>7</sup>

Under the Paris convention no amendments to that convention could be proposed unless they had been approved by two thirds of the total possible votes of the members of the CINA, and could not

thereafter come into force before being formally adopted by all the contracting states. Under article 94 of the Chicago convention any proposed amendment to the convention must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly and shall thereafter come into force in respect of states which have ratified such amendment when ratified by the number of contracting states specified by the Assembly. The number so specified shall not be less than two thirds of the total number of contracting states. If in the opinion of the Assembly the amendment is of such a nature as to justify this course, the Assembly in its resolution recommending adoption of an amendment may provide that any state which has not ratified it within a specified period after the amendment has come into force shall thereupon cease to be a member of the International Civil Aviation Organization and a party to the convention. Profiting by the difficulties experienced in obtaining unanimous approval by the contracting states of amendments to the Paris convention, the delegates to the Chicago aviation conference decided to make it possible for amendments to the Chicago convention to become effective without waiting for their unanimous adoption by the contracting states. At the same time it was realized that if some of the countries parties to the Chicago convention failed to accept important amendments a difficult situation would arise with respect to the uniform application of principles and procedures governing international air navigation. For this reason the delegates at the Chicago conference provided that under certain conditions the Assembly could require that a non-ratifying power should cease to be a member of the International Civil Aviation Organization and a party to the Chicago convention.

In the present compilation there has been no general comparison of the provisions of the Chicago convention with the various annexes dealing with technical subjects attached to the Paris convention nor has there been any general comparison between the very extensive annexes containing international standards and recommended practices drawn up at Chicago in provisional form and the regulations embodied in the annexes to the Paris convention. The regulations implementing a multilateral convention on civil aviation have an important relation to the convention itself. There have been only such incidental references to technical standards in the present compilation as have been thought to be of special interest in the com-

parison of the Chicago convention with the Paris and Habana conventions. However, it is believed to be desirable to make specific reference to the manner in which the procedure for adopting international technical standards under the Chicago convention differs from the procedure set up under the Paris convention. Certain articles of the Paris convention refer to the necessity of compliance with the regulations set forth in annexes specifically referred to in the body of the convention and adopted at the time of the adoption of that convention. The Chicago convention was so drafted as to render it unnecessary to attach specific annexes at the time of the adoption of the convention. That convention contains a list of the topics which may be made the subjects of annexes establishing international standards, and article 90 provides that the adoption by the Council of such annexes shall require the vote of two thirds of the Council. Any annexes or amendments thereof shall become effective as international standards within three months after their submission to the contracting states or at the end of such longer period of time as the Council may prescribe, unless in the meantime a majority of the contracting states have registered their disapproval with the Council. Article 39 of the Paris convention states that the provisions of the convention are completed by the annexes A to H, which, subject to article 34 (c), shall have the same effect and shall come into force at the same time as the convention itself. Paragraph (c) of article 34 of the Paris convention provides that the CINA shall have the power to amend the provisions of the annexes A to G inclusive. Article 34 provides that any modification of the provisions of an annex may be made by the CINA when such modification shall have been approved by three fourths of the total votes of states represented at the session and two thirds of the total possible votes which could be cast if all the states were represented. Such modification, according to the terms of article 34, would become effective from the time when it was notified by the CINA to all the contracting states.

Unlike the procedure followed when annexes to the Paris convention of 1919 were adopted at the same time as the convention, it will be observed from the foregoing that the delegates to the Chicago conference left the final adoption of technical international standards and their formal notification to the contracting states to the action of

the Council when the convention comes into force. In the meantime the technical annexes drawn up in provisional form at Chicago will be studied by the interested governments and by the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization provided for in the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation signed at Chicago. In addition it was recommended in a resolution of the Chicago conference that, in so far as the technical subcommittees of that conference have been able to agree on recommended practices and pending the ultimate acceptance of the technical annexes in final form, the annexes drawn up at Chicago in provisional form be accepted by the states of the world as standards toward which their national practices should be directed.

With reference to the development of technical annexes, article 37 of the Chicago convention provides that the contracting states shall collaborate in securing the highest practicable degree of uniformity in regulations, standards, and procedures, and that in order to carry out this purpose the International Civil Aviation Organization to function under the convention shall adopt international standards and recommended practices and procedures. There was, of course, also collaboration among the contracting states under the Paris convention in connection with the activities of the CINA. Article XXXII of the Habana convention specifically provides that the contracting states shall procure as far as possible uniformity of laws and regulations governing air navigation and that the Pan American Union shall cooperate with the governments of the contracting states in the attainment of the desired uniformity. This is apparently as far as the Habana convention could provide for such collaboration in the absence of any provision in the convention for the establishment of an international aeronautical body.

In connection with article 37 of the Chicago convention it is of interest to point out that article 38 of that convention provides that any state which finds it impracticable to comply in all respects with an international standard or procedure, or which may find it necessary to adopt regulations or practices differing therefrom, is required to give to the International Civil Aviation Organization immediate notification of the differences. In any case where the regulations of a contracting state are not made to conform to the international standard, the Council shall immediately notify all the other contracting states of the differences.

The Paris convention of 1919 contains no provisions similar to those outlined in article 38 of the Chicago convention. Although it is evident from the proceedings and Final Act of the Chicago aviation conference that it is expected and urged that all the countries becoming parties to the convention shall cooperate with a view to attaining the highest degree of uniformity with reference to the application of international standards and practices, it was realized by the delegates at Chicago that there might be some exceptional cases where a particular country would find it highly desirable and necessary to adopt some departure from an international standard. This, it is believed, will not constitute any serious impediment to the general acceptance and application of uniform international standards and practices, and it is thought that the various states will accept and apply them to the greatest extent possible.

As of interest in connection with the present compilation there are given below lists of countries parties to the Paris and Habana conventions.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Paris Convention, 1919*

Argentina	Latvia
Australia	Netherlands
Belgium	New Zealand
Bulgaria	Norway
Canada	Paraguay
Czechoslovakia	Peru
Denmark	Poland
Estonia	Portugal
Finland	Rumania
France	Spain
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sweden
Greece	Switzerland (including Liechtenstein)
India	Thailand
Iraq	Union of South Africa
Ireland	Uruguay
Italy	Yugoslavia
Japan	

#### *Habana Convention, 1928*

Chile	Honduras
Costa Rica	Mexico
Dominican Republic	Nicaragua
Ecuador	Panama
Guatemala	United States of America
Haiti	

<sup>8</sup> For a list of countries on whose behalf the Chicago convention had been signed, as of Jan. 12, 1945, see BULLETIN of Jan. 14, 1945, p. 67. Since that date Norway and Guatemala have signed the convention.

## Presentation of Letters of Credence by the Ambassador of Belgium

[Released to the press March 8]

The remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Belgium, Baron Robert Silvercrucys, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, March 8, 1945, follow:

MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to present to Your Excellency, together with the letters of recall of my predecessor, the letters of credence appointing me to the position of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of the Belgians to the President of the United States of America.

Today Belgium has arisen into the light of a reborn freedom. After four years of occupation by the enemy, the country is sorely depleted, but the entire nation stands proudly, side by side with the Allies, determined to carry the fight forward and ready to contribute all the resources it commands until complete victory is achieved in this total war.

Belgium has not forgotten the assistance afforded during the last war by the Government and people of your country. She remembers the initiative of a great American President in recommending to the Congress in 1919 that the United States Legation in Brussels be elevated to the rank of Embassy. The deepest gratitude is engraved in all Belgian hearts for the part taken by the gallant American Army in the deliverance of my homeland.

Under your leadership, the United States of America has attained a power and a moral influence never equaled in its glorious history. It is Belgium's conviction that this power and influence will continue to serve mankind in a world partnership in peace and for peace.

I am deeply conscious of the importance of the mission for which I have been chosen on behalf of the King prisoner by his brother, the Prince Regent. In the discharge of my duties it will be my constant purpose to serve the great interests the two nations have in common. Inspired by the example of my distinguished predecessors, I shall

spare no effort in order to further strengthen the bonds of friendship between our countries. I shall always be grateful to Your Excellency and to the American Government for the help extended to me in the fulfilment of this task.

The President's reply to the remarks of Baron Silvercrucys follows:

MR. AMBASSADOR: It is always a pleasure to welcome a Belgian Ambassador to the United States and an added one to welcome the return to Washington of an old friend of this country who has recently served with distinction as Ambassador to Canada.

The liberation of your country by Allied troops aided by the valiant Belgian forces of resistance was a matter of profound gratification to me personally as it was to the entire American Nation. But I am conscious of the profound scars which occupation and the recent reinvasion of the Ardennes have left upon your country—scars which liberation alone cannot heal. I know how sorely depleted are the resources of Belgium, which she has so unselfishly pledged to the continuation of the struggle against our common enemy. Allow me to assure you that every effort consistent with the military situation is being and will continue to be made to facilitate delivery of the supplies so vitally needed by the Belgian people.

Peace follows war. I have just returned from a long and fruitful journey in pursuance of the common purpose of the United Nations, great and small, that in the future war shall not follow peace. It is hardly necessary for me to say, but I nevertheless take pleasure in saying it, how I shall welcome the participation in the forthcoming conference, which will be devoted to the elaboration of that high purpose, of the representatives of the Belgian people, who have so often proved, in adversity and prosperity, their unswerving devotion to the ideals which they share with the people of the United States and the other United Nations.

## Presentation of Letters of Credence by the Ambassador of Italy

[Released to the press March 8]

The remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Italy, Alberto Tarchiani, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, March 8, 1945, follow:

MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to present to you the letters by which His Royal Highness the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of Italy accredits me to you in the capacity of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

I consider it a great honor and a special privilege to have been chosen to represent Italy near you, Mr. President, and near your Government, following the resumption of its formal relations with the United States, after a dark period of errors and evils against Italy herself and mankind. I do trust that, with the friendly assistance of your Government, my mission will contribute to the full reestablishment of the mutual friendship and partnership between the two Nations, united as they are by so many bonds and by supreme common interests; among these I particularly wish to recall the one created by the contribution to the greatness of this country and by the participation in the war effort of several millions of American citizens of Italian descent and of the hundred thousands of Italian citizens who have made America their home.

This being the objective of my mission, let my first act be, Mr. President, that of conveying to you the deep feelings of appreciation and gratitude of the Italian Nation for the sympathy, one abundant in humanity and understanding, that your Government and the American Nation—under your enlightened and generous guidance—are showing to them by encouraging the rebirth of their political life as well as by so effectively helping them in their fight to overcome their present tragic distress, both material and moral, and in the restoration of the economic existence of their country, which is today so inconceivably disrupted. In that sympathy and in this help, the Italian people see a sign of the acknowledgment by the American people of the soundness of the renewed Italian democracy and also of the ever-growing participation of their regular armed forces and of the large partisan formations, together with the United Nations, in the battle against the forces of oppression and

slavery, to the end. And I, Mr. President, wish to assure you, and through you the American people, that it is the Italian people's determination to throw, more and more, the full weight of their will and of their resources into play in the common struggle for freedom and peace, with the objective of sharing in bringing about a state wherein the principles of justice and security shall have prevailed and brotherhood shall be established for all peace-loving nations. In these noble principles, long heralded and constantly fostered by the United States of America, are embodied, Mr. President, the most fervent hopes of the new Italy, whose earnest aspiration is to be an active and constructive element in the community of the United Nations.

While I do trust that I shall not be unequal to my task, allow me, Mr. President, to express to you my sincere conviction that the renewed reciprocal knowledge of our two peoples and the ensuing mutual understanding of their aims and ideals will render their good and confident relations solid and everlasting.

In this certainty and on behalf of the Italian Nation I have the honor to extend to you the most hearty wishes for a complete victory over the enemy and for the ever-greater fortunes of the American Nation, in the new era that awaits the world.

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

MR. AMBASSADOR: I am happy to receive the letters whereby the Lieutenant General of Italy accredits you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. It is particularly gratifying to welcome as democratic Italy's first Ambassador to the United States, after the dark Fascist interval, a representative chosen from the ranks of those men whose faith in human dignity and love of freedom clearly withstood the threats and blandishments of Fascism.

I know, Mr. Ambassador, that you will find friendliness and understanding among the American people. They admire the courage of patriotic Italians in the struggle against the enemy, and they watch sympathetically every sign that the Italians—aware of their individual responsibilities at



home and abroad—are resolved to build a genuine democracy which will be proof against oppression from within and guaranty of Italy's value to the world.

In the difficult process of her rehabilitation, Italy has one great and indestructible resource: the quality of her people. The American people know how valuable that quality can be, for the generous life-streams flowing from Europe have brought much of it to the formation of their own country. Above and beyond such moral and material assistance as we and our Allies can give, it is the development of this great human resource—the hard-working, intelligent mass of Italian people—which alone can reconstruct Italy on firm foundations. We are confident that Italy will build at home, and help to build for Europe, a political and social organization worthy of the heart and mind of her people.

The friendship between our two peoples has passed the bitter test of hostilities between us. With good-will and understanding, that friendship can find more solid bases than ever before. I know that this is the sincere desire of the people and Government of the United States.

## The Proclaimed List

[Released to the press March 9]

The Acting 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 Deputy 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 February 28, 1945 issued Revision IX of the Proclaimed List. Revision IX supersedes Revision VIII dated September 13, 1944, and consolidates Revision VIII 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 IX follows the listing arrangement used in Revision VIII. The list is divided into two parts: Part I relates to listings in the American republics; Part II to listings in countries other

than the American republics. Revision IX contains a total of 14,462 listings, of which 8,837 are in Part I and 5,625 in Part II.

[Released to the press March 11]

The Acting Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Deputy Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on March 10 issued Cumulative Supplement No. 1 to Revision IX of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated February 28, 1945.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement No. 1 contains 17 additional listings in the other American republics and 333 deletions; Part II contains 20 additional listings outside the American republics and 48 deletions.

The names of a considerable number of persons and enterprises in Chile have been deleted in the current supplement. These deletions are a consequence of the effective action taken by the Chilean Government to eliminate Axis interests from the economy of the country. It is the previously announced policy of the United States Government to coordinate its Proclaimed List controls with the controls established by other governments. Similar deletions will be made as rapidly as the effectiveness of the local controls in the various countries makes the continued inclusion of particular names in the Proclaimed List no longer necessary.

## Proclamation of Double-Taxation Convention With Canada

[Released to the press March 9]

On March 6, 1945 the President proclaimed the convention between the United States of America and Canada, signed at Ottawa on June 8, 1944, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of estate taxes and succession duties.

Statements with respect to the signing, the ratification, and the exchange of instruments of ratification of the convention were made on June 9, 1944, December 21, 1944, and February 6, 1945.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 11, 1945, p. 199.

# ILO Prepares for 1945 International Labor Conference

By BERNARD WIESMAN<sup>1</sup>

GOVERNMENT representatives from fifteen nations, employers' delegates from eight nations, and workers' delegates from eight nations attended the ninety-fourth session of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office which was held in London from January 25 through 31 and made plans for the twenty-seventh session of the International Labor Conference to be held in or near Paris in September of this year. Since the United States Government representative, Carter Goodrich, was presiding as chairman, Isador Lubin served as substitute representative on the Governing Body. United States employers were represented by Clarence G. McDavitt. Robert J. Watt represented United States workers. Several important decisions reached during the session appear to lay the groundwork for further developments in the International Labor Organization, of which the United States has been a member since 1934.<sup>2</sup>

In an address of welcome, Ernest Bevin, British Minister of Labor and National Service, focused the attention of the Governing Body on relations between the International Labor Organization and the general international Organization. Bevin declared that the ILO should not be completely independent of the new world Organization but rather "should be a definite part of the organization in its constructive work for peace". He also emphasized the demonstrated and potential values of the tripartite character of the ILO, in which representatives of employers' and of workers' organizations join with representatives of governments in seeking the solution of questions in which they are all concerned.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals were welcomed by the Governing Body, which unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas the 1941 and 1944 Conferences of the International Labor Organization have endorsed the ideals of the United Nations,

"The Governing Body of the International Labor Office

"(1) Welcomes the progress made in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations towards laying the foundations of a system of world security and expresses its earnest hope for the success of these efforts, upon which the peace and the hope of social and economic advancement throughout the world depend;

"(2) Affirms the desire of the International Labor Organization for association with the general international organization now contemplated on terms which will permit the International Labor Organization, with its tripartite character, to make its best contribution to the general effort of the organization of international machinery for the better ordering of a peaceful and prosperous world while retaining for the International Labor Organization the authority essential for the discharge of its responsibilities under its Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia."

In the discussions of the report of the Committee on Constitutional Questions which had presented the foregoing resolution, a general agreement was expressed as to the need for the effective improvement of working conditions in industrially backward countries in order that international competition be on a fair basis consistent with the maintenance of peace and social justice.

The Canadian workers' delegate pointed to the difficulties in the enactment of legislation in federal states and suggested that conventions and recommendations should be brought before the provincial governments and reports secured of what action had been taken to put them into effect. The Governing Body requested the Standing Orders Committee to consider a suggested amendment regarding the status at meetings of the International

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wiesman is Chief of the International Labor Organizations Branch, Division of International Labor, Social, and Health Affairs, Office of Commercial Policy, Department of State.

<sup>2</sup> For the declaration of aims and purposes of the ILO as adopted at the twenty-sixth session at Philadelphia, see BULLETIN of May 20, 1944, p. 482. For special articles on the ILO, see BULLETIN of Mar. 18, 1944, p. 257, Apr. 8, 1944, p. 316, and Sept. 3, 1944, p. 236.

Labor Conference of representatives of a state or province of a federal government.

To provide expert consideration of the specific problems of major industries, including (a) fundamental industrial relations problems during the conversion period and (b) longer-range problems, the Governing Body voted to proceed to establish on an international and tripartite basis an industrial committee in each of the following seven industries:

Inland transport	Metal trades (other than iron and steel)
Iron and steel	Building, public works, and civil engineering
Textiles	
Petroleum	
Coal mining	

The United States is to be invited to send representatives to each of the committees, which will be convened as soon as the full composition of each committee is decided. The employers' group voted against the proposal that the committees be tripartite in character, since their delegates held that the committees should be bipartite in order to promote freedom of association and the development of organized workers' and employers' organizations.

Some of the workers' delegates indicated their belief that, especially in some nations, government participation is necessary to secure improvement of working conditions. In the decision to establish the committees, it was agreed that each committee would have the right to appoint bipartite subcommittees.

In the discussions the hope was expressed that all of the United Nations would soon participate in the International Labor Organization.

Discussion of the question of the Italian Government's request for readmission to the ILO resulted in a decision to refer the matter to the ninety-fifth session of the Governing Body, which would be in a position to make recommendation to the International Labor Conference, which constitutionally would have the authority to act upon such an application. In the meanwhile the Office was authorized to send a representative to Italy to provide ILO information to the Italian Government and the workers' and employers' organizations.

The Governing Body approved the recommendations of the Committee on Employment that the

International Labor Office should proceed to prepare statistical information on employment and unemployment, information on economic trends and information on national and international measures, plans and studies to achieve and maintain a higher level of employment. The Office was also requested to collect and publish any available information on the physical and industrial rehabilitation of disabled workers irrespective of the cause and nature of disablement. Satisfaction was expressed with the announced purposes of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as well as of the resolution on the subject adopted at the Bretton Woods conference. It was decided not to make recommendations at this time regarding the proposed international conference on domestic policies of employment and unemployment pending the result of the consideration by governments of the resolution on this subject which was adopted at the Philadelphia conference in 1944.

Unanimous approval was given to the recommendation of the Joint Maritime Commission, which had met in London earlier in January and which had recommended that a preparatory tripartite technical conference of maritime nations be held in October in Europe. The Governing Body approved this recommendation and also the agenda for the conference, which is expected to prepare the way for a maritime conference session of the International Labor Conference to meet early in 1946 to consider draft conventions. Subjects for the technical annexes will include:

- (a) Wages; hours of work on board ship; manning;
- (b) Leave;
- (c) Accommodation on board ship;
- (d) Food and catering; and
- (e) Recognition of seafarers' organizations.

The subjects of (f) social insurance, (g) continuous employment, and (h) entry, training, and promotion will be dealt with if sufficient progress has been made in their preliminary consideration by special committees of the Joint Maritime Commission.

It is proposed to invite 19 nations including the United States to send delegations to the preparatory technical conference. The possible addition

of other countries will be considered at the ninety-fifth meeting of the Governing Body, which will convene in June in Quebec.

As of the conclusion of the ninety-fourth session of the Governing Body the agenda for the twenty-seventh International Labor Conference includes five items:

- Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories
- Welfare of Children and Young Workers
- Constitutional Questions
- ILO Report on Employment
- Application of International Labor Conventions

## UNRRA Agreement

### *Poland*

The Polish Ambassador transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a note dated March 7, 1945, the instrument of ratification by the President of the Republic of Poland of the Agreement for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, signed in Washington on November 9, 1943. The instrument of ratification, which was dated at London January 30, 1945, was deposited in the archives of the Department of State on March 7, 1945.

## Aviation Agreements

[Released to the press March 10]

### *Costa Rica*

His Excellency Señor Don Francisco de P. Gutierrez, Ambassador of Costa Rica, on March 10 signed the following agreements concluded at the International Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago on December 7, 1944:

- Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation
- Convention on International Civil Aviation
- International Air Services Transit Agreement (Two Freedoms)
- International Air Transport Agreement (Five Freedoms)

Including Costa Rica, 42 countries have signed the interim agreement, 40 countries the convention, 34 countries the transit agreement, and 22 countries the transport agreement.

## Regulations for Postal and Telecommunications Activities, United States and Greece

[Released to the press March 5]

As of March 6, 1945 augmented postal and telecommunication facilities are possible between this country and Greece, according to announcements of the Treasury and the Post Office Departments.

Effective immediately, letters not exceeding one ounce in weight will be accepted for mailing to civilians in Greece. Previously the mail service to Greece was limited to non-illustrated postcards. Postage rates will be five cents for each letter and three cents for each card.

Airmail, registration, money-order, special-delivery, and parcel-post services are not yet available. Enclosures of currency, checks, drafts, or securities are prohibited.

Personal support remittances to Greece up to \$500 a month for individual beneficiaries will be possible as soon as banks in the United States are able to make the necessary arrangements with banks in Greece. Information regarding the sending of such remittances may be obtained by interested persons from their local banks or from the Federal Reserve Bank of their district.

With the exception of instructions relating to support remittances and to the protection and maintenance of property interests in Greece, communications of a financial or business character are restricted to the ascertainment of facts and the exchange of information. Treasury licenses are still required for communications containing instructions or authorizations to effect financial or property transactions.

As may be recalled, the State Department announced on February 3 that it was prepared to receive inquiries regarding the welfare and whereabouts of American citizens in the vicinity of Athens.<sup>1</sup> The resumption of communications will now allow direct inquiries from persons in this country to their friends and relatives in Greece; however, in cases where normal channels are unavailable, the Department will accept requests to investigate the whereabouts of American citizens.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 4, 1945, p. 160.

## Repatriation of Americans From the Philippines

(Released to the press March 5)

The Department of State and the War Department announce that General of the Army Douglas MacArthur has commenced the evacuation of civilians from the Philippine Islands and that it will take place as rapidly as the military situation there permits and as space becomes available over and above military needs in the limited transportation facilities equipped to carry civilian passengers.

The next of kin of persons being repatriated will be notified when their relatives reach the United States, but in order to meet security requirements and to insure the safety of the repatriates as they return, it will be impossible to give out information in advance regarding dates of arrival, ports of arrival, or names of vessels on which the repatriates may travel. The American Red Cross will meet the repatriates as they arrive and with the cooperation of other appropriate agencies will undertake to give any needed emergency assistance as well as assistance in putting persons promptly in touch with their relatives.

It is particularly emphasized that relatives of persons liberated in the Philippine Islands should not attempt to travel to port cities in the hope of meeting the repatriates at the port of debarkation, since it will be impossible to determine when or where debarkation will be effected and it is not unlikely that a repatriate might arrive home at the very moment that his relatives are traveling to meet him. Furthermore the repatriation of many individuals may be delayed pending the availability of accommodations or other developments peculiar to individual cases. While awaiting transportation each person will be furnished the best accommodations available including whatever medical care may be necessary.

## PUBLICATIONS

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Livestock of China. By Ralph W. Phillips, Ray G. Johnson, Raymond T. Moyer. Far Eastern Series 9. Publication 2249. vi, 174 pp. 30¢.

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Revision IX, February 28, 1945, Promulgated Pursuant to Proclamation 2497 of the President of July 17, 1941. Publication 2272. 371 pp. Free.

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 1, March 9, 1945, to Revision IX of February 28, 1945. Publication 2278. 20 pp. Free.

What the Dumbarton Oaks Peace Plan Means. By Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State. Conference Series 63. Publication 2270. 13 pp. 5¢.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Appointment of Officers

H. Merrell Benninghoff as Assistant Executive Secretary of the Joint Secretariat, effective March 8, 1945. The designation of Mr. Benninghoff as Executive Officer of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs is hereby superseded.

Mrs. Corinne D. Morris as an agent of the Department of State for the purpose of taking applications for seaman passports and administering oaths in connection therewith in the area of San Francisco, California, effective March 2, 1945.

### FOREIGN-SERVICE BOARDS

#### *Board of Foreign Service Personnel*

The following Assistant Secretaries of State will serve on the Board of Foreign Service Personnel, established by the act approved February 23, 1931:

General Holmes, as chairman  
Mr. Acheson, as a member  
Mr. Rockefeller, as a member

#### *Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service*

The above-named Assistant Secretaries of State will also serve in the same capacities on the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service. (The membership of this board includes, in addition to three Assistant Secretaries of State, the Director of the Office of the Foreign Service, the Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, the Chief Examiner of the Civil Service Commission, an officer of the Department of Commerce, and an officer of the Department of Agriculture.)

These designations are effective as of January 29, 1945.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Issuance of Foreign Service Regulations, Orders, and Instructions<sup>1</sup>

*Purpose.* The purpose of this order is to provide for the issuance of Foreign Service Regulations, Foreign Service Orders, and circular instructions to the Foreign Service.

1 *Authority of the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of administration and the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Congressional relations to prescribe Foreign Service regulations.* The Assistant Secretary of State in charge of administration and, in his absence, the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Congressional relations, shall have the right to exercise the authority vested in the Secretary of State by law and Executive order to prescribe, in the name of the Secretary of State, regulations governing the Foreign Service of the United States.

2 *Authority of the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of administration and the Director of the Office of the Foreign Service to issue Foreign Service Orders establishing, amending, or canceling notes to the Foreign Service Regulations, and to issue circular instructions to the Foreign Service.* The Assistant Secretary of State in charge of administration and the Director of the Office of the Foreign Service shall each have the right to issue Foreign Service Orders establishing, amending, or canceling notes to the Foreign Service Regulations designed to set forth, explain, or interpret any statute, Executive order, regulation, decision, or

<sup>1</sup> Departmental Order 1310, dated and effective Mar. 8, 1945.

opinion enacted, prescribed, or made by any competent authority or designed to regulate matters of detail provided for in general by an Executive order or regulation, and to issue circular instructions to the Foreign Service.

JOSEPH C. GREW,  
*Acting Secretary of State.*

### Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Le Havre, France, was opened to the public on March 1, 1945.

## THE CONGRESS

Authorizing the Naturalization of Filipinos. H.Rept. 252, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 776. 4 pp. [Favorable report.]

Amending Section 23 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917. H.Rept. 253, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 1104. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Amending Section 334 (c) of the Nationality Act of 1940, Approved October 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 1156-1157; 8 U.S.C. 734). H.Rept. 255, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 385. 2 pp. [Favorable report.]

Amending Section 201 (g) of the Nationality Act of 1940. H.Rept. 256, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 388. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

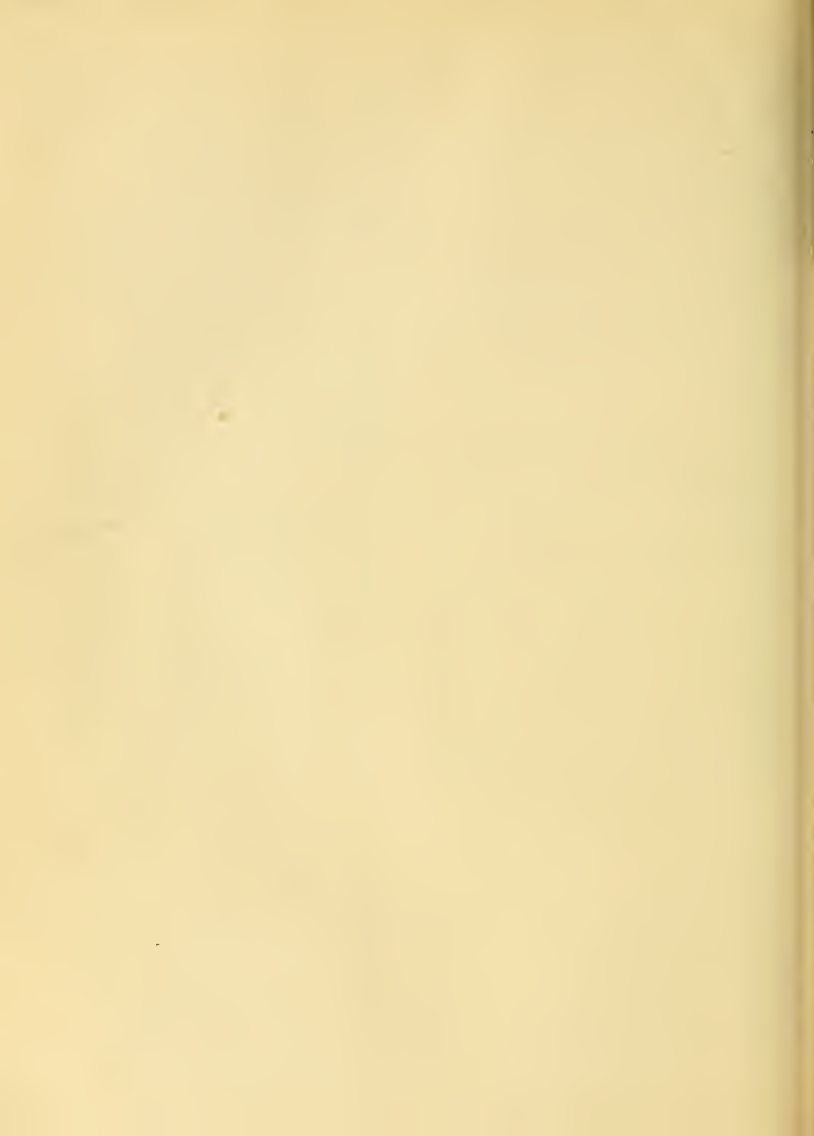
Providing That Nationals of the United States Shall Not Lose Their Nationality by Reason of Voting Under Legal Compulsion in a Foreign State. H.Rept. 257, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 434. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

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Relief of Certain Basque Aliens. H.Rept. 265, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 1402. 4 pp. [Favorable report.]

First Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1945: Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Seventy-ninth Congress, First Session, on the First Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1945. ii, 761 pp. [State Department, pp. 524-545.]







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# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 299

MARCH 18, 1945

## *In this issue*

### A MESSAGE FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY

*Address by the Under Secretary of State*

### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BRETTON WOODS PROPOSALS IN THE POST-WAR ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

*Address by Assistant Secretary Clayton*

### "BUILDING THE PEACE"

*What About the Liberated Areas?*

### INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

*Resolution on Establishment of a General International Organization  
Resolution Concerning Argentina*

### ENGLISH IS ALSO A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

*By Harry H. Pierson*

*For complete contents  
see inside cover*



MAY 7 1945

# Contents

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## BULLETIN



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March 18, 1945

*The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Affairs, 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.*

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	Page
<b>AMERICAN REPUBLICS</b>	
Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace: Resolution on Establishment of a General International Organization . . . . .	449
Resolution Concerning Argentina . . . . .	450
Free Access to Information . . . . .	451
Economic Charter of the Americas . . . . .	451
<b>CANADA</b>	
Visit of Canadian Prime Minister: Meeting With the President . . . . .	434
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Sixth Anniversary of Nazi Invasion of Czechoslovakia. Statement by the Secretary of State . . . . .	438
<b>CULTURAL COOPERATION</b>	
English Is Also a Foreign Language. By Harry H. Pierson . . . . .	453
Musician Accepts Visiting Professorship to Chile . . . . .	460
John L. Savage Returns From China . . . . .	461
<b>GENERAL</b>	
Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Appointment of Earl G. Harrison as United States Representative . . . . .	452
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export of Civilian Supplies. . . . .	448
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
A Message for St. Patrick's Day. Address by the Under Secretary of State . . . . .	431
United Nations Conference:	
First Meeting of United States Delegates . . . . .	435
Arrangements With the Mayor of San Francisco. Statement by the Secretary of State . . . . .	435
Proposed Procedure Regarding Press, Radio, and Motion Pictures. Statement by the Secretary of State . . . . .	435
Bretton Woods Proposals:	
The Importance of the Bretton Woods Proposals in the Post-War Economic Policy of the Department of State. Address by Assistant Secretary Clayton . . . . .	439
"Building the Peace." What About the Liberated Areas? . . . . .	441
Appointment of Isador Lubin as United States Member of Reparation Commission . . . . .	434
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
Convention on International Civil Aviation:	
Report by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	436
Letter of Transmittal From the President to the Senate . . . . .	437
Cooperative Education. Ecuador . . . . .	438
Agricultural Workers. Bahamas and Jamaica . . . . .	460
UNRRA Agreement. Bolivia . . . . .	461
Health and Sanitation. Ecuador . . . . .	461
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Transfer of the Secretariat for the "Inter-Agency Economic Digest" . . . . .	
Office of International Trade Policy . . . . .	462
Office of Financial and Development Policy . . . . .	463
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	466
<b>THE FOREIGN SERVICE</b>	
Appointment of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., as Chief of Mission for Economic Affairs in London . . . . .	440
Surveys To Be Made at American Embassies and Consulates. Announcement of Members of Groups and Itineraries . . . . .	458
Consular Offices . . . . .	466
<b>PUBLICATIONS</b> . . . . .	
<b>THE CONGRESS</b> . . . . .	

# A Message for St. Patrick's Day

Address by THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 17]

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK AND YOUR GUESTS: In this important gathering tonight I would find myself guilty of presumption if I were to try to describe the character of St. Patrick, except to say two things: he was intensely spiritual and he possessed boundless enthusiasm which overcame many obstacles. In the face of the tremendous world problems that lie before us today, I wish that we might all possess those qualities in fullest measure.

St. Patrick was a brave fighter for Christianity. Hundreds of thousands of his spiritual children crossed the seas and became Americans; and hundreds of thousands of *their* flesh and blood are today fighting the same good fight that he fought against paganism and cruelty in many parts of the world.

We know only a few of them by name—Callaghan of the Navy, the Sullivan brothers, Comandó Kelly, and Butch O'Hare—but the vast majority of them are anonymous, their individual deeds unsung.

We hear too little, also, about another band of heroes in uniform, whom we should remember particularly on an occasion like this—those quiet men who go unarmed onto the field of battle to comfort the wounded and take down the last messages of the dying—the chaplains of all faiths who are serving in this war.

I wish I could step down from this platform tonight and let those men and their fighting comrades talk to you in my place. I have a notion that what they would say to us would make a great deal of sense. But since we cannot speak *for* them, we owe it to them to speak for ourselves, and to say plainly what *we*, who have not risked our lives, propose to do to make their sacrifice worthwhile.

For unless we speak plainly and act boldly *now* we shall fail them. Unless we bring as much courage and determination to the building of the peace as they have brought to the fighting of the war, we shall fail them utterly.

This time we have undertaken to build future world peace while they are still fighting our hardest battles. In doing this, the leaders of the United Nations are carrying out the will of their peoples. In doing this they are taking advantage of priceless assets born of the war itself.

One of them is the collective will for peace and security. I think there has never been a moment in history when there was such universal agreement among the peoples of the world. Never have so many men and women longed so passionately for an end of wars and violence. Never has there been such universal determination to rebuild the world on the basis of peace and justice among nations.

We have another precious asset, the experience we have gained in cooperating for victory. Never in history have people of so many different nationalities worked together, day by day and month by month, with such closeness and comradeship and understanding as in the prosecution of this war. Not just the heads of governments; not just the chiefs of staff; not just the diplomats and technicians—but the men and women at the front and behind the lines. Millions of them.

We learned how to cooperate the hard way. We were driven to it when we found that our very survival depended on getting together and pooling our resources. Do you remember how long it took in the last World War to agree on a combined command? Very nearly four years! In this atmosphere of urgency, the United Nations have found it not only possible but necessary to take the first steps toward cooperation in building for peace.

These steps derived their content and direction from what is perhaps the greatest asset we have gained from this war: *the discovery that the world is one*. It has taken us 500 years to believe what the explorers of the fifteenth century established as a fact. It has taken the wonders of the airplane and the radio to make us believe it. It has taken

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the annual meeting of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, New York, N.Y., on Mar. 17, 1945.

two world wars inflicted on mankind by the madness and greed of enemies thousands of miles from our shores.

In 1936 Hitler's army goose-stepped arrogantly across the Hohenzollern Bridge at Cologne in re-occupation of the Rhineland. Last week, exactly nine years later to the day, boys from New York, Ohio, Nebraska, Arkansas—boys from practically every State in the Union—led by a young second lieutenant from Jersey City—made that same crossing, this time at Remagen, and in the reverse direction, as an ultimate consequence of Hitler's defiance of the Versailles Treaty. The men who died during the past five terrible years to make that crossing possible would never have died if we had understood the meaning of one world. I think we understand it now.

We not only understand it, but, what is more important, we have accepted the implications of one world, and we are ready to act on them. What does this mean? It means that we have begun to think in world terms. It means that action and policy must be fashioned cooperatively in terms of its effect on the world community, since the good of each nation and its individual citizens is bound up with the good of that community. It means, in short, a whole new set of intellectual and moral standards, not imposed on us but created by us to meet the challenge of our time.

This generation of bold and daring world pioneers for peace has the greatest opportunity ever presented to mankind. The world is clay in their hands. They can mold it for peace or for eventual certain destruction. They have begun, I think, to mold it for peace.

When the historian of the future comes to write about the peace that is to follow this war, he may well label the war years from 1941 to 1945, from the signing of the Atlantic Charter to the San Francisco conference, "Chapter I, Laying the Foundations for Peace." And I think he will marvel that so many of the toughest problems of the peace were attacked in the midst of the agony of war—the problem of eliminating hunger—of improving conditions of labor—of reviving world trade and stabilizing currencies—the problem of helping the victims of Axis oppression back on their feet—of regulating the airways of the world—and finally of constructing a new organization for world security.

The United Nations, as you know, have tackled all these problems at the series of international

conferences at Hot Springs, Atlantic City, Bretton Woods, Philadelphia, Montreal, Chicago, Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, and Mexico City. At each meeting United Nations officials and their technicians got together for two purposes—to pool their information and to draw up blueprints for the machinery of international cooperation. It is a pity that so many of these meetings are labeled with the names of health resorts, which conjure up pictures of large hotels, crystal chandeliers, and frock coats. I can assure you, however, the delegates were there not for their health but for yours and mine. They were there to study, on a world scale, the conditions which cause human misery and breed wars, and to work out international machinery on the same global scale to eliminate those conditions in the months and years ahead.

They brought with them conflicting ideas and plans from countries with long histories of national pride and rivalry. They came, they stayed, they hammered out agreements—and in the process, although they may not have known it, they were pioneering boldly into new and uncharted fields of world cooperation. In every case the process was painful, the experience gained immensely valuable. In no case was the result perfect or entirely satisfactory to anyone. But the thing to remember is that some measure of agreement was reached.

At Dumbarton Oaks, last October, the master plan was drawn up, into which all the other pieces of the vast and complicated puzzle will eventually fit. I spoke a moment ago of the conflict of ideas and plans which these international meetings had to reconcile. The outstanding exception was Dumbarton Oaks. To this conference each nation brought a plan, and when the plans were laid on the table the area of agreement was found to be remarkably large, the differences amazingly small. For this we can thank the two years of careful preparation which preceded the meeting.

It is not generally realized, I think, how much consultation and exhaustive study went into those months between the Moscow Conference of October 1943 and the Dumbarton Oaks meeting of last autumn. We can thank also the atmosphere of give-and-take which prevailed there. I have attended many international meetings during the past 40 years, but I know of none to which the nations came more determined to find a common ground, more anxious to reach agreement. That is one reason why we and the other three sponsoring

powers are looking forward to the San Francisco conference with such high hopes. We realize that the Proposals are neither complete nor perfect—that they can and will be developed and improved—but we are backing these Proposals with enthusiasm and conviction, because we know that they represent the greatest measure of agreement possible among ourselves and our great Allies, who, with us, bear the major responsibility for preventing future wars.

One of the major conditions for the success of the San Francisco conference is a clear understanding of its purposes. The San Francisco conference will not be a peace conference on the model of the Peace Conference at Versailles. The Conference at Versailles was held not only to draw up the Covenant of the League of Nations but to produce a settlement of all the outstanding issues created by, and inherited from, the war, such as problems of territorial adjustments, of reparations, and the like. There is no intention to consider at the San Francisco conference any specific issue, such as frontiers, or the terms of individual peace settlements. The one great purpose of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco will, quite simply, be to draft the Charter of the United Nations—that is, to establish machinery to maintain the future peace and security of the world, as outlined in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

No plan is perfect. Every plan is capable of amendment and improvement, including our own Constitution. Yet no responsible person has ever seriously suggested that we scrap our Constitution and start anew, or that we rebuild the whole structure on different lines.

Out of the wisdom of his 83 years, Benjamin Franklin urged unanimous adoption of our Constitution with these words—and I think we might well take them with us to San Francisco:

“I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall *never* approve them: But having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of other . . . I doubt too whether any other convention we can obtain may be able to make a

better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an Assembly can a perfect production be expected? Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution because I expect no better, and because I am not sure it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors, I sacrifice to the public good.”

There is one mistake we must avoid at all costs, and that is the mistake of thinking that the machinery itself will solve our problems. At Hot Springs and Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks we blueprinted parts of the mechanism of international organization, but we did not solve the problems of feeding the world, preventing depressions, or stopping wars.

We Americans are especially prone to worshipping the machine. Often we become so fascinated with its mechanism, so intent on improving it, that we forget it is only a device.

Before the war, to American youngsters the family car was something to be taken apart and put together again, if possible, or taken out on the road to see if it could hit 75. In international relations, the essential thing is to have a machine that works—and can be developed—and *to use it*. If we and our friends abroad concentrate on that purpose, I think we have a good chance of building a peace that will last.

On his return from Yalta, the President said, “There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States—and of the world—for generations to come. . . . We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.” Today I think most Americans are ready and eager to cooperate and to enter into partnership with the other United Nations for the preservation of peace. I believe we shall do it, and I hope we do it with our eyes open. Consider, for a moment, this word *cooperation* which we use so often and so glibly; consider it in terms of an ordinary business partnership.

In international cooperation, as in partnership, there must be an overwhelming unity of purpose, so strong that it overshadows all other considera-

tions. In this case, of course, that purpose is to build a fair and secure peace and keep it at all costs.

International cooperation, also, means a continual striving for agreement—agreement arrived at through mutual accommodation and compromise. This kind of agreement can never be wholly satisfactory to any one party, but it must never leave any party with a sense of defeat or frustration.

To reach and get acceptance for this kind of agreement, we must have a much greater and freer flow of information between peoples than we have ever had in the past, a much better understanding of the other fellow's problems and point of view. Partners may not always grow to love each other, but they have certainly got to understand each other, and that applies to other peoples as much as to ourselves.

International cooperation, as I have said, means taking our full share of responsibility. As in all partnership, it also means the sharing of risk. There will be moments when the responsibility seems too heavy, the risk too great. Those are the moments when we must consider whether the burdens and the dangers are not far greater when we travel alone.

The way of international cooperation is hard; the process painful and grueling; initially the results may be far from perfect. But a generation which has learned the meaning of one world can take no other way, and the rewards for future generations of mankind may well be glorious.

Canada will occupy in the new international Organization.

The President and the Prime Minister also had an opportunity of discussing questions of international economic and trading policy which both their countries will have to face as soon as hostilities end. They agreed that the solution of these questions should be sought along bold and expansive lines with a view to the removal of discriminations and the reduction of barriers to the exchange of goods between all countries. They recognized a common interest in working toward these objectives.

It was felt that the United States and Canada, with their long experience of friendly relations and their high degree of economic interdependence, should meet the new problems that peace will bring in the same spirit of cooperation with the other United Nations that has sustained their common war effort.

## Appointment of Isador Lubin As United States Member of Reparation Commission

[Released to the press March 12]

At his press and radio news conference on March 12 the Secretary of State made the following statement:

"As a first step in the implementation of the decision taken at Yalta to 'exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans' it was agreed that a commission should be established in Moscow to consider the extent and methods for exacting compensation. I am pleased to announce that I have appointed Dr. Isador Lubin as the United States member of this Reparation Commission. Dr. Lubin has a long and distinguished record of Government service and is an outstanding economist and statistician. During the war he has been on leave from his post as Commissioner of Labor Statistics to serve on the White House staff. He is chief of the Statistical Analysis Division of the Munitions Assignment Board, under the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and is an alternate member of the War Production Board. I am sure that he will make a valuable contribution to the initial work of developing a sound program of reparation."

## Visit of Canadian Prime Minister<sup>1</sup>

### MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT

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

During the Canadian Prime Minister's visit to Washington, Mr. King and the President discussed questions of general international interest as well as those more specifically concerned with the relations between the two countries—relations which are as firm and friendly as ever. Among other things, a survey was made of questions arising out of the recent Crimea Conference and likely to arise at the forthcoming San Francisco conference. They discussed in part the place which

<sup>1</sup> W. L. Mackeuzle King.

# United Nations Conference

## FIRST MEETING OF UNITED STATES DELEGATES

[Released to the press March 13]

The delegates to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco met for the first time on March 13 with the Secretary of State in his office at the State Department.

The meeting was attended by Senator Connally, Senator Vandenberg, Representative Bloom, Representative Eaton, Commander Stassen, and Dean Gildersleeve. Former Secretary Hull, who is still convalescing in the Naval Hospital at Bethesda, was not present. In addition to the Secretary the following officers of the Department were present: Mr. Grew, Mr. Acheson, Mr. Dunn, Mr. Hackworth, Mr. Pasvolosky, Mr. Raynor, Mr. Hiss, and Mr. Sandifer.

The future work of the delegation was discussed, and plans were made to hold meetings from time to time.

The delegates were furnished with background documentation concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and the discussion included a preliminary outline of practical details concerning their participation. After the introductory meeting the delegates adjourned to the White House, where they were received by the President. They then returned to the Department of State for further discussions.

The following are in part the remarks made by the Secretary of State in greeting his co-workers on the United States Delegation:

"I feel greatly encouraged, as I look around this table, by the character and composition of the Delegation which the President has appointed. I am sure it would be difficult to find a more representative, a more highly qualified group in the country. Most of you have already had a prominent part in the shaping of the Proposals which are to serve as a basis for the drafting of the United Nations Charter. All of you have an expert knowledge of the issues involved, both national and international. And we are all prompted by the same desire to succeed. I am confident, therefore, that, while free in pursuing our personal views and convictions, we shall be able to work as one team."

## ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO

### *Statement by the Secretary of State*

[Released to the press March 14]

I have just made arrangements with Mayor Roger D. Lapham of San Francisco, which he is announcing, for the use of the Opera House and Veterans War Memorial Building for meetings of the United Nations Conference to convene in San Francisco on April 25.

Plenary sessions of the Conference will be held in the Opera House. Commission and other meetings will be held in the Veterans War Memorial Building.

## PROPOSED PROCEDURE REGARDING PRESS, RADIO, AND MOTION PICTURES

### *Statement by the Secretary of State*

[Released to the press March 15]

The final determination of policy at the San Francisco conference with regard to press, radio, and motion pictures will, of course, be made by the conference itself. This Government will propose the following procedure, which will be subject to the approval of the other nations present.

The meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco will be conducted with the greatest possible consideration for the wide-spread interest of the world in its deliberations. Plenary meetings and meetings of the principal commissions of the conference will be open to press and radio news correspondents and photographers, and, in so far as facilities permit, to the general public.

This is a working conference entrusted with the high purpose of preparing a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of peace and security. No provision is being made for social activities and it is hoped that they will be kept to an absolute minimum.

# Convention on International Civil Aviation

REPORT BY ACTING SECRETARY GREW<sup>1</sup>

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, March 5, 1945.

The PRESIDENT,  
*The White House:*

The undersigned, the Acting Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a certified copy of a convention on international civil aviation, concluded at the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago on December 7, 1944, and signed as of that date, in the English language, by the respective Plenipotentiaries of the Governments of the United States of America, the Philippine Commonwealth, Afghanistan, the Commonwealth of Australia, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, China, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Uruguay. The respective Plenipotentiaries of the Governments of Guatemala and Norway signed the convention on January 30, 1945. The Minister of Denmark in Washington and the Minister of Thailand in Washington were present at the International Civil Aviation Conference in their respective personal capacities and affixed their signatures to the convention.

The provisions of the convention are designed to give effect to certain principles and arrangements in order that international civil aviation may be developed in a safe and orderly manner and that international air-transport services may be established on the basis of equality of opportunity and operated soundly and economically. The signatory governments have, by this convention, indicated their recognition of the fact that the future development of international civil aviation can help greatly to create and preserve friendship and understanding among the nations and

peoples of the world and, furthermore, that it is desirable to avoid friction and to promote that cooperation between nations and peoples upon which the peace of the world depends.

Attention is invited to the final paragraph of the convention. Although it is stated in that paragraph that the convention is—

Done at Chicago the seventh day of December 1944, in the English language—

it is provided therein also as follows:

A text drawn up in the English, French, and Spanish languages, each of which shall be of equal authenticity, shall be opened for signature at Washington, D. C.

Under ordinary circumstances it would be considered proper, in view of a provision such as this, to delay the transmission of the convention to the Senate until there had become available for that purpose a certified copy of the convention as signed in all the languages which are to have equal authenticity. However, the Department of State is informed that the French and Spanish versions have not been completed and it is anticipated that it may be a considerable time before it will be possible to have the convention signed at Washington in the three-language text.

Considering that the English version to be signed at Washington will be the same in all respects as the English text drawn up for signature at Chicago, a certified copy of which is enclosed herewith, and considering also that the French and Spanish versions, when completed, are to correspond exactly as a matter of substance with the English version, it has been decided that it would be advisable to have the convention brought to the attention of the Senate without delay. It is believed that this action, while not strictly in accordance with the customary procedure in relation to the transmission of treaties to the Senate, will serve to expedite consideration of the convention by the Senate.

The convention is divided into four parts: Part I, relating to air navigation; part II, relating to the International Civil Aviation Organization; part III, relating to international air transport; and part IV, containing the final provisions. The

<sup>1</sup> S. Ex. A, 79th Cong., 1st sess., p. 2.



convention likewise is divided into 22 chapters, dealing in order with the following matters: General principles and application of the convention (I); flight over territory of contracting States (II); nationality of aircraft (III); measures to facilitate air navigation (IV); conditions to be fulfilled with respect to aircraft (V); international standards and recommended practices (VI); the Organization (VII); the Assembly (VIII); the Council (IX); the Air Navigation Commission (X); personnel (XI); finance (XII); other international arrangements (XIII); information and reports (XIV); airports and other air navigation facilities (XV); joint operating organizations and pooled services (XVI); other aeronautical agreements and arrangements (XVII); disputes and default (XVIII); war (XIX); annexes (XX); ratifications, adherences, amendments, and denunciations (XXI); and definitions (XXII).

The articles of the convention which contain the specific provisions are numbered article 1 to article 96, inclusive. For the purposes of the present report, it is believed to be unnecessary to undertake a detailed analysis of the provisions of the convention. A marginal note accompanying each of the articles indicates the subject matter thereof. Particular attention is given here to a few of the significant provisions.

The contracting States recognize that every State has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above its territory (art. 1).

The right of nonscheduled flight is extended to civil aircraft, subject to certain limitations (art. 5). It is provided, however, that no scheduled international air service may be operated over or into the territory of a contracting State except with the

special permission or authorization of that State (art. 6).

The convention provides that each contracting State shall have the right to refuse to the aircraft of other contracting States the privilege of taking on in its territory passengers, mail, and cargo carried for remuneration or hire and destined for another point within its territory, and that arrangements shall not be made whereby any such privilege may be granted or obtained on an exclusive basis (art. 7).

Each contracting State reserves the right to establish prohibited areas for reasons of military necessity or public safety and, in certain circumstances and on a nondiscriminatory basis, to restrict or prohibit temporarily flying over the whole or any part of its territory (art. 9).

The convention contains provisions relating to the adoption of international standards and procedures with respect to aircraft, personnel, airways, and auxiliary services (art. 37).

Provisions relating to the establishment, objectives, and functions of the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Assembly and Council thereof, and the Air Navigation Commission, and to the personnel and finances of the Organization, comprise part II of the convention (arts. 43 to 66, inclusive).

As between the contracting States, this convention supersedes the Paris convention of October 13, 1919, relating to the regulation of aerial navigation and the Habana convention of February 20, 1928,

#### LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE SENATE<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press  
by the White House March 12]

TO THE SENATE: With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a certified copy of a convention on international civil aviation,<sup>2</sup> concluded at the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago on December 7, 1944, and signed in the English language by the respective Plenipotentiaries of the Governments of the United States of America, the Philippine Commonwealth, and certain other countries, as explained more fully in the report by the Acting Secretary of State, which report I transmit herewith for the information of the Senate.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

<sup>1</sup> Printed in S. Ex. A, 79th Cong., 1st sess., p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *International Civil Aviation Conference, Chicago, Illinois, November 1 to December 7, 1944, Final Act and Related Documents*, Department of State publication 2282, Conference Series 64.

on commercial aviation (art. 80). The United States of America is not a party to the Paris convention of 1919, but is a party to the Habana convention of 1928 together with certain other of the American republics. The Habana convention of 1928 is printed in the United States Statutes at Large, volume 47, part 2, page 1901.

Aeronautical agreements in existence at the time the convention comes into force are to be registered with the Council (art. 81).

The contracting States accept the convention as abrogating all obligations or understandings between them which are inconsistent with the terms of the convention, and undertake not to enter into such obligations and understandings (art. 82).

It is provided that contracting States may make arrangements not inconsistent with the provisions of the convention, and that any such arrangement shall be registered with the Council (art. 83).

In case of war, or in the case of any contracting State which declares a state of national emergency and notifies the fact to the Council, the provisions of the convention shall not affect the freedom of action of any contracting State affected, whether as belligerent or as neutral (art. 89).

The final provisions of the convention relate to ratification by signatory States, adherence by non-signatory States, admission of certain other States to participation in the convention, the method for effecting amendments to the convention, and the right of any contracting State to give notice of denunciation 3 years or more after the convention comes into effect (arts. 91 to 95, inclusive). It is provided in paragraph (b) of article 91 that as soon as the convention has been ratified or adhered to by 26 States it shall come into force between them on the 30th day after deposit of the twenty-sixth instrument, and shall come into force for each State ratifying thereafter on the 30th day after the deposit of its instrument of ratification. Under paragraph (b) of article 92, the convention shall take effect with respect to an adhering State as from the 30th day from the receipt by the Government of the United States of America of the notification of adherence.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH C. GREW.

## Sixth Anniversary of Nazi Invasion of Czechoslovakia

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press March 15]

Six years ago, on March 15, 1939, Hitler's army invaded Prague and subjected the Czechoslovak people to Nazi rule. This violation of Hitler's own pledged word further revealed the ultimate goal of Nazism—the conquest of Europe and the domination of the world.

Throughout the six years that followed, the Nazis tried to destroy the ideal of a united Czechoslovakia and to wipe out all traces of national identity. The country was robbed of its wealth, its manpower enslaved, and its intellectual leaders killed. But Hitler's plan to turn Czechoslovakia into a German colony failed. No foreign conqueror has ever succeeded in destroying the will of the Czechoslovak people to be free and independent.

The Czechoslovak people at home and the Czechoslovak Government in London have worked ceaselessly to preserve their sovereign rights and their great traditions of democracy and freedom. They have earned the admiration of all freedom-loving peoples. Today, on this anniversary of Nazi aggression, President Beneš is on his way back to the area liberated by the Red Army and in time will return to Prague to start the hard but promising task of reconstruction. The American people, whose friendship for Czechoslovakia has been a tradition since the days of Thomas Masaryk, hope that victory will bring a new era of strength, prosperity, and security for the Czechoslovak people.

## Cooperative Education

*Ecuador*

The United States and Ecuador signed an agreement at Quito January 23, 1945 regarding a cooperative educational program. The terms of the agreement provide that the Inter-American Educational Foundation, an agency of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, will contribute \$100,000 and the Ecuadoran Government will contribute \$50,000, to be expended over a period of three years for the program. The agreement came into force on the date of signing.

# The Importance of the Bretton Woods Proposals In the Post-War Economic Policy of the Department of State

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY CLAYTON<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 17]

The post-war foreign policy of the Department of State centers in measures and instrumentalities for the preservation of peace in the world.

The peace structure must be seen as a great arch supported by two strong columns, one political and the other economic.

If either column fails, the whole structure collapses.

Political peace will not long endure if economic warfare is to continue throughout the world in the way in which it was waged during the period between the two world wars.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals represent our foreign policy for the maintenance and promotion of peace through international organization.

Our foreign economic policy revolves around an expansion in world economy—free and equal access for all nations to the trade and raw materials of the world, increased production, much greater exchange of goods and services between nations, and higher levels of living for all peoples everywhere.

Now, there is not one single element of the "Santa Claus" philosophy in this policy.

On the contrary, quite aside from the question of future peace, the United States will be one of its principal beneficiaries.

Next to this question of future peace and security, the post-war problem which concerns the greatest number of people in the United States is the problem of employment.

We have enormously increased our productive capacity during the war, especially in capital goods—machinery, equipment, tools, and technical knowledge.

If we are to reach a satisfactory level of post-war employment, we must find markets abroad for this surplus production.

The markets are there all right in almost unlimited volume. The real problem will be for the buyers of our goods to find the dollars with which to make payment.

One means of payment will be provided through the facilities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is about this institution and the International Monetary Fund that I wish to speak to you this afternoon.

As you know, proposals for the Bank and the Fund were agreed upon at Bretton Woods last summer by delegates from all of the 44 United and Associated Nations.

The International Monetary Fund is designed to prevent a recurrence of one of the worst forms of international economic warfare, so generally practiced in the period between the two world wars.

I refer to the manipulation of currencies, exchange discriminations and restrictions, and competitive devaluation of exchanges in an effort to gain an unfair advantage in international trade.

The International Monetary Fund is designed to prevent this type of economic warfare.

Members of the Fund agree to define their money in terms of gold and to keep their money within one percent of its defined value. They also agree to avoid exchange restrictions and to consult with the Fund whenever they consider a change in the value of their currency necessary.

This agreement forms the basic elements of stability and provides the rules of the game. Countries which join the Fund agree that they will abide by the rules and will act together for the common good.

The agreement provides that each member shall pay into the Fund a certain amount of its own currency and a smaller amount of gold. A member of the Fund is enabled to purchase from the Fund with its own currency the currency of another member. This permits normal business to continue.

In essence, the Fund is a common effort by the nations which subscribe to it to put aside practices

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, N. Y., on Mar. 17, 1945, and broadcast over the blue network. Mr. Clayton delivered a similar address before the Women's National Press Club in Washington on Mar. 13, 1945.

which are destructive of others and of the common good of all, and to provide the means which make that possible. No nation has more to gain from such a result than our own.

The International Monetary Fund promotes collective security, because it seeks to establish order in the financial and economic fields, and order in those fields cannot be divorced from order elsewhere.

The second institution proposed at Bretton Woods is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The Bank will facilitate investments and productive enterprises where they are needed. This does not mean that the Bank will supersede private lending.

In the normal case, a country will borrow from private bankers, but, where private banks, because of the risk, cannot make the loan upon terms which are possible for the borrower, both borrower and lender may need the assistance of the International Bank.

The Bank's function will be to investigate the soundness of the projects for which capital is desired, and, if it agrees they are sound, it will guarantee the loans made by private banks. It will also require the government of the country in which the money is to be used to guarantee the loan.

In case of a default which results in the necessity of payment by the International Bank, the loss would be spread over the whole world by virtue of the Bank's guaranty. In addition to its guaranty of private loans, the International Bank may make direct loans within certain limits, when private capital is not available.

The whole basis of the Bretton Woods proposals is the conception of an expanding economy and collective security through common action. Unless we achieve a great expansion in world economy, and an increase in the levels of living of all people, the solution of the vast problems before all the nations may well be rendered impossible.

Most wars originate in economic causes.

The bounties of nature are distributed unequally over the earth.

Some countries are rich in one resource and some in another; still others possess almost no subsoil resources.

Hence equality of opportunity for development in the modern world is only possible if all nations

have free and equal access to the trade and raw materials of the world.

The most elaborate political and military arrangements for the preservation of physical peace will soon disintegrate in an atmosphere of bitterness created by international economic warfare.

Democracy and free enterprise will not survive another world war.

For the second time in this generation, our country is faced with the responsibilities and opportunities of participation in world leadership.

At the end of the first World War, we stepped aside and the mantle fell to the ground. This time, the mantle is already around our shoulders, and a devastated and terrified world is hopefully looking to us to help them back to peace and life.

We can do this, but only if our wisdom and vision are equal to our power and influence.

## Appointment of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., as Chief of Mission for Economic Affairs In London

[Released to the press by the White House March 14]

The President has addressed the following letter under date of March 13 to Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., now in charge of planning and statistics in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconstruction:

MY DEAR MR. BLAISDELL:

You are hereby appointed Chief of Mission for Economic Affairs in London with the rank of Minister. You will be a member of Ambassador Winant's staff and responsible for such foreign economic affairs as the State Department or the Foreign Economic Administration through the Ambassador may request you to undertake.

In this appointment you are to take over and perform the functions previously performed by Mr. W. Averell Harriman and Mr. Philip Reed including representation of and direct responsibility to the Foreign Economic Administration, the War Shipping Administration, the War Food Administration, the War Production Board, the Petroleum Administrator for War, and other

(Continued on page 461)

## "Building the Peace"

# What About the Liberated Areas?'

(Released to the press March 17)

VOICE No. 1: What is U. S. policy for liberated areas?

VOICE No. 2: How will the Yalta agreement on liberated countries be carried out?

VOICE No. 3: What can we do to prevent starvation and get people back to work again in the liberated areas?

ANNOUNCER: Good questions, all of them, and *not* easy ones to answer. But answer them we must, if this

war is to make sense to the people of war-torn Europe, and to our own service men and women.

On this program, and on three more to follow, NBC's University of the Air presents America's foremost experts in international affairs, officials of the Department of State itself, to answer *your questions* on the problems of *Building the Peace*, as part of a larger series on "Our Foreign Policy". For authoritative information on the liberated areas, NBC's University of the Air now calls on Assistant Secretary of State Archibald MacLeish, who is chairman of the State Department broadcasts; Mr. James Clement Dunn, who is Assistant Secretary in Charge of European, Near Eastern, and Far Eastern Affairs; and Mr. Charles P. Taft, a Special Assistant to Mr. William L. Clayton on Wartime Economic Affairs. And now—

MACLEISH: This is Archibald MacLeish. This week there came to my desk a letter addressed to Secretary of State Stettinius from a young captain in the Army. He writes from somewhere in the Pacific theater of war, from an Army Post Office address at San Francisco. I want to read part of this letter to you, because it expresses so well what we are trying to do in this series of broadcasts. The captain writes:

"On your shoulders, and on the shoulders of your associates, rests the responsibility of establishing . . . an era of peace which will insure a better world for our future citizens.

### PARTICIPANTS

JAMES CLEMENT DUNN  
Assistant Secretary of State  
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH  
Assistant Secretary of State  
CHARLES P. TAFT  
Department of State  
KENNEDY LUDLAM  
Announcer for NBC

"The past has shown us that only through the active participation of the United States in the United Nations Organization will there be any possibility of stopping the threats of aggression, or of promoting the social and economic order which will remove the causes of war. We are winning the war through such participation; let us win the peace in a similar fashion.

"It is the hope of those of us in uniform that ours shall not have been a useless fight, that future generations will not know the agony and the suffering which we have known. The responsibility for the fulfillment of that hope lies with you and with us.

"We, the people, must be made to fully understand the policies which will determine the future of the world, be made to realize that they represent the foundation and the tools for the building of a lasting peace."

That letter is from an Army captain. Many other thoughtful letters have come to us since this series of broadcasts began three weeks ago. In studying this mail, I have been struck with the number of letters having to do with the liberated countries.

But before we get into this very big question, I'd like to take up a related matter that has been widely discussed during the past two weeks—the voting formula for the Security Council of the proposed United Nations Organization. We have received many requests for more information about the decisions reached at Yalta on this point. A great many of our correspondents want to know exactly where these decisions leave the small na-

<sup>1</sup> This program broadcast over the network of the National Broadcasting Company on Mar. 17, 1945 is the fourth in a series of seven broadcasts sponsored by the Department of State.

tions. I'm going to ask Mr. Dunn to speak to that.

DUNN: Well, first I think we'd better make sure that everyone understands the voting procedure itself.

MACLEISH: All right. I'll give you my understanding of it. The Council acts in all cases by a majority of seven out of its eleven members. In all cases involving disputes, the permanent members—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France—must approve, but with this qualification: In cases involving *peaceful* settlement of disputes the parties to a dispute, whether large nations or small, would have no voice in the decision. Thus any nation, great or small, would have the right to register a complaint against any other nation, small or great. Further steps would be determined by a majority of seven, including all the major powers *not* directly involved. When the use of force, or of political or economic pressure, is in question, the nations with permanent seats must *all* agree, that is must all be included in the majority of seven. This will insure the unity of action of the great nations which is essential if force is to be effectively used.

DUNN: That's about it. But I'll make one further point. The Organization *will have real teeth*. But in a good deal of the discussion on the functions of the international Organization, entirely too much emphasis has been put upon the use of force. This emphasis tends to distort the pattern of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, in which there is equal emphasis upon machinery for the solution of disputes by peaceful means. Also, a major purpose of the Organization will be to help bring about world conditions conducive to peace. World opinion is a most powerful force.

MACLEISH: I think well-informed critics of the voting procedure realize that. But they argue that the Yalta formula gives the great powers a kind of veto. No action can be taken against any great power without its consent.

DUNN: It's true that in the case of enforcement action of any kind the voting procedure calls for unanimous agreement among the five permanent members of the Council. Any one of the big powers could block enforcement measures. However, I think everyone admits that when you come to the use of force *to prevent war*, it is absolutely essen-

tial that those who possess the force should be in agreement. If there should be an attempt to use force contrary to the wishes of one or more of the powerful military nations, you would have a dangerous situation on your hands which might lead to a general war.

MACLEISH: You have explained the *reason* for the distinction between the great and small nations. But it doesn't alter the fact that there *is* a distinction. Pretty general approval of the voting formula has been shown in the press, but some of the comments show a fear that it puts the great powers in a privileged position. One radio commentator even called it "a swell way to beat the small nations around the ears".

DUNN: I know. I have heard such comments. But I think a careful study of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, including the voting procedure, will show that the charge is unfounded. Both large and small nations will be pledged equally to abide by the principles laid down in the Charter.

MACLEISH: If you are relying on the power of public opinion, as you have suggested, Mr. Dunn, small nations and great *are* on the same footing. If, however, you are relying on the power of guns and planes, they aren't—that's true whether we set up the proposed United Nations Organization or not. But will the small nations accept that conclusion?

DUNN: Yes, I believe it will be generally accepted as the best common-sense solution. After all, they are interested in insuring peace first of all, and they know that can't be done without the cooperation of all the United Nations, large and small. Don't you think so, Mr. Taft?

TAFT: I am certain that when we have all discussed it at San Francisco the smaller nations will see that it represents a great step forward, a step we must all take in faith and good-will. The operations of the United Nations have placed responsibility for the successful war effort in the powerful nations. Why shouldn't the small nations trust this set-up to insure peace as well?

MACLEISH: It amounts to this, then: We're building on something *this* time which already exists—the United Nations. We have the unity of purpose that is essential for international organization—a unity forged in the war. The main job of the new Organization will be the *creation of the right conditions for peace*, plus the task of preventing disputes, when they do occur, from devel-

oping into wars. We can accomplish this only through the cooperation of *all* the powers, and especially of all the larger powers which will have to bear the load if enforcement measures are ever needed. Is that a fair summary, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: Yes. Cooperation between the great powers is absolutely essential to the success of the international Organization. And we have it now.

TAFT: And at San Francisco, both the major powers and the other United Nations will participate as equals in formulating the final plan. Changes and improvements will undoubtedly be proposed, discussed, and accepted or rejected at that time, by all of the nations meeting there on a completely democratic basis. Once the Charter has been drawn up, as Mr. Stettinius has said, the true democracy inherent in the Organization of the world for peace will grow strong and become apparent to everyone.

MACLEISH: Let me ask you one question about the plan to be formulated at San Francisco—about the San Francisco discussions. Some people seem to think that San Francisco will be a peace conference like the conference at Versailles—that it will decide boundary questions, and questions of reparations, and all that sort of thing. Will you comment on that, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: That impression is quite mistaken. The San Francisco conference, it cannot be too often said, is a conference to establish an organization to create a peaceful world in the future. It is not a conference to agree on the peace terms which will end *this war*—the territorial settlements and so on. The terms to be imposed upon our enemies will be fixed by the Allied powers. But they will not be under discussion at San Francisco.

MACLEISH: Now, I'd like to get back to the problem of the liberated areas. You agree that they present a pressing problem—a pressing problem *for us*? Just the other day a Washington newspaper said:

"These European disputes are no business of ours. When we horn into them, we get nothing out of it but long casualty lists, crushing debts, and post-war curses from our wartime Allies. By horning into World War I we helped set the stage for World War II."

DUNN: *Anything* that affects our peace and security and prosperity is our business, even if it happens on the other side of the world. The very

fact that we have been involved in two European wars shows that we are inevitably affected by what happens in Europe. It comes down to this: You can't have peace, security, and prosperity unless you have orderly political and economic relationships with other countries. And you can't have an orderly Europe, or an orderly world, unless you have stable governments which reflect the wants and needs of the people. So we have a real stake in developing policies for the liberated areas which will be consistent with our own democratic philosophy.

MACLEISH: The great majority of Americans would say "amen" to that. But there are people who argue that we've got all we can do to provide enough jobs for everybody after the war. Let's stick to our knitting, they say, and not involve ourselves in a lot of things that will only get us in trouble.

DUNN: That's the same sort of loose thinking that really *did* get us into trouble last time. We could pretend to withdraw from the world, as we did to some extent after World War I. But we would probably have to come out of our hermit's cave again anyhow, along about 1970, and fight another war—and next time we'd be the first to be attacked. These things *do* concern us, and there's no use pretending they don't.

MACLEISH: That's one answer. What does the economist say, Mr. Taft? Can we withdraw from the problems of Europe and Asia and devote all of our efforts to making enough jobs here at home after the war?

TAFT: Well, Mr. MacLeish, this may not be speaking in terms of economics, but I am just foolish enough to insist that this nation can't withdraw without destroying its own soul. Our greatness lies in our traditional belief that men and women everywhere are human beings entitled to live a decent life and entitled to our help. That's why we are in this war, and we can't quit now. Furthermore, a high level of employment and a high standard of living here depend on a vigorous international exchange of goods, especially with our Allies and the liberated areas in Europe. This world can't operate without Europe on its feet.

MACLEISH: Yes, but what kind of a Europe do we want to see on its feet? Do we make a choice as between the various political systems, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: We make a *definite* choice: We choose democracy. The Yalta declaration says that assistance will be given to each nation to help its people create democratic institutions of their own choosing. That's the answer.

MACLEISH: That's an answer in terms of principle. But what many people want to know is this: How will the Yalta declarations be made effective in practice? To what extent will we intervene in the liberated countries? Some of the critics of our foreign policy are skeptical. A recent newspaper editorial said: "Whether there can be really free voting procedure in Eastern Europe . . . is questionable."

DUNN: Well, Mr. MacLeish, in the first place we will have our Ambassadors and their staffs in all the various liberated countries of Europe. Whenever there is any question of democratic processes being threatened there will be immediate consultation among the representatives of the three powers—and, we hope, France—with regard to the measures to be taken. This will be our policy until the liberated countries can set up stable democratic governments.

MACLEISH: I have here a letter from a man in Glenburn, North Dakota, who remarks that "recent events in Greece have proved the need for clarifying the war aims of the United Nations". Let's take Greece, Mr. Dunn, as an example of the way the Yalta declarations will work.

DUNN: Under the Yalta declarations there is no reason why the Greek people should not be able to evolve a government of their own choice. The same applies to Poland and Yugoslavia. If difficulties arise in the process of holding elections, it would be necessary for the three nations to consult together on the steps to be taken in any particular case.

MACLEISH: It has been said that the Americans have been thrown out of Bulgaria and Rumania.

DUNN: That is simply not true. We have missions in both countries, and we know what is going on. In the case of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, of course, full democratic processes cannot begin until the end of the military-operation period. We cannot expect to see general elections during the period of hostilities anywhere in Europe. We hope that elections will be held in most countries within six months after the end of the military operations. It depends partly on how

quickly their nationals can be repatriated from Germany and other countries.

MACLEISH: Let's take it from another angle. Suppose a petty dictator makes a bid for power in some liberated country. Will the three major powers consult on ways to prevent this?

DUNN: They will consult to insure that democratic processes are to be carried out. That will mean stopping the setting up of any Fascist regime. We'll back this policy with everything we have. We don't intend to let any new crop of Fascist dictators come to power.

MACLEISH: What will be the relationships between the resistance groups of the various countries and their governments-in-exile?

DUNN: I believe the governments-in-exile should re-form their governments immediately after liberation, providing for full participation by the resistance groups. In most cases they have done this. They are realistic. They consider themselves as trustees of political power until such time as elections can be held.

TAFT: I think the Belgian situation should be mentioned in this respect: Only four of the 18 members of the new cabinet had been out of the country throughout the occupation. And the new Dutch Cabinet includes five Ministers from the liberated section of the Netherlands.

MACLEISH: We might summarize our whole policy this way: We want to see popular democratic processes and institutions restored in all these countries.

DUNN: Exactly. We don't want to rule others; we want to see them rule themselves.

MACLEISH: There have been some loud alarms sounded about the danger of socialism or communism spreading throughout liberated Europe. Would you care to comment on that question, Mr. Taft?

TAFT: That is a difficult question to answer. What you read about in the liberated countries is hardly more than our peacetime business regulations and our war controls. Moreover, a move toward a wider distribution of land ownership, and a breaking up of pre-war and wartime concentrations of financial and industrial control is hardly surprising.

DUNN: Take France. There is a strong trend toward government control of industry there, and you still have basically a democratic set-up in France.



TAFT: In Belgium, the new cabinet has five Socialists, six Catholic Party members, four Liberals (who are conservative by our standards), and only two Communists. This is most significant, as it forecasts what may happen in other countries.

MACLEISH: You have made your point for Western Europe. But is the same thing true in Eastern Europe? People who write in seem to show the most concern over Eastern and Central Europe.

DUNN: Well, Czechoslovakia is certainly democratic in its orientation. The Balkan countries are going in the same direction. There is unquestionably a very general desire for freedom of expression at the polls in every liberated country.

MACLEISH: What about this question of spheres of influence? Our mailbag contains a lot of letters which ask whether the British and the Russians are trying to establish spheres of influence in Europe. Even the Army and Navy Journal said last month that "Russia has in fact a sphere of influence . . . which promotes her security".

DUNN: The Yalta declaration should have cleared up that point completely. The British and Soviet Governments, with the United States and France, if she agrees, are pledged to consult with each other constantly in every part of liberated Europe. Most of this talk of power politics and spheres of influence stems from the military situation. When you are carrying on hostilities you have to have areas of direct military responsibility. It's inevitable, during the fighting part of the war. Western Europe is an Anglo-American military responsibility, just as much as Eastern Europe is a Russian military zone.

MACLEISH: Now, so far we've dealt only with the political side. But the people of the liberated countries need food as much as they need *freedom*. I suppose food actually comes first, in point of necessity. Mr. Taft, that's your bailiwick; you have dealt with it as a Director of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs in the State Department. How is the food situation in liberated Europe today? Are conditions over there as bad as they have been painted?

TAFT: They are bad enough. Actual quantities of food in France are, in general, relatively adequate, but there are many spots where they are inadequate, because there is very bad transportation. The canals on the whole are now restored,

but the barges that operate on them are mostly gone. The roads are not yet fully rebuilt. The main rail lines and bridges are largely restored, but they are very short of equipment. With all locomotives that are now available or likely to be in the near future, the French will only have half the number they used in pre-war times. Railroad freight cars are even fewer in proportion. All this affects the food supply.

MACLEISH: The wonder is that they have been able to eat, under those conditions.

TAFT: Yes, but don't forget that except for shipyards, docks, and transportation France was not devastated. It's not food or reconstruction goods they need now, so much as industrial raw materials to keep their people employed. Close to 3 million workers have been affected by shut-downs in French industry in a population of less than 40 million.

MACLEISH: And if they can't work, they can't get money to buy food.

TAFT: That's right. The Army and the French Government arranged port space and internal transport in France, and the military demands were so heavy that we couldn't get ships to get the supplies over; then we got a few ships, only to have winter upset our own internal transport to the United States ports.

DUNN: The situation is even worse in Belgium because it is closer to the front lines. They have *not* had enough food. Emergency shipments are being sent in, but unfortunately they are still too small because of the lack of ships.

TAFT: The war has hit the Netherlands hardest of all the Western European countries because our summer break-through came to a stop there, and the Germans had more time to destroy things. Holland was peculiarly vulnerable anyway, since almost half of it is below sea level. What the Dutch need most now is pumps, and fortunately the pump program is progressing in good shape. But even after the fields are drained, it will take five years to get the salt out, and get them back into production.

MACLEISH: And conditions are even worse in occupied Holland, I understand, Mr. Taft.

TAFT: Yes. I meant to include that, too. The people in the large cities are without coal or electricity, and many are actually starving. There's been a bitter experience, after seeing liberation so close last year.

MACLEISH: What about economic conditions in Eastern Europe?

TAFT: Rumania and Bulgaria and Hungary are in pretty good shape for food. They produce enough agricultural supplies to feed themselves. The first shipload of UNRRA relief supplies is going into Poland and Czechoslovakia from the outside through a Black Sea port, and through Russia. Greece, always a country deficient in food, was perhaps hardest hit of all; but fortunately some supplies have gone in there. Italy is a country with a food deficiency, too, and we have had some difficulty in getting enough food in there from the outside, in competition with essential military supplies.

MACLEISH: It is obvious that more aid must be sent to the liberated but devastated areas—and soon. But will we be able to do it?

TAFT: We're working on that problem constantly. We have some ships and port facilities assigned for this purpose for France. But we recognize that we've got to do far more than we have so far.

MACLEISH: Several people have written in to ask us: Is it up to us—to the United States—to rebuild the devastated countries? How about that, Charlie?

TAFT: It certainly is not up to the United States alone to rebuild them. But I think we have a great moral responsibility to help in every way we can, consistent with our own resources, to meet the demands that will be made on us. We can't forget what the people in the resistance movements did by sabotage, especially to their own transportation, in order to make our invasion possible.

DUNN: It's in our own long-time interest to do so, too, from a strictly business point of view. We can't expect to trade with nations whose resources and industries have been destroyed, unless we help to reconstruct them. With our help they can be reconstructed more quickly. Without a minimum economy you can't expect any political stability at all.

MACLEISH: We know we have in this country the skilled manpower, the know-how, and an enormous industrial capacity. As a matter of fact, we will be one of the few countries in a position to furnish goods to the rest of the world. That means American loans, presumably, at least, in the beginning.

TAFT: Yes, the United States and other countries which are able to do so will have to make loans

to nations wrecked by the war—private loans and probably some government loans as well. That's the only way they can live until they get back to producing goods and until their exports balance what they must import; and this in turn will enable them to export a surplus, so they can repay our loans and buy our products.

MACLEISH: After our experience with the loans of the 1920's many people ask: Isn't there danger that some countries will default on their loans again?

TAFT: There is always a danger that a borrower will default on his loan. It is increased when you don't let him pay the debt with his goods. But there has been a totally erroneous idea as to what happened to the foreign loans made after the last war. At no time were private loans more than 30 percent in default.

MACLEISH: Do you think that the proportion in default can be lowered this time?

TAFT: Yes, I feel that it can and will be. The Bretton Woods conference took steps to help attain exactly that objective.

MACLEISH: How about UNRRA in this connection? Some of our correspondents ask if UNRRA—the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—is not supposed to do this job of putting the devastated countries back on their feet.

TAFT: UNRRA's job is limited to the work of relief and such limited rehabilitation as is connected with relief, and it is further limited mainly to those countries which do not have foreign assets, that is, which can't pay. UNRRA follows the armies with food and clothing and medical supplies and fuel. It is not supposed to have, and does not have, the funds to engage in reconstruction.

MACLEISH: Here's a question that bothers many people, Jimmy: How will we safeguard against the use of relief for domestic political purposes within the various countries?

DUNN: There are plenty of safeguards against that. UNRRA will not send its goods in unless it has its own representatives to supervise its distribution.

MACLEISH: How does lend-lease fit into the picture? We get a lot of inquiries on that subject. This concerns more than the liberated areas, but I would like to see one common query answered: What are we getting out of lend-lease?

TAFT: Lend-lease has been the method by which the United States enabled its Allies to bring their greatest military strength to bear against the enemy. They would not have been able to do this if they were not supplied with the weapons of war and the tools for war production.

MACLEISH: And you might add that lend-lease has saved thousands of American lives. That's part of what we get out of lend-lease. I think it was in *Yank* magazine that some soldier wrote: "Under lend-lease, we supply bombs and shells and our Allies deliver them to the enemy for us, without any charge, even for postage."

DUNN: If I may break in, Archie, I'd like to mention France as an example. We have equipped 225,000 French troops and a new 15,000-man French air force. Those Frenchmen are fighting Germans right now, and saving plenty of American lives. And equipping them will make it possible for the French to play a bigger part in policing Germany after she surrenders. That will release American soldiers for the war against Japan and enable them to return home that much sooner.

MACLEISH: We've been talking about Europe. What about the Pacific area, Charlie? How is the relief problem shaping up out there?

TAFT: The biggest job will be in China, once the occupied portions are liberated. So far as the Netherlands East Indies are concerned, the Dutch are taking care of that entirely, and expect to pay for it. Apart from China, we probably won't have as much of a problem out there as we have in Europe. The whole region of southwest Asia may not be liberated as soon, for one thing.

MACLEISH: Do the Yalta decisions apply to the Far East? That's in your field, Jimmy.

DUNN: The Yalta declaration itself applies only to Europe. Russia, one of the participants, is not at war with Japan. But I can say this: As far as our policy is concerned, the spirit of the Crimea decisions, with their espousal of democratic rights, will apply in Asia as well as in Europe.

MACLEISH: Will we be able to apply our relief policy in the colonial areas of the Far East?

TAFT: In saying our policy, you must remember it is a British policy as well as an American policy, to be applied by whichever troops do the liberating. Then UNRRA will follow with relief if the country is unable to provide for itself. That goes for the Far East as well as Europe. This is absolutely essential: If we want to produce the sort

of world our boys are fighting for, we must insist that the Asiatic countries and colonies, as well as the European countries, get shipping and supplies to carry on, and a fair break when the fighting is over as well. The great areas and populations of the Far East have further to go than the West. They offer one of the greatest opportunities for an expanded world trade and higher standards of living. So it's in our interest to help them all we can.

MACLEISH: To sum up, then, I think we can state the Government's policy on the liberated areas in something like these terms: We have a direct responsibility and a direct interest in the liberated countries, East and West; specifically, we have a responsibility in common with our Allies to see to it that the peoples of these countries have not only food, but an opportunity to live under governments of their own choosing; further, we realize that our own economic welfare depends on helping the countries which have been in the direct path of war to get back on their feet; and finally, we intend to stay on the job, this time, until our responsibilities have been fulfilled. We do not intend simply to drive the Nazis and the Japanese out of the occupied countries and then secede from the world. We're part of the world, and we propose to stay with it until we are sure that we've won what we're fighting for—a just and enduring peace.

ANNOUNCER: That was Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Public and Cultural Relations. With him were Assistant Secretary James C. Dunn, and Charles P. Taft, Special Assistant to William L. Clayton on War-time Economic Affairs. This was the fourth of seven programs on the problems of *Building the Peace*, featuring top officials of the Department of State. Copies of this or of all seven broadcasts may be obtained by writing to the State Department, Washington 25, D. C. These programs are part of a larger series on "Our Foreign Policy", arranged by NBC's University of the Air, not only for listeners in the United States, but also for our service men and women overseas, through the facilities of the Armed Forces Radio Service.

State Department programs still to be heard are:

What About the Enemy Countries?  
Our Good Neighbors in Latin America, and  
The State Department Itself.

Subsequently, NBC will present members of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees, after which the series will be moved to San Francisco for the opening of the United Nations Conference on April 25.

Next week at this same time you will hear a discussion entitled "What About the Enemy Countries?" Assistant Secretaries of State Archibald MacLeish and James C. Dunn will be back again, and in addition, Ambassador Robert Murphy, Political Adviser to General Eisenhower, who has just returned from occupied German territory, will be heard. They will answer such questions as these:

VOICE No. 1: What are we going to do with the Nazi war criminals?

VOICE No. 2: How can you reeducate people who have been getting nothing but Nazi propaganda for so long?

VOICE No. 3: What about unconditional surrender?

ANNOUNCER: Until next week, then. This is NBC in Washington, the Nation's Capital.

## Inter-Agency Committee To Coordinate Export Of Civilian Supplies<sup>1</sup>

1. *Creation of Committee.* (a) There is hereby established an inter-agency Committee to coordinate the export of supplies and equipment for relief, rehabilitation, industrial and other purposes, except direct United States or Lend-Lease military purpose (called herein "civilian supplies").

(b) The Committee shall be composed of the following officials: The Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, who shall act as Chairman; the Assistant Secretary in charge of economic affairs for the Department of State; the Chairman of the War Production Board; the War Food Administrator; the Commanding General, Army Service Forces, for the War Department; the Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Navy; and the Deputy Administrator of the War Shipping Administration.

(c) The members of the Committee should personally attend the meetings of the Committee when in Washington, and when absent should be represented by the deputies acting in their places.

2. *Functions.* (a) The Committee shall consider the programs of all Government agencies for the export of civilian supplies in order to develop a unified program for such exports by the United States in the light of the capacity and needs of the domestic economy, available shipping, existing commitments to foreign countries, and other relevant factors.

(b) In order to determine whether existing commitments to foreign countries for civilian supplies should be reexamined with the foreign countries involved, the Committee shall consider at once whether the domestic economy can fulfill such commitments without unduly impairing the capacity of the economy to meet domestic and other foreign needs.

3. *Relation to other agencies.* (a) Any agency of the Government proposing to make any formal or informal commitment for the export of civilian supplies to any foreign country shall first submit the proposal to the Committee for its approval before making the commitment.

(b) The Requirements Committee of the War Production Board and the Food Requirements Committee of the War Food Administration shall continue to allocate civilian supplies for export under their existing authority. Such allocations shall be submitted to the Committee for its approval before putting them into effect.

(c) The armed services shall be responsible for determining their needs for civilian supplies for military purposes in the wake of battle, but shall advise the Committee of such requirements for its use in considering other proposed exports. The armed services shall submit any other requirements for civilian supplies to the Committee for its approval.

4. *Records.* (a) The Chairman of the Committee shall establish a central information office to maintain a complete record of all commitments by the United States, whether existing or under consideration, for export of civilian supplies.

(b) The Committee shall designate a Secretary to maintain the records of its proceedings.

JAMES F. BYRNES,  
*Director.*

<sup>1</sup> 10 *Federal Register* 2803.

# Inter-American Conference on Problems Of War and Peace

## RESOLUTION ON ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION<sup>1</sup>

### WHEREAS:

The American Republics have at all times demonstrated their attachment to the principles of peaceful international relationships based on justice and law;

The tradition of universal cooperation, that has consistently inspired the inter-American system into which such principles have by now been definitely incorporated, has struck deeper roots and gained in strength due to the interdependence of the nations of the modern world which makes peace indivisible and the welfare of one country conditional upon that of all the others;

The Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization formulated at Dumbarton Oaks by the representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Republic of China were made available on October 9, 1944, to all countries for their full study and discussion;

These Proposals are capable of certain improvements with a view to perfecting them and to realizing with greater assurance the objectives which they enunciate;

The Organization to be created must reflect the ideas and hopes of all peace-loving nations participating in its creation;

In the present inter-American Conference, the Republics here represented which did not take part in the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations have formulated a certain number of suggestions which in their opinion would contribute to the perfecting of the above-mentioned Proposals;

It would undoubtedly be useful for the United Nations not represented in this Conference to have a synthesis of the views expressed in it, and it would also be very valuable if those nations were to communicate to the Governments of the American Republics here present, prior to the Conference at San Francisco, their views regarding the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals,

### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE, DECLARES:

1. That the American Republics represented in this Conference are determined to cooperate with each other and with other peace-loving nations in the establishment of a General International Organization based upon law, justice, and equity;

2. That those Republics desire to make their full contribution, individually and by common action in and through the Inter-American System, effectively coordinating and harmonizing that system with the General International Organization for the realization of the latter's objectives;

3. That the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals constitute a basis for, and a valuable contribution to the setting up of, a General Organization which may permit the achievement of a just peaceful order and the welfare of all nations, which the American Republics are striving to attain; and

### RESOLVES:

1. That the Secretary General of the Conference transmit to the states which formulated the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, to the other nations invited to the forthcoming Conference at San Francisco, and to that Conference itself, this resolution, and the report with the documents hereto attached containing the views, comments, and suggestions which, in the judgment of the American Republics presenting them, should be taken into consideration in the formulation of the definitive Charter of the projected Organization, especially the following points regarding which a consensus exists among the American Republics represented in this Conference that did not participate in the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations:

a) The aspiration of universality as an ideal toward which the Organization should tend in the future;

<sup>1</sup> Resolution XXX from the *Final Act of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace* (provisional English translation). At a later date the Pan American Union will issue the official English translation of the Spanish text signed at Mexico City.

b) The desirability of amplifying and making more specific the enumeration of the principles and purposes of the Organization;

c) The desirability of amplifying and making more specific the powers of the General Assembly in order that its action, as the fully representative organ of the international community may be rendered effective, harmonizing the powers of the Security Council with such amplification;

d) The desirability of extending the jurisdiction and competence of the international tribunal or court of justice;

e) The desirability of creating an international agency specially charged with promoting intellectual and moral cooperation between nations;

f) The desirability of preferably solving controversies and questions of an inter-American character in accordance with inter-American methods

and procedures, in harmony with those of the General International Organization; and

g) The desirability of giving an adequate representation to Latin America in the Security Council.

2. To express to the other United Nations invited to participate in the San Francisco Conference the common desire of the American Republics to receive from them before that Conference the views, comments, and suggestions which they on their part may deem it convenient to transmit.

The Governments signatory to the present resolution retain full liberty to present and support in the San Francisco Conference, as representatives respectively of sovereign states, all the viewpoints which they may consider pertinent, many of which may be found in the annexed documents.<sup>1</sup>

### RESOLUTION CONCERNING ARGENTINA<sup>1</sup>

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

Having considered the text of the communication directed by the Argentine Government to the Pan American Union,

#### CONSIDERING:

1. That the Conference was called for the purpose of taking measures to intensify the war effort of the United American Nations against Germany and Japan and to seek the strengthening of their political and economic sovereignty and their cooperation and security;

2. That the circumstances existing before the meeting have undergone no change that would have justified the Conference in taking steps to re-establish, as it earnestly desires to do, the unity of the 21 states in the policy of solidarity that has been strengthened during the deliberations of the Conference,

#### RESOLVES:

1. To deplore that the Argentine Nation has up to the present time not found it possible to take the steps which would permit her participation in the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, with the conclusions of which the principle of solidarity of the hemisphere against

all types of aggression is consolidated and extended.

2. To recognize that the unity of the peoples of America is indivisible and that the Argentine Nation is and always has been an integral part of the union of the American Republics.

3. To express its desire that the Argentine Nation may put herself in a position to express her conformity with and adherence to the principles and declarations which are the results of the Conference of Mexico, and which enrich the juridical and political heritage of the continent and enlarge the scope of American public law, to which on so many occasions Argentina herself has made notable contributions.

4. To reiterate the declaration, established at Habana, amplified and invigorated by the Act of Chapultepec, and demonstrated by the association of the American Republics as members of the United Nations, and this Conference holds, that complete solidarity and a common policy among the American States when faced with threats or acts of aggression by any State against an American State are essential for the security and peace of the continent.

5. To declare that the Conference hopes that the Argentine Nation will implement a policy of co-operative action with the other American Nations, so as to identify herself with the common policy which these nations are following, and so

<sup>1</sup> Not printed.

<sup>2</sup> Resolution LIX from the Final Act.

as to orient her own policy so that she may achieve her incorporation into the United Nations as a signatory to the joint declaration entered into by them.

6. To declare that the final act of this Conference shall be open to adherence by the Argen-

tine Nation, always in accordance with the criteria of this resolution, and to authorize His Excellency Dr. Ezequiel Padilla, President of the Conference, to communicate the resolutions of this assembly to the Argentine Government through the channel of the Pan American Union.

### FREE ACCESS TO INFORMATION<sup>1</sup>

#### WHEREAS:

The American Republics have repeatedly expressed their firm desire to assure a peace which will defend and protect the fundamental rights of man everywhere and permit all peoples to live free from the evils of tyranny, oppression, and slavery;

The progress of mankind depends on the supremacy of truth among men;

Truth is the enemy of tyranny, which cannot exist where truth prevails, so that those who would erect tyrannies are constrained to attempt its suppression or to raise barriers against it;

Freedom of expression of thought, oral and written, is an essential condition to the development of an active and vigilant public opinion throughout the world to guard against any attempt at aggression;

One of the most pernicious acts against humanity is the method employed by totalitarian governments in isolating their people from the influence of foreign information, depriving them of access to the truth about international affairs, as well as creating obstacles abroad to an exact knowledge of internal conditions in their countries;

It is one of the fundamental lessons of the present world war that there can be no freedom, peace, or security where men are not assured of free access to the truth through the various media of public information,

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE RECOMMENDS:

1. That the American Republics recognize their essential obligation to guarantee to their people, free and impartial access to sources of information.

2. That, having this guarantee in view, they undertake, upon the conclusion of the war, the earliest possible abandonment of those measures of censorship, and of control over the services of press, motion picture and radio, which have been necessary in war-time to combat the subversive political tactics and espionage activities of the Axis states.

3. That the Governments of the American Republics take measures, individually and in cooperation with one another, to promote a free exchange of information among their peoples.

4. That the American Republics, having accepted the principle of free access to information for all, make every effort to the end that when a juridical order in the world is assured, there may be established the principle of free transmission and reception of information, oral or written, published in books or by the press, broadcast by radio or disseminated by any other means, under proper responsibility and without need of previous censorship, as is the case with private correspondence by letter, telegram, or any other means in time of peace.

### ECONOMIC CHARTER OF THE AMERICAS<sup>2</sup>

The draft resolution of the Economic Charter of the Americas as presented to the Conference by the United States Delegation was printed in the BULLETIN of March 4, 1945, p. 347. Five paragraphs under the "Declaration of Principles" of the Charter as approved by the Conference contain textual changes that modify the draft resolu-

tion. The revised texts of those paragraphs from the provisional English translation of the Final Act are printed below.

<sup>1</sup> Resolution XXVII from the Final Act. The draft resolution on Free Access to Information as presented to the Conference by the United States Delegation was printed in the BULLETIN of Mar. 4, 1945, p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Resolution LI of the Final Act.

## EQUALITY OF ACCESS

2. To cooperate with other nations to bring about through the elimination of existing forms of discrimination and the prevention of new forms, the enjoyment by all nations of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and likewise to declare and accept a reciprocal principle of equal access to the producers' goods which are needed for their industrial and economic development.

## INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL POLICY

3. To attain, as soon as possible, the common aspiration of all the American Republics to find practical international formulae to reduce all barriers detrimental to trade between nations in accordance with the purpose of assuring all peoples of the world high levels of living and the sound development of their economies, and to promote the cooperative action which must be taken in other fields, particularly the stabilization of currencies, and international investment.

## ELIMINATION OF EXCESSES OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

5. To cooperate for the general adoption of a policy of international economic collaboration to eliminate the excesses which may result from economic nationalism, including excessive restriction of imports and the dumping of surpluses of national production in world markets.

## JUST AND EQUITABLE TREATMENT FOR FOREIGN ENTERPRISE AND CAPITAL

6. To act individually, and jointly with each other and with other nations by means of treaties, executive agreements or other arrangements, to assure just and equitable treatment and encouragement for the enterprises, skills and capital brought from one country to another. The American Republics will undertake to afford ample facilities for the free movement and investment of capital giving equal treatment to national and foreign capital, except when the investment of the latter would be contrary to the fundamental principles of public interest.

## PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

8. To promote the system of private enterprise in production which has characterized the economic development of the American Republics, to take appropriate steps to secure the encouragement of private enterprise and to remove as far as possible obstacles which retard or discourage economic growth and development.

## Intergovernmental Committee On Refugees

## APPOINTMENT OF EARL G. HARRISON AS UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE

[Released to the press March 15]

The appointment by President Roosevelt of Earl G. Harrison of Philadelphia to succeed Myron C. Taylor as representative of this Government on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees was announced by the Department of State on March 15. Mr. Taylor represented this Government at the Évian conference in 1938, at which time the Committee was formed, and he served as vice chairman of the Committee until his resignation in May 1944. In the intervening period Ambassador John G. Winant has represented this Government on the Committee.

Earl Harrison, formerly Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization of the Department of Justice, is expected to proceed to London immediately to confer with officials of the Intergovernmental Committee with respect to the Committee's plans to care for the racial, religious, and political refugees who cannot return to their homes. The caring for and repatriation of displaced persons who can be repatriated to their homes is one of UNRRA's functions. Increasing numbers of racial, religious, and political refugees are now being liberated by the Allied armies, and the number to be cared for by the Committee may eventually exceed one million.

The membership of the Intergovernmental Committee now includes 36 governments. The representatives of Brazil, Canada, the Czechoslovak Republic, France, Great Britain, Mexico, the Netherlands, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States of America constitute an enlarged executive committee.



# English Is Also a Foreign Language

By

HARRY H. PIERSON<sup>1</sup>

TODAY we find ourselves members of a Nation which, because of its dynamic position in world affairs and its influence on the shape of events to come, is exerting a magnetic attraction on political and social developments in other countries. This influence is felt in the most remote classrooms of the farthest corners of the globe where, we learn, the study of English is becoming a matter of daily importance. In almost every country of the world, even in those now at war with us, English is either required or preferred as a second language.

It is not difficult to understand the dynamics of language if we consider the rapidly growing interest in Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese which is characteristic of language study in this country today. Even the difficulties of Chinese have not deterred a small but hardy band of people from undertaking the study of that language. It is quite apparent that the acceptance by the American people of the good-neighbor policy and all it means has had a direct reflection in the growth of Spanish and Portuguese classes in the United States. It is also readily discernible that the arrival of the Soviet Union at its present place in world affairs is the immediate cause for the many classes in Russian which are burgeoning in various parts of the country.

This growing interest in foreign languages is a healthy sign and a happy omen for our future international relations. The active study of languages now going on in this country is the result of a desire, conscious or unconscious, on our part to learn about our neighbors and close associates and to find out what makes them tick—in short, to understand them better so that we may insure future peace for ourselves.

In the smaller European countries the study of English at the outbreak of war had reached surprising proportions. In 1934 English was made the first foreign language of the Latvian schools,

although Russia and Germany were Latvia's neighbors. English, prior to the war, was taught in all the schools of Yugoslavia.<sup>2</sup>

The Swedish Royal Commission has recommended the universal adoption of English study, rather than German, for Swedish children. The Norwegians, who need a second language for their merchant marine, chose English for their schools.

The Near East presents a similar picture. At the eastern end of the Mediterranean our Government has an invaluable cultural asset in the group of six American colleges founded in the last century by religious groups. These colleges are no longer denominational, but they still draw some support from the Near East College Association in New York. The prestige of their English studies in Egypt, Syria, and Turkey has been as continuing a stimulus to the study of English in those countries as it was in Bulgaria and Greece before the colleges in those countries were closed by German occupation.

In the Far East a group of American Christian colleges in China and Japan have been, for more than half a century, a major influence for the study of English. English has been the first foreign language of both China and Japan. It was recently reported that eight out of ten members of the Chinese National Cabinet speak English.

If we but open our southern door toward our neighbors, our sister republics of the hemisphere, we shall hear the buzz of English study rising in volume in those countries, where, in many cases, it is already a second language by law or by preference.

Yes, English is also a foreign language. It is a language which has caught the imagination of millions of people in non-English-speaking countries throughout the world.

## II

One thing which characterizes American cultural exchanges with other countries is the friendly spirit of give-and-take. If we speak of the study of English abroad we must think at the same time

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pierson is Head of the Student and Training Section, American Republics Branch, Division of Cultural Cooperation, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State.

<sup>2</sup> See "International Languages for One World", address by Haldore Hanson, BULLETIN of Dec. 4, 1943, p. 395.

of ways to promote international understanding through the study of foreign languages in this country. This method is not a one-way street down which we hope to drive to a peaceful world. It is a two-way street with several lanes of traffic moving in each direction.

English teachers in the United States have a very special opportunity to bring to their students a broader understanding of their place in the world by encouraging them to undertake the study of an important foreign language. The study of a foreign language also gives a better understanding and appreciation of our own language. What other languages students will take will depend on numerous factors, among which is the possibility of working, studying, or teaching abroad. The languages they wish to study will emerge on their own merits, each serving a commercial, political, or scholarly need. The remark that the sun never sets on the Russian language also applies to the English language. Spanish, spoken over most of one continent, has a great literacy tradition and a growing commercial value. Portuguese is the language of our great ally, Brazil, with whom we are destined to have ever closer political, commercial, and cultural relations. The Asiatic languages will require greater attention. Chinese is spoken by more people than is any other living tongue, yet in the United States, excluding those of Chinese origin, there are not ten persons in a million who can speak or read Chinese. The Arabic language, though spoken by only an estimated 30 million persons, is the language of Islam and is one of the truly international, interracial, and intercontinental tongues. Those who speak Arabic are scattered over North Africa and western Asia to the borders of China. Other candidates might be suggested, but all of these languages are likely to be of growing importance in international relations.

### III

If English is to be taught abroad it is to our interest that it be taught correctly. The question is not whether English should be taught as British English or American English or whether as Boston English, Wisconsin English, or Texas English. Nor should it be confined to Basic English or to any other method. It should be *good* English. We are still only on the threshold of our efforts to devise adequate systems of teaching

English to members of other language groups. We have recognized that there are many approaches to the problem. We have seen that each language group has its own problems in learning English, that some of these problems are common to several language groups, but that generally it may be said that each group finds peculiar difficulties of its own in phonetics, phonemics, syntax, and grammar. Dr. Charles C. Fries, Director of the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan, has stated that persons of Spanish speech have difficulty in distinguishing meaning between words such as *mit* and *meat*, *pen* and *pan*, because variation in vowel sounds is not used in Spanish to differentiate meanings. On the other hand, a Brazilian will be amazed that his Spanish cousins should have this difficulty, since he is more accustomed to the varying vowel shadings. German speakers will probably not have so much difficulty with the placement of adjectives as Romance-language speakers, but on the other hand they may have more difficulty in the placement of verbs in the sentence.

Much of the scientific research carried on today in the field of English as a foreign language is devoted to the discovery, analysis, and classification of those language difficulties. On the basis of those studies, it can be observed readily that scientifically sound textbooks can be constructed to meet the specific needs of the different language groups in learning English by concentrating attention on the most difficult learning problems for each group. Classroom techniques may be devised also to facilitate teaching. One of the interesting developments familiar to teachers of speech is the use of the recording machine for reading or impromptu exercises at various stages in the learning process, permitting a careful analysis of individual difficulties and an interesting comparison of progress.

Other methods under trial include standardized minimum vocabularies based on word-count or on utility factors or on a combination of those methods.

In any event we are only beginning to get at this problem of English as a foreign language. The efforts are highly encouraging: First, we are recognizing the problem and we are doing something about it; second, we are using various approaches to the problem and we are open-minded in our search for the best methods.

## IV

Our most active laboratory for the development of methods of teaching English as a foreign language is found in the centers for teaching English in the other American republics and in the centers for their students in this country. Before discussing the various methods which have been developed by private and public agencies, it would be useful to name some of the agencies which have a share in this program.

The Government agencies are:

(1) The United States Office of Education, which is particularly interested in language teaching in this country and has given special attention to the correlation of teaching of English as a foreign language in universities and other centers.

(2) The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, which is particularly interested in English teaching in the public-school systems and normal schools of the other American republics and in the use of films and radio as means of teaching English.

(3) The Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State, which promotes English teaching in cultural institutes, libraries, and American schools in the other American republics and assists in providing visiting professors of English and of American literature and culture to Latin American universities.

The private agencies are:

(1) The Rockefeller Foundation, which has assisted the scientific study of English as a foreign language in this country.

(2) The American Council of Learned Societies, which has been effective in coordinating linguistic research in this country, including research in the problems of learning English.

(3) A number of universities which have established special centers for research in English as a foreign language and for the actual teaching of English under controlled conditions to students from the other American republics.

(4) Special centers, which are not connected with universities, for the teaching of English to Latin Americans.

It will be noted that the agencies which actively engage in *research* in English as a foreign language are the universities which have financed the research with their own or foundation funds.

Such research is coordinated by the American Council of Learned Societies, and the *application of methods* developed by research is a matter of concern to the United States Office of Education, which fulfils a coordinating function in this respect. The actual teaching of English to Latin Americans is carried on in various ways, is participated in by universities and special centers in this country, and is assisted abroad by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and by the Department of State.

## V

Much of the work in English teaching is directed to the Latin Americans who come to this country to study. To become acquainted with two of these students we might run our finger mentally over a map of Latin America and let it rest on the capital of almost any Spanish-American country in that area. Enlarging the map in motion-picture fashion, we soon find ourselves in a beautiful city of Spanish-colonial buildings. In this city live José and María, two children who come from different family backgrounds. José goes to the public schools; María, whose family is a little better off and is compelled to maintain a certain social position, attends the local independent American school. Both have begun to formulate their ideas on the careers they will follow, and through the influence of parents or friends they have half-formed notions of studying eventually in the United States. José thinks he wants to be a doctor; María is interested in helping her people through improvement of their nutrition.

José has classes in English several times a week in the public secondary school. His teacher, one of his own people, has recently returned from a four months' trip to the United States which was made at the invitation of the United States Government. While in the United States the teacher's salary was continued by her own Government so that in her absence her family would have means of support.

José's teacher uses her thrilling experiences in the land of "Tio Sam" in her teaching to illustrate the points she desires to emphasize. She tells her students of her visits to New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other great cities, but she is particularly emotional about Lexington and Concord, Valley Forge, the Lincoln Memorial, Mount Ver-

non—places so closely identified with the great moments and great lives in our history. She speaks of the month or six weeks spent in actual classroom work at an American university, studying the latest methods of teaching English as a foreign language, reviewing phonetics and grammar, and receiving intensive instruction in American history, literature, and social background. Occasionally she looks back to the month she visited the Spanish and Portuguese classes in a city high school and talked to the students and exchanged views on many subjects of mutual interest with the teachers. She reminisces about the Latin-American-history classes where in her own words she made the history of *her* country come to life and pass in review before the minds of the children, and about the literature classes where she spoke of the great writers and poets who had won laurels in her homeland. She recalls the parent-teacher-association meetings and the talks to women's clubs and special study-groups; she remembers the busy time she had and the many people she met whose friendship she will cherish for years to come. José's teacher was able to do all this because the United States Office of Education, which has contact with state and city school systems throughout the country, arranged the program for her.

Now the teacher has returned to her home country and is teaching José and his friends. She finds that while she was in the United States learning new teaching methods her Government had printed new texts for the teaching of English which were developed locally with the collaboration of an English-language specialist lent by the Inter-American Educational Foundation, an agency of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. She expects soon to be using teaching films to supplement these texts and her own personal experiences.

The American School, where María studies, was established by a group of local nationals and American citizens and is managed by an independent board of directors. It is a day school, held in rented quarters until the time when it will have a building of its own. The principal is an American citizen, but most of the teachers are well-trained nationals of the country. María is studying English under the guidance of an experienced American teacher who recently arrived from the United States. María is very fond of this teacher, who speaks Spanish perhaps not so well as María speaks

it, but well enough to explain in Spanish difficult points in English grammar. María does not realize it, but it is a matter of great importance that this teacher should have prepared herself especially for this type of work by learning Spanish and by taking special work in the teaching of English to Spanish-speaking persons at a great American university. With the assistance of the United States Government through a grant to the school, María is able to have this well-prepared teacher.

How did María's teacher know about this position? After that teacher had prepared herself to teach English as a foreign language, she filed an application in a central pool of candidates maintained by the Division of Inter-American Educational Relations of the United States Office of Education. From this pool her application was sent to the Inter-American Schools Service at the American Council on Education, an organization which devotes itself exclusively to rendering advice and assistance to American schools in the other American republics. The Inter-American Schools Service had been requested by the principal of María's school to recommend an English teacher. This teacher was chosen from the panel drawn up by the Office of Education. Now she is teaching English in María's school and is gaining valuable experience in a foreign land which will mean much to her when she returns to the United States to teach Spanish probably in one of our high schools or colleges.

## VI

After a few years, José and María enroll in the university, each pursuing special studies leading to a degree. They have not lost their desire to study in the United States. On the contrary, this wish has now assumed more concrete shape. In order to get the most out of their education in the United States they must obtain their degrees in the local university, work a year or two, and then plan to study in the United States. In the meantime they keep their English from getting too rusty and learn more about the United States by attending the classes of a visiting professor from an American university who has been invited by the local university to spend a year lecturing and conducting seminars on English and American language and literature. The professor is a distinguished representative of United States scholarship who is able to interpret his subject to his

students in terms they understand even though they come from a different national background. His classroom and seminar methods first surprise and then delight José and María, who are accustomed to straight lectures with little or no discussion. What amazes them most is the way the professor puts them at ease and encourages free discussion and the interplay of ideas on a man-to-man basis.

## VII

These two young people have now been graduated and are working at their chosen fields to gain experience and, especially, to learn at first hand the professional problems with which they must contend. They both hope to find the solution to some of these problems by postgraduate study in the United States. But first they must obtain a fellowship for such study—and that is not an easy matter. Ten times as many students apply as are finally accepted. José and María visit the cultural-relations attaché at the American Embassy to learn what qualifications are needed to apply for a fellowship. They find that high scholarship, good personality, adaptability, a satisfactory knowledge of both written and spoken English, and a field of work which needs development in the home country are the requirements. Since their English unfortunately is rusty, José and María feel they cannot pass the test without strenuous review. Facilities for a brush-up in English are available locally. The cultural-relations attaché reminds José and María that the American Cultural Institute has classes in English at several levels where each week after work they can spend a few hours reviewing and strengthening their English. In a matter of days they are given a placement test and are enrolled in the proper class under the supervision of an American language teacher sent to the Institute by the Department of State.

One day the teacher announces that classes will be suspended for several weeks in order to give the students a vacation from English. But the teacher gets no vacation! The director of the Cultural Institute has organized a vacation course for local teachers in methods of teaching English. He is astounded at the large advance enrolment, which means double duty for every teacher on the staff. These vacation classes are such as have never before been seen in the city. Teachers from

the national schools sit side by side with nuns from the Sacred Heart Convent; and Christian Brothers study with teachers from private secular schools. So great is the interest in reviewing English and in learning the most up-to-date methods that the participants in the course spontaneously form an association of English teachers to promote the interests of their profession and to improve their teaching. Two of the most outstanding members of the vacation classes are invited to take an additional training course in the United States under the auspices of the United States Office of Education and the Department of State.

## VIII

Finally, the applications of José and María are approved by the local Fellowship and Scholarship Selection Committee and are referred to the Institute of International Education. The fellowships are awarded. Since José's family hasn't the means to pay for his travel to the United States he has been awarded a travel grant by the Department of State. He receives also a supplementary maintenance grant to bring up to a predetermined level the maintenance grant he is to receive from the university where he is to study. Since María's family is able to pay her travel and half of her living expenses, her fellowship includes only tuition and half-maintenance. Under the regulations governing the fellowship program, José and María take their final work in English to prepare themselves for full participation in American university life. They are assigned to an English Language Institute at a prominent university in the United States where for two months they study English as spoken in the United States and attend classes in other subjects designed to ease the shock of being thrown suddenly into a new type of existence. Now José and María are ready to enter the American classroom on an equal footing with their American classmates, to understand the lectures, and to take part in class discussions and seminars. They are able to speak to an American audience without fear of being misunderstood.

This is the process that is going on in the hemisphere today. Little José's and María's are studying English in the grade schools and big José's and María's are taking orientation courses and are preparing to enter our universities and colleges. Yes, English is also a foreign language, the teaching of which is engaging the minds and

the energies of hundreds of people throughout the world.

## IX

How does all this affect the English teacher in this country? The answer can be given in terms of manpower, in terms of professional relations, and in terms of reciprocal understanding among nations.

There is a fairly steady turn-over in English-teaching positions in Latin America, for which the United States Office of Education wishes to have on hand a fresh supply of applications from qualified teachers in the United States. Knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese is important but probably not essential in all cases. For English teachers interested in the linguistic aspect of our language and for Romance-language teachers who wish to have a year or two in Latin America living among the people and practicing a second language, these positions present interesting opportunities for foreign service. The cultural institutes in Latin America and the centers in this country also need well-trained personnel to handle English teaching for adult groups.

There is something that the English-teaching profession as a whole can do through its organized efforts. The newly formed association of English teachers mentioned in the story of José and María is an example of teacher organization in one of the Latin American countries. It is suggested that state English-teacher associations in this country establish relations with similar teacher associations in Latin America and provide for a continual interchange of publications and visits which can be handled with little or no government assistance. The value of this type of relations cannot be stressed too much. It's "talking shop" over long distances; it's sharing a common interest; yes, it's creating about that common interest an *esprit de corps* which can mean so much in establishing real morale among English teachers both north and south of the Rio Grande.

Saroyan exemplifies the idea of the cohesive effect of common interests in a most entertaining fashion in one episode of *The Human Comedy*. You will recall the scene. The two boys, Lionel, the not-so-bright boy, and Ulysses, are in the public library, and the librarian has just admitted to Lionel that there's no law against looking at the outside of books. Then—

"She looked at Ulysses, 'And who's this?' she said.

"'This here's Ulysses', Lionel said. 'He can't read.'

"'Can you?' the librarian said to Lionel.

"'No', Lionel said, 'but he can't either. That's why we're friends. He's the only other man I know who can't read.'"

These two boys have one thing in common—perhaps a negative community of interest, but one which binds them in friendship.

The challenge of creating a better and more understanding world is always with us. In fact, its need is perhaps felt more in time of war than in time of peace. If everyone in the world spoke English, the universal panacea would not necessarily have been found. Language is merely a tool which we can use wisely to help build the house of international understanding. But we are not building alone; others share the job, and they have their own language tools. Language teachers—meaning *language* in its broadest sense—can teach the world to use the other fellow's tools, without which the house of understanding cannot be built.

## Surveys To Be Made at American Embassies and Consulates

### ANNOUNCEMENT OF MEMBERS OF GROUPS AND ITINERARIES

[Released to the press March 12]

The Secretary of State released on March 12 the names of the members, as well as the itineraries, of the three teams of experts, which, as was announced on March 3,<sup>1</sup> are being sent abroad to make surveys of United States embassies and consulates for the purpose of recommending measures to increase their effectiveness.

#### GROUP I: SOUTH AMERICA

##### *Itinerary*

Kingston, Cali, Guayaquil, Lima, La Paz, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belém, Paramaribo, Georgetown, Port-of-Spain.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 4, 1945, p. 387.

### Members

Alfred N. Wiley, of Huntington, Long Island, management engineer; member of the staff of Stevenson, Jordon, and Harrison, Inc., of New York; graduated from Colgate University 1929; formerly associated with the New York Telephone Company and the Chase National Bank in managerial, organizational and research capacities; more recently associated with Eastern Air Lines.

Walter H. C. Laves, of Chicago; administrative consultant, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President (on wartime leave from the University of Chicago); former director, Harris Foundation Institute on Inter-American Solidarity, and director, United States Division, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; more recently professor of political science, University of Chicago, and chairman of social sciences in the College. Member: Executive Council, American Political Science Association, and Board of Editors, *American Political Science Review*.

Richard P. Butrick, of Lockport, New York, a Foreign Service officer since 1921; recently counselor of embassy at Chungking and counselor for economic affairs at the American Embassy in Santiago, Chile; a Foreign Service inspector since May 1944.

### GROUP II: AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

#### Itinerary

Dakar, Monrovia, Léopoldville, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Aden, Calcutta, New Delhi, Baghdad, Damascus.

#### Members

Jacob Halle Schaffner of Bedford Hills, New York; business consultant, 5 East 57th Street, New York; Harvard, A.B. 1917; director of Hart, Schaffner, and Marx, Chicago, and several mining companies; onetime member of British Admiralty Delegation in the United States; presently director of Northern European Division, Liberated Areas Branch, Foreign Economic Administration. Member: Council on Foreign Relations; American Economic Association; Board of Overseers of New School for Social Research; and Committee for Research on Medical Economics, New York.

Winthrop M. Southworth, Jr., of Needham, Massachusetts; budget examiner, International Section, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President; graduated from Brown University; formerly senior member of Raymond Rich Associates, New York, consultants for organizations operating in the public interest.

William Earl DeCourey, of Amarillo, Texas, a Foreign Service officer since 1923; Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Administration 1940-43; a Foreign Service inspector since August 1944.

### GROUP III: EUROPE

#### Itinerary

Glasgow, London, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Marseille, Rome, Naples, Tangier, London.

#### Members

Ethelbert Warfield, of New York; member of the law firm of Satterlee & Warfield; former adviser to the Metals Reserve Corporation (RFC); chairman of the Board of the Tin Processing Corporation.

Donald C. Stone, of Cleveland, Ohio; assistant director in charge of administrative management, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President; formerly: director of research, International City Managers' Association, Chicago; executive director, American Society of Municipal Engineers, and the International Association of Public Works Officials, Chicago; Special Assistant to the WPA Administrator; executive director, Public Administration Service, Chicago. Member: American Political Science Association; Social Science Research Council; American Society for Public Administration. Author: *The Management of Municipal Public Works; Municipal Practices in European Cities; Administrative Aspects of World Organization; Federal Administrative Management; Notes on the Governmental Executive: His Role and His Methods; Uniform Crime Reporting*.

H. Merle Cochran, of Tucson, Arizona; entered the Foreign Service in 1914; covered financial matters in Europe for the Treasury Department 1930-39; attended international financial conferences at Basel, Geneva, and London and assisted in negotiation of Tri-Partite Monetary Accord in 1936; Technical Assistant to the Secretary of

the Treasury 1939-41; on a special mission to China for the Treasury Department in 1941; on a special mission to Argentina for the Department of State in 1942; a Foreign Service inspector since December 1942.

As was previously announced, the several groups will depart from the United States during the first half of March and will be gone approximately two months. They will submit their reports and recommendations to the Secretary of State upon their return.

It is possible that the following may join the teams at a subsequent date: South American group—Arthur S. Flemming, Commissioner of the United States Civil Service Commission; Africa, Middle East Group—Harry A. McBride, Administrator of the National Gallery of Art, Washington; European Group—the Honorable Wilson Wyatt, Mayor of Louisville, Kentucky.

## Musician Accepts Visiting Professorship to Chile

[Released to the press March 15]

David Van Vactor, assistant conductor of the Kansas Philharmonic Orchestra at Kansas City, is leaving for Santiago, Chile, this month to accept a seven months' visiting professorship of music at the University of Chile. At the invitation of the eminent Chilean musician, Domingo Santa Cruz, Mr. Van Vactor will also be guest conductor of the orchestra in Santiago. He will conduct representative works by contemporary composers of the United States, including Roy Harris' *American Credo*, Aaron Copland's *Rodeo*, and Paul Hindemith's *Metamorphosis*, and also compositions by such eminent musicians from the other American republics as Chávez of Mexico, Villa-Lobos and Guarnieri of Brazil, and Santa Cruz himself.

This is the second visit to Chile of Mr. Van Vactor, who in 1941 played, lectured, and conducted as one of a group of five musicians touring Central and South America under joint auspices of the American League of Composers and the Department of State.

After graduation from Northwestern University and study at Vienna and Paris, Mr. Van Vactor entered the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. He

made his debut as conductor when he directed his own composition, *Passacaglia and Fugue*, with that orchestra at the Century of Progress Exposition in 1934. In 1935 his *Masque of the Red Death* received honorable mention in the Swift competition, and in 1938 his *Symphony in D* won the New York Philharmonic \$1,000 prize.

Mr. Van Vactor has taught composition at Northwestern University and has conducted the Chicago Civic and Symphony Orchestras, as well as an orchestra at Evanston which he organized under the auspices of Northwestern University.

In addition to his activities as conductor, he has continued composing works that have received increasing recognition. In 1941 his *Quintet for Flute and Strings* won the award of the Society for the Publication of American Music, and his *Overture to a Comedy No. 2* received the Juilliard publication prize in 1942. Commissioned in 1943 to write a symphonic suite depicting the character of the United States Marine Corps, he composed *Music for the Marines*.

Mr. Van Vactor is making his present trip under the joint auspices of the University of Chile and the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State.

## Agricultural Workers

### *Bahamas*

The American Vice Consul and the British Colonial Secretary, by an exchange of notes signed at Nassau February 8 and 13, 1945, approved a memorandum of understanding signed by representatives of the War Food Administration and the Colonial Secretary amending an agreement of March 16, 1943 regarding employment of Bahaman agricultural workers in the United States. The agreement is effective from January 1, 1945.

### *Jamaica*

The American Consul and the Acting Colonial Secretary, by an exchange of notes signed at Kingston November 24, 1944 and February 26, 1945, approved a memorandum of understanding signed by representatives of the War Food Administration and the Jamaican Government regarding employment of Jamaican agricultural workers in the United States. The agreement is effective as of October 7, 1944.



## John L. Savage Returns From China

[Released to the press March 12]

John L. Savage, Chief Designing Engineer, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, who has been in China under the cultural-cooperation program of the Department of State, has recently returned to the United States. For many years Mr. Savage has been in charge of all civil, mechanical, and electrical engineering designing of the Bureau of Reclamation, including the designing of Boulder, Grand Coulee, Imperial, and many other dams. At various times Mr. Savage has been consulting engineer on temporary detail from the Bureau of Reclamation in Puerto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Honolulu, Australia, and Mexico. He has also served as consultant with the TVA.

Mr. Savage, on his way to China, visited Afghanistan and India. At the invitation of the Government of India he surveyed Indian dam sites and made an extensive report. He likewise visited Palestine on his return journey. He spent several months in China as adviser to the National Resources Commission of the Chinese Government. In China he made extensive investigations of flood-control, irrigation, navigation, and hydroelectric-power projects and outlined projects for large constructions which the Chinese Government is planning to put into effect in the near future. It is believed that these projects would, if carried out, decrease floods, increase food production, improve navigation facilities, and make possible through the development of hydroelectric power the greatly needed industrialization of China.

## UNRRA Agreement

### Bolivia

The Bolivian Ambassador transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a note dated March 12, 1945, the instrument of ratification by the President of Bolivia of the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration signed at Washington November 9, 1943.<sup>1</sup> The instrument of ratification, which was dated January 10, 1945, was deposited in the archives of the Department of State on March 13, 1945.

The instrument of ratification quotes, along with a translation of the UNRRA agreement, the text of the understanding between officials of the Bolivian Government and UNRRA regarding Bolivia's contribution to UNRRA, which was protocolized and signed at Bogotá as a final act on November 16, 1944.

The UNRRA agreement and the final act were approved by a law enacted by the Bolivian National Convention on December 28, 1944.

## Health and Sanitation

### Ecuador

In an exchange of notes signed at Quito December 23, 1944 and January 15, 1945 the Governments of the United States and Ecuador agreed to extend for three years the agreement regarding a cooperative public health and sanitation program signed February 24, 1942.<sup>2</sup> Under the terms of the new agreement, the United States and Ecuador will each contribute \$200,000. The contribution by the United States will be made through the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, an agency of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Provision is made for the gradual assumption of the various cooperative health projects by the Ecuadoran Government.

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BLAISDELL—Continued from page 440

American agencies whom you represent, or which are under your direction and supervision.

You will also represent the United States on the London Combined Shipping Adjustment Board, the London Committee of the Combined Production and Resources Board, and other combined boards or committees in London on which Mr. Harriman and Mr. Reed previously sat. It is understood, of course, that you will keep the Ambassador advised on these matters.

Your mission will continue to be financed in the same way that the Harriman and Reed Mission were financed.

Very truly yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

<sup>1</sup> Executive Agreement Series 352.

<sup>2</sup> Executive Agreement Series 379.

## THE DEPARTMENT

### Transfer of the Secretariat for the "Inter-Agency Economic Digest"

*Purpose.* This order is issued to coordinate the economic-information work in the Department.

*Background.* Administrative Instruction—General Administration 7 of October 2, 1944<sup>2</sup> located the Secretariat for the "Inter-Agency Economic Digest" in the Office of the Foreign Service, in accordance with Departmental Order of February 23, 1944 placing the Information Service Committee in that Office. The desirability of associating the editing of the "Inter-Agency Economic Digest" with other economic-information work, under the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs in accordance with the provisions of Departmental Order 1301 of December 20, 1944,<sup>3</sup> is now apparent.

1 *Transfer of the Secretariat.* The Secretariat for the "Inter-Agency Economic Digest" is hereby transferred from the Office of the Foreign Service to the office of the Assistant Secretary for economic affairs.

2 *Orders amended.* Administrative Instruction—General Administration 7 of October 2, 1944, and Departmental Order 1301 of December 20, 1944, are accordingly amended.

E. R. STETTINIUS, Jr.

### Office of International Trade Policy<sup>4</sup>

*Title; and Responsibility of the War Areas Economic Division*

*Purpose.* The purpose of this order is to rename the Office of Economic Affairs and describe the functions of the War Areas Economic Division.

*Background.* On January 26, 1945, Departmental Order 1306<sup>5</sup> was issued abolishing the Office of Economic Affairs and temporarily assigning

<sup>1</sup> Departmental Order 1313, dated Mar. 14, 1945, effective Mar. 16, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 15, 1944, p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 17, 1944, Supplement, p. 796.

<sup>4</sup> Departmental Order 1312, dated Mar. 9, 1945, effective Mar. 1, 1945.

<sup>5</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 4, 1945, p. 175.

certain divisions to the new Office of Commercial Policy. In developing further the concept of that Office, its duties will be more accurately described by the title substituted below. It also is desirable to redefine the responsibilities of the War Areas Economic Division.

1. *Change in Title of the Office.* Departmental Order 1306 is hereby amended so that the name of the new Office created in that Order is Office of International Trade Policy rather than Office of Commercial Policy. This title is effective the same date as the abolition of the Office of Economic Affairs, i. e., January 26, 1945. The routing symbol of the Office of International Trade Policy shall be ITP.

2. *Functions of the War Areas Economic Division.* (a) The War Areas Economic Division shall be responsible, so far as the Department is concerned, for coordination of policy and action in wartime economic matters pertaining to all the European and Middle and Far Eastern countries and their colonial possessions, wherever located, except Japan, Germany, Austria, the British Commonwealth, and Russia. This includes:

(1) All supply and requirement programs, including those for lend-lease programs and industrial and agricultural rehabilitation and reconstruction programs.

(2) Economic blockade of enemy and enemy occupied territories.

(b) In handling the matters with which the Division is concerned, it shall:

(1) Take the lead in insuring that there is established and maintained a unified wartime economic policy for each country or area for which the Division is responsible.

(2) Constitute, within the scope of its responsibilities, the normal and formal liaison on behalf of the Department with the Bureau of Areas of the Foreign Economic Administration, the appropriate supply branches of the War and Navy Departments and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

(3) Represent the Department on the Liberated Areas Committees, the forum in which the various United States civilian agencies formulate coordinated policies on all economic problems which

may arise in liberated areas, and which are of appropriate concern to those agencies during the military and immediate post-military periods.

(c) In carrying out these responsibilities, the Division shall work in close collaboration with the appropriate geographic and other economic divisions, particularly the War Supply and Resources Division, the Division of Commercial Policy, the Division of Lend-Lease and Surplus War Property Affairs, the Division of Foreign Economic Development, the Division of Economic Security Controls, and the Division of Financial Affairs.

(d) The routing symbol of the Division shall continue to be LA.

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State*

## Office of Financial and Development Policy<sup>1</sup>

*Purpose.* The purpose of this order is to prescribe the responsibilities and divisional structure of the Office of Financial and Development Policy.

*Background.* On January 26, 1945, by Departmental Order 1306, the Office of Financial and Development Policy was established as a first step in the reorganization of the economic work under the Assistant Secretary for economic affairs. The next step in this reorganizing process is clarification of the several divisions of the Office and description of their respective responsibilities.

1 *Responsibility of the Office.* The Office of Financial and Development Policy shall be responsible, as set forth in Departmental Order 1306, for initiation, formulation, and coordination of policy and action by the Department of State for international financial and economic development affairs, and related emergency property and financial controls.

2 *Abolition of the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs and the Division of World Trade Intelligence.* The Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs and the Division of World Trade Intelligence are hereby abolished; their functions shall be performed hereafter by the divisions of the Office of Financial and Development Policy in accordance with the functional responsibilities contained in this order. The personnel, records,

and equipment shall be transferred among the newly established divisions of the Office of Financial and Development Policy as the Director of that Office shall determine.

3 *Division of Financial Affairs.* (a) There is hereby established in the Office of Financial and Development Policy a Division of Financial Affairs, which shall have responsibility, so far as the Office is concerned, for initiation, formulation, and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to:

(1) General international financial and monetary policy.

(2) International financial and monetary agreements, institutions, and arrangements.

(3) Reparations and the financial aspects of terms of surrender and peace treaties. This function shall be performed in close cooperation with appropriate geographic offices, as well as other offices and divisions of the Department whose work involves reparations matters.

(4) Assets in the United States belonging to foreign governments and central banks, including certifications under section 25 (b) of the Federal Reserve Act with regard to the authority of designated persons to dispose of such assets, and the application of Executive Order S389, as amended, to such assets.

(5) Financial problems of countries liberated from enemy occupation, including rehabilitation of currencies, establishment of exchange rates, and restoration of banking, credit, and fiscal systems.

(6) Foreign exchange and foreign exchange control problems.

(7) Dollar-bond settlements and servicing of dollar bonds, including the application of Executive Order S389, as amended, to such matters.

(8) International stabilization and short-term credits, and the issue of foreign securities in the United States.

(9) International double taxation problems and agreements.

(b) In carrying out these responsibilities, the Division shall work in close collaboration with the appropriate geographic and other economic divisions, particularly the War Areas Economic Division and the Division of Commercial Policy, Office of International Trade Policy.

<sup>1</sup> Departmental Order 1311, dated Mar. 9, 1945, effective Mar. 1, 1945.

(c) The Division shall maintain liaison within the scope of its responsibilities with appropriate Federal agencies, particularly the Treasury Department, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Department of Commerce, the Securities Exchange Commission, and the War and Navy Departments.

(d) The routing symbol of the Division shall be FN.

*4 Division of Foreign Economic Development.*

(a) There is hereby established in the Office of Financial and Development Policy the Division of Foreign Economic Development, which shall have the responsibility, so far as the Office is concerned, for the initiation, formulation, and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to:

(1) General investment, loan, and foreign economic development policy.

(2) International agreements, arrangements, or institutions for economic development in other countries.

(3) Public and private foreign loans and investments, other than short term credits or for purposes of monetary stabilization.

(4) Promotion of foreign investment and protection of the interests of American investors in foreign countries.

(5) Industrialization and development projects and programs, including requirements for long range development projects. The Division shall, in consultation with the proper geographic Office or Division:

(i) formulate the position which the Department shall take on specific industrial and development projects and programs under consideration by the Foreign Economic Administration and the War Production Board;

(ii) formulate the position which the Department shall take on the foreign investment policy of public lending institutions of the United States or other countries and on the extension of particular loans or credits by such institutions.

(6) Projects and programs for reconstruction and rehabilitation of industry and agriculture in liberated areas.

(7) Industrial and economic developmental aspects of terms of surrender, of peace treaties, and of general security.

(8) Policies and actions of any general international organization or its agencies, so far as these pertain to industrial or agricultural development or reconstruction, or to industrial or developmental aspects of general security.

(b) In carrying out these responsibilities, the Division shall work in close collaboration with the appropriate geographic and other economic divisions, particularly the Commodities Division, the War Areas Economic Division and the Division of Commercial Policy, Office of International Trade Policy, and the Division of Financial Affairs and Division of Lend-Lease and Surplus War Property Affairs, Office of Financial and Development Policy.

(c) The Division shall, within the scope of its responsibilities, maintain liaison with other appropriate agencies and departments, particularly the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture, the Treasury Department, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the Securities and Exchange Commission. It shall have primary liaison with the Export-Import Bank and other public lending institutions.

(d) The routing symbol of the Division shall be ED.

*5 Division of Economic Security Controls.* (a) There is hereby established in the Office of Financial and Development Policy the Division of Economic Security Controls, which shall have responsibility, so far as the Office is concerned, for the initiation, formulation, and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to:

(1) United States controls over foreign funds or properties, including the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals and related lists, the Trading with the Enemy Act as amended (50 U. S. C. App. I 1), and the executive orders issued thereunder, except with respect to assets of foreign governments or central banks or servicing or settlements affecting dollar bonds. On matters involving general financial policy, the Division shall consult the Division of Financial Affairs.

(2) The administration, continuation, modification, or withdrawal of export controls applicable to specified consignees.

(3) The control and disposition of enemy property in the United States and in other countries.

(4) Measures to prevent the concealment of enemy assets and the flight of enemy capital, and the collection, evaluation, and organization of data relating to foreign holdings of enemy or ex-enemy nationals and to looted property.

(5) Restitution of looted property, in consultation with the Division of Financial Affairs.

(6) Property controls in enemy and ex-enemy countries, including the removal of controls over the property of United States nationals in ex-enemy countries.

(7) Measures for the protection or restoration of patent, copyright, or similar rights affected by the existence of war.

(8) Application of those recommendations of the Inter-American Conference on Systems of Economic and Financial Control based on Resolution V of the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, including the administration of financial and economic controls established thereunder and the replacement of Axis concerns.

(9) The collection, evaluation, and organization of biographic data.

(b) In carrying out its responsibilities, the Division shall work in close collaboration with the appropriate geographic and other economic divisions, particularly the Division of Financial Affairs, the Commodities Division and the War Areas Economic Division of the Office of International Trade Policy.

(c) Within the scope of its responsibilities, the Division shall maintain liaison with the War Department, the Treasury Department, the Department of Justice, the Foreign Economic Administration, the Office of Alien Property Custodian, all departments and agencies represented on the Interdepartmental Proclaimed List Committee, and such other departments or agencies as may be concerned.

(d) The routing symbol of the Division of Economic Security Controls shall be ES.

*6 Division of Lend-Lease and Surplus War Property Affairs.* (a) There is hereby established in the Office of Financial and Development Policy the Division of Lend-Lease and Surplus War

Property Affairs, which shall have responsibility, so far as the Office is concerned, for the initiation, formulation, and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to:

(1) Lend-Lease, including the initiation of policy proposals and the negotiation of lend-lease agreements and settlements. These functions shall be performed in close cooperation with the appropriate geographic offices, as well as with other interested offices and divisions of the Department, particularly the War Areas Economic Division and the Division of Commercial Policy.

(2) Foreign policy aspects involved in disposal abroad of surplus war property and the development of policy proposals for the consideration of officials of the Department concerned with particular kinds of property. The Division shall keep itself informed of the existence and nature, as well as the adequacy of data kept by other offices, divisions, and agencies, but it shall not duplicate the collection of such data. The term "property" includes facilities and installations, as well as supplies and equipment.

(3) The interest of the Department in the data to be assembled by the Clearing Office for Foreign Transactions and Reports with respect to transactions of this Government abroad.

(b) In carrying out its responsibilities, the division shall work in close collaboration with the appropriate geographic and other economic divisions, particularly the War Areas Economic Division and the Division of Commercial Policy of the Office of International Trade Policy, and the Shipping Division, Aviation Division, and Telecommunications Division of the Office of Transportation and Communications.

(c) The Division shall, within the scope of its responsibilities, maintain liaison with appropriate Federal agencies, particularly the Treasury Department, the War and Navy Departments, the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Surplus War Property Board.

(d) The routing symbol of the Division of Lend-Lease and Surplus War Property Affairs shall be LP.

JOSEPH C. GREW,  
*Acting Secretary of State.*

## Appointment of Officers

### OFFICE OF FINANCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

John T. Forbes as Executive Officer of the Office of Financial and Development Policy, effective March 14, 1945.

#### *Division of Financial Affairs*

George F. Luthringer as Chief, Jacques J. Reinstejn, Acting Associate Chief, and Harold S. Spiegel and James C. Corliss, Assistant Chiefs.

#### *Division of Foreign Economic Development*

Dudley M. Phelps as Chief, John Parke Young, Adviser on Foreign Investment and Acting Associate Chief, Carl F. Remer, Adviser on Far Eastern Economic Development, Charles F. Knox, Adviser on American Republics Economic Development, Oliver Lockhart and Willard F. Barber, Assistant Chiefs.

Jerome J. Stenger as Special Assistant on Projects and Programs.

Mr. Young as Acting Chief of the Division during the temporary absence of Mr. Phelps.

#### *Division of Economic Security Controls*

Seymour J. Rubin as Chief, George W. Baker, Thomas C. Mann, Carlisle C. McIvor, and Earl C. Hackworth, Assistant Chiefs.

Covey T. Oliver as Adviser on Enemy Problems.

#### *Division of Lend-Lease and Surplus War Property Affairs*

Frank W. Fetter as Adviser on Lend-Lease Matters, and temporarily as Acting Chief.

James A. Maxwell as Assistant Chief.

These designations, except that of Mr. Forbes, are effective March 1, 1945.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Consular Offices

The American Vice Consulate at Valdivia, Chile, was closed December 31, 1944.

## PUBLICATIONS

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1930, vol. I. Publication 2229. lxxv, 564 pp. \$1.75.

## THE CONGRESS

Extension of Lend-Lease. H.Rept. 259, Part II, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 2013. 6 pp.

Determination and Payment of Certain Claims Against the Government of Mexico. H.Rept. 309, 79th Cong., to accompany H.J. Res. 115. 11 pp.

Discontinuing Certain Reports Now Required by Law. H.Rept. 311, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 2504. 13 pp. [Favorable report.] [State Department, p. 8.]

Disposing of Sundry Papers. H.Rept. 312, 79th Cong. 2 pp.

Authorizing Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce To Continue Investigation With Respect to Petroleum Begun Under House Resolution 290, Seventy-sixth Congress. H.Rept. 331, 79th Cong., to accompany H.Res. 155. 1 p.

State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, and the Federal Loan Agency Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1946. H.Rept. 333, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 2603. 45 pp. [Department of State, pp. 1, 2, 3, 5-13, 32-35.]

Continuing the Authority for a Study Into the Legal and Constitutional Authority for the Issuance of Executive Orders of the President and of Departmental Regulations, and Increasing the Limit of Expenditures. S.Rept. 90, 79th Cong., to accompany S.Res. 98. 7 pp.

For the Relief of Certain Officers and Employees of the Foreign Service of the United States Who, While in the Course of Their Respective Duties, Suffered Losses of Personal Property by Reason of War Conditions. S.Rept. 92, 79th Cong., to accompany H.R. 687. 23 pp.

Extension of Lend-Lease Act: Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Seventy-ninth Congress, First Session, on H.R. 2013, a bill to extend for one year the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended. February 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, and March 5 and 6, 1945. ii, 240 pp. [Department of State, pp. 45-47, 146-65.]

Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1946: Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Seventy-ninth Congress, First Session, on the Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1946. James F. Scanlon, Administrative Assistant, Editor. ii, 309 pp.

Water Treaty with Mexico; Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Seventy-ninth Congress, First Session, on Treaty with Mexico Relating to the Utilization of the Waters of Certain Rivers. Part 3, February 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, 1945. iii, 441 pp.

Convention on International Civil Aviation. Message From the President of the United States transmitting a certified copy of a Convention on International Civil Aviation, concluded at the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago on December 7, 1944, and signed in the English language by the respective plenipotentiaries of the Governments of the United States of America, the Philippine Commonwealth, and certain other countries. S. Ex. A, 79th Cong., 1st sess., 31 pp.







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# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XII, NO. 300

MARCH 25, 1945

## *In this issue*

THE PLACE OF BRETTON WOODS IN ECONOMIC COLLECTIVE SECURITY

AN ECONOMIC POLICY FOR PEACE  
*Addresses by Assistant Secretary Acheson*

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION FOR PEACE  
*Address by Assistant Secretary Clayton*

“BUILDING THE PEACE”  
*What About the Enemy Countries?*

DISPLACED POPULATIONS IN EUROPE IN 1944 WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO GERMANY  
*By Jane Perry Clark Carey*

*For complete contents see inside cover*



MAY 7 1945

# Contents

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## BULLETIN

Vol. XII • No. 300 PUBLICATION 2309



March 25, 1945

*The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Affairs, 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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	Page
<b>AFRICA</b>	
Death of Minister of South Africa . . . . .	503
<b>AMERICAN REPUBLICS</b>	
Visit of Brazilian Surgeon . . . . .	475
Request for Increase in Green-Coffee Ceiling Prices: Action Taken by United States Government . . . . .	512
Presentation of Letters of Credence by the Ambassador of Panama . . . . .	516
<b>CANADA</b>	
Visit of the Governor General of Canada . . . . .	506
<b>THE CARIBBEAN</b>	
Sixth Meeting of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. . . . .	514
<b>EUROPE</b>	
Displaced Populations in Europe in 1944 With Particular Reference to Germany. By Jane Perry Clark Carey . . . . .	491
<b>NEAR EAST</b>	
Presentation of Letters of Credence by the Minister of Syria . . . . .	517
<b>ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
Bretton Woods Proposals:	
The Place of Bretton Woods in Economic Collective Security. Address by Assistant Secretary Acheson . . . . .	469
Meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee: United States Delegation . . . . .	475
International Economic Cooperation for Peace. Address by Assistant Secretary Clayton . . . . .	476
Conclusion of Discussions in London on Telecommunications . . . . .	500
Anglo-American Cooperation for Expansion of World Trade. Remarks by Frank Whitson Fetter . . . . .	501
An Economic Policy for Peace. Address by Assistant Secretary Acheson . . . . .	507
<b>POST-WAR MATTERS</b>	
Dumbarton Oaks Proposals:	
Operation of the Proposed Voting Procedure in the Security Council. Statement by Acting Secretary Grew . . . . .	479
"Building the Peace." What About the Enemy Countries? . . . . .	480
The Youth of the World and the Problem of Peace. Address by Bryn J. Hovde. . . . .	487
The Concept of the United Nations. Remarks by Carlton Savage . . . . .	504
Aviation Agreements. Ethiopia . . . . .	478
UNRRA Agreement. Colombia . . . . .	478
<b>TREATY INFORMATION</b>	
Lend-Lease Agreement Between the United States and the Provisional Government of France: Ocean-Going Merchant Vessels Not Included Under Schedule 2 of 3 (c) . . . . .	500
<b>THE DEPARTMENT</b>	
Appointment of Officers . . . . .	506
<b>PUBLICATIONS</b> . . . . .	519
<b>THE CONGRESS</b> . . . . .	518

# The Place of Bretton Woods in Economic Collective Security

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY ACHESON<sup>1</sup>

THE HOPES of every man and woman, the future of every child, not only in this country of ours but in every country of the earth, hang upon what will be done in your great city in the next two months. For generations the name *San Francisco* will mean a turning point in history. It will be the prayer of millions that the turning will be worthy of the saint whose name it will bear.

While all eyes are turned upon this spot the people of the United States, through their Congress, will be making the same choice which will be made here, but in another field. That choice is between meeting the problems with which the world will be faced at the end of this war through methods of international collaboration and through an attempt to devise, in the economic and monetary field, a system of collective security; or meeting those problems on the basis of each nation's relying upon its own resources and its own strength, and going its own way in the world.

This is the fundamental choice which is to be made in considering the Bretton Woods proposals. Let us take a few moments to weigh these alternatives.

In considering any measure, it is wise to consider the situation which has produced it and the evils which it is hoped can be cured by it. So we might turn for a moment to the position in which the world will be placed at the end of this war. We might ask what the evils are in that situation and how they may be met.

When we come to the end of the fighting, we will be met with an accumulation of problems of a magnitude the world has never seen before. They are not merely problems of this war, which will be great enough, but there is an accumulation of problems of the '20's and '30's left unsolved after the last war.

All the nations of the earth were attempting to struggle with economic and social questions during the depression. While they were doing that, the Germans and the Japanese entered the field with their plans of aggression; and those nations immediately adopted methods of exploitation and economic warfare in the international world which made it not only quite impossible for their neighbors to solve the problems of the depression but further aggravated those problems.

Germany and Japan were preparing themselves for the war which they saw ahead and which they intended to precipitate. In doing that, they devised every possible form of economic offense and defense; they used their currencies; they used their imports and their exports, as weapons of war, and with those, they undertook to prepare for the struggle.

That immediately produced counter-measures in other countries. For that reason, before the war was actually started in 1939, all of the countries of Europe, and many other countries of the world, had been forced to adopt methods of economic warfare, methods of state control over their exchange and their exports and imports. These activities had produced a devastating effect upon the trade of the world.

The difficulty grew in the years between 1936 and 1939 as the Axis nations attempted even more desperately to prepare for the struggle. As a result, in the period before the war, and since 1939 also, the world's demands for goods have been piling up. Everything was thrown into warlike preparations and the actual fighting, so that there has been not only the destruction of war but the postponement of vast amounts of civilian demands and the complete disruption of whole economic and social systems.

Of course, the mere destruction of the war would be enough to present enormous problems. Whole industries have been destroyed; whole economies have been weakened and destroyed. But on top of all of that there has been this accumulation of

<sup>1</sup>Delivered before the Commonwealth Club of California, San Francisco, Calif., Mar. 23, 1945, and released to the press by the Department of State on that date. Individual copies are available as Department of State publication 2306.

difficulties, reaching back into the '30's. There is also the tremendous aggravation of social unrest which the war has produced, so that when we come to the end of the fighting, the world will be presented with such an array of problems as has never existed before.

The world will meet these problems under two conditions. One condition is a consciousness, or a belief, that economic matters can be controlled and should be controlled by governmental action. People in many countries will not be patient when they are told that they must suffer, that they must work these matters out in more or less automatic ways. They have suffered so much, and they believe so deeply that governments can take some action which will alleviate their sufferings, that they will demand that the whole business of state control and state interference be pushed further and further.

In addition to the readiness to turn to the government, there is a second fact: that is, during these periods before the war, and during the war, the governments of the world have learned, as they have never learned before, all the tricks of economic warfare which are incident to the control of exchanges, discriminatory action, multiple currencies, and the control of exports and imports.

Nations will approach the peace under these conditions. Most of them will be faced with a situation in which they will have a great need for imports; they will have to rebuild their cities, their factories, and their transportation systems. Much that they need will have to come from abroad at the outset, because the very machinery with which they make things will have been destroyed.

At the same time, their exports will have been much lowered or largely lost. Therefore, the first thing that they will be tempted to do is to adopt every device for increasing their exports and getting what imports they can from other people.

The devices by which they will do that are simple and well known to you. They are: manipulation of currencies so that each one will believe that it can sell what it has to offer in foreign markets more cheaply than anyone else, thus taking business away from other countries; and restricting imports to those things which it absolutely has to have.

If that situation were spread throughout the world, it would have a devastating effect upon

recovery from the war. Probably the only hope of maintaining stability—social, political, and economic—in the world, in the face of the great post-war troubles, is to adopt measures which will lead to an expansion of production, consumption, and trade, so that the peoples of the world will not be forced to suffer more than they did during the war. It is essential that they see before them hope that if they go to work there will be an opportunity of escape from the great pressure of misery under which they have labored.

In the midst of all of these difficulties, we are faced with the problem of what to do. If we do nothing and rely on methods which were unsuccessful in the past, then we will face the disintegration of the whole world system into a state of economic warfare, with each nation trying to climb to some sort of security over the back of its neighbors, each one believing that if it manipulates its currency in some way or other, it can export the misery which exists in its own country to some other country and attain some temporary advantage.

Each nation will believe that the advantage will be permanent. But it will not be permanent, because neighboring countries will undertake exactly the same steps. So we shall have progressive hostility between countries and progressively hostile action against countries.

That is one choice. The other choice is in the direction of collective security. It is a sort of economic disarmament. It is a choice by which the various countries say to one another: "What can we do to induce all of us to lay aside these weapons—weapons which cannot do us any good for any period of time, weapons which must inevitably bring about retaliation from someone else? Instead of struggling with one another, instead of attempting to gain temporary advantages by climbing over one another, why can't we adopt a system of collective security in this field, a system which will go along with the collective security in the political and military fields?"

How can that be done? For three years before the Bretton Woods conference this matter was discussed and studied, and again at Bretton Woods it was thoroughly considered, and definite proposals were agreed upon.

What sort of a system can be devised by which nations can be persuaded to put aside the weapons of economic warfare and take up the tools of eco-

conomic reconstruction? We believe that in the two institutions which were formulated at Bretton Woods (and during the years before) those methods have been devised.

There are two institutions projected by the Bretton Woods agreements. Let me speak first about the Fund, because that seems to us to be the heart of this matter, the very foundation upon which everything else rests.

The mechanics of the Fund are complicated. But the basic idea is not complicated at all; it is very simple. The basic idea of the Fund is to create an institution which may be joined in by all the countries which were represented at Bretton Woods, and, we hope, later by others also.

On entering that institution, the members agree to four simple things, and those four simple things, added together, do a great deal to abolish economic warfare. Having agreed to them, the question is, How can countries keep their agreement? The rest of the Fund is machinery by which members are enabled to keep their agreement to put aside economic warfare. What is the plan and how will it work? What is the nature of the agreements?

There are four things, as I have said, that the agreement provides shall be followed by the members of the Fund. First of all, the members are asked to define their currencies in terms of gold. A common denominator is picked out, and countries are asked to set a ratio for their currencies in terms of gold. How that is done, how agreement is reached on it, I shall come to later, but the effort is made in that first point to create a common denominator, so that each currency may be related to each other currency in terms of some common thing.

That having been done, we come to the second obligation which is asked of the members, and that is, having said and having agreed that its currency is worth so much in ounces of gold, the country should keep the value there. It should keep its currency within one percent of that determined value. We begin to get stability; we begin to have currencies defined in terms of a common denominator; and we have an agreement to keep them where they are defined.

Going further, we come to the third requirement, which is that the countries who enter the Fund shall undertake not to restrict current transactions in their currency, not to put restrictions on the purchase and sale of goods and the purchase

and sale of services, so far as their currency is concerned. After the post-war transition, that will, at one stroke, do away with this whole vast system of exchange control, by which any person in a country who wishes to buy something from abroad must go to his government to get the government's permission to buy that article. As long as there is that dead hand on foreign or international trade, it cannot possibly expand; it cannot possibly be the medium of getting a better standard of living in the world. Having defined your currency in terms of a common denominator, having agreed to keep it there, you then say you will let people use it. Of course, that is what money is for. It is a medium of exchange. You let people use it freely for current transactions.

Finally, the Fund agreement says, if it becomes necessary, in your opinion, at some later time to change the value of your currency, you must realize that the change is a matter of concern to the world; it is not a matter of concern solely to the individual country. Therefore, you must consult the other nations in the Fund about that change. You must subject yourself to examination and discussion, give the reasons why you think this is necessary, and hear the counter-reasons of people who feel that they may suffer from that change. Except within narrow limits, which I shall describe in a moment, you must get the consent or agreement of the Fund to do this. You are free to go ahead without the consent of the Fund and change the value of your currency if you want to, but if you do that, you run the risk of being put out of the Fund and being refused its facilities.

The undertaking is that when you define your currency, you maintain it within one percent of that defined value, but if you want to change your currency, you must come to the Fund and consult it to get its consent. There is one exception and it is this: You may change your currency without the consent of the Fund, but only after consultation with the Fund, for minor changes aggregating 10 percent.

That does not mean that from day to day, week to week, you have variations within 10 percent. You must keep your currency within one percent of what you define it as, but if you want to change that definition, and the change does not exceed 10 percent, then you may do it without the consent of the Fund, but after consultation. That, of course, is because it is a very difficult thing, when

you start defining your currency, to get it right. It is very hard when you begin, after a period of great confusion, to hit the bull's eye the first time. Therefore, the Fund says, "Do the best you can." The regulations are: Do the best you can at the start, but within 10 percent of that definition you may change it without the consent of the Fund, but after consultation, in order to adjust it so that you will ultimately get it right. Once its currency has been changed by 10 percent, a country may not make any further changes, even back to the original value, without the consent of the Fund.

These are the four points. I have stated them very broadly. There are some qualifications, but in order to get the basic conception of the Fund as an instrument of collective security, I think we have to understand that there are these four points which are agreed to.

Having entered into these agreements, the question is, How can a country keep them? All the countries will say these are highly desirable; these are the most important agreements to reach. But how can we carry them out in view of the difficulties of which I spoke when I began my statement?

Therefore, the Fund provides the mechanism, the assistance, the mutual aid by which these agreements can be kept. Briefly and very roughly, it does that by creating a pool, a fund of currencies and gold, into which each member pays its quota, the larger part in its own currency with a smaller amount in gold. As a result of that, you have a great basket of currencies available to the members. You have dollars, pounds, francs, belgas, pesos, and other currencies in this Fund, and you have gold to get more of any currency that is needed. Nations will go ahead and attempt to carry out their commitments. They undoubtedly will find that they will have difficulties at times, because they will not always be able to get the foreign exchange which they need to carry on their current transactions. Those difficulties will very frequently be temporary.

There will be difficulties which come from the adjustment to the past situation, difficulties which come from all sorts of things, but many of them will be temporary. Although it may take five or six years to work out these adjustments, the purpose of the Fund is to work toward stability and a balance of international payments.

In order to prevent countries from being faced with the necessity of taking drastic action to cut down their imports to devalue their currency, we say, "Do not do that. You agreed not to do that when you joined the Fund, and the Fund offers full facilities which make that unnecessary." They may come to the Fund and buy, with their own money, the foreign exchange which is needed.

In order to use the Fund's resources, a country must use an equal amount of its own reserves of gold and foreign exchange so that it does not simply come to the Fund at any time and take out what it wants and call it a day. A country puts in its own currency and agrees to maintain the money that is put in at the gold value with which it started, and it gets the foreign exchange which it needs. Restriction is no longer necessary, and the country can go forward with its business.

Then what happens? Some other nation may want the currency which you have put into the Fund. If it does and if it buys your currency, that is fine; the Fund no longer has it. If, however, no other nation buys it and it remains in the Fund, then, as your situation improves, as your resources increase, you must repurchase your currency, so that after you have gone through your temporary difficulty and your financial situation is better, you buy back your currency from the Fund with whatever gold or foreign exchange you have accumulated during these periods of recovery.

That is the basic idea—to require people to undertake not to do certain things which are mutually destructive in the world, and to give them the opportunity of meeting those obligations.

May I go on now, for a moment, to the Bank?

The Fund is not designed to provide the money for long-term investments; therefore, it is necessary to create an institution to do that. Devastation has occurred in many countries. Their harbor facilities, their factories, their railways, their bridges have suffered severely. They must borrow money somewhere to rebuild those. It is very much to our advantage, and to the advantage of other great producing and trading countries, that they should be enabled to do that.

Therefore, we have an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. There are not only the countries which have been devastated by the war, but there are countries which have never

been developed—countries in South America, Africa, the Far East, all of which can profit, and from which we can profit as they develop their industries.

These countries, then, wish to borrow money. If they borrow money, they spend the money in the places where the goods can be produced. We have the greatest productive plant in the world. While the rest of the world has been undergoing destruction, we have been building up this plant in order to carry the great burden of the war. One of our problems in the future will be to keep that great plant employed and to keep the people employed who are now working in it or who come back from the armed forces.

Very well; then we can all profit by enabling those countries which have been destroyed, or which need development, to make purchases from those which can produce the goods they need.

The Bank is not created to supersede private banks; it has been created in order to help private banks. There are two great difficulties in the way of private lending at the present time. One is from the point of view of the lender, and the other is from the point of view of the borrower, and they both stem from the same cause. The world is uncertain. There are political uncertainties, as well as various other kinds of uncertainty.

Therefore, the interest rates may have to be so high, the amortization of the loan may have to be so rapid, that, as an economic matter, it becomes impossible for the borrower to secure funds. Some countries and their citizens, whatever they may wish to promise now, cannot borrow money on a basis which requires high interest rates and quick repayment. That would simply destroy the whole relationship. They will not be able to carry out their obligations and there will be defaults.

There must be low interest rates and a long period of payment. Many of the countries will not be the best credit risks. There will be unrest and confusion for a time, and no private banker may wish to take the risk which is involved. Yet that risk must be taken. It is only by taking the wise and calculated risks of allowing all these countries to have their chance at recovery that you can bring them back within the general orbit of development and stability.

The country that wishes to borrow goes to a private lender, or the private company in the country enlists the aid of its government and comes to a private lender. They say, for exam-

ple, "We wish to borrow some money to rebuild our port facilities." The private banker looks into it and says, "I should like to do this business, but I do not feel that I can take the risk and I do not believe I can recommend to the private investors in this country that they take that risk."

Therefore, both parties go to the International Bank, and they ask the International Bank to look at the situation. The International Bank looks at it, appoints its expert committee, which goes into the whole economic future of that country. They go into the whole relationship of this project to the economic development of the country. If they think it is an unsound project, they turn it down. If they think it is a good project, they say, "We are willing to put our guaranty stamp on this bond. We are perfectly willing to stand behind this loan because we have the promise of the borrower, we have the promise of the government of the borrower's country, and we will now put our guaranty on it, too."

That means that the private lender, whether in the United States or England or Australia, looks first of all to the borrower to pay. Let us say this is a drainage district or a port authority which needs the money; whatever it may be, the lender looks to the borrower. If the borrower does not pay, the government of the country is looked to. If that country does not pay, the lender looks to the International Bank, and the International Bank is made up of all its members. It has behind it all their subscriptions. So the private lender—you, or whoever it may be—who wishes to buy one of these bonds, has a bond which should be as safe as any foreign investment in the world. With this assurance, the lender is willing to lend at a low rate and over a long period of time.

How is the Bank organized to do this business? What does it provide?

It provides that each one of the countries shall subscribe for an amount of the Bank's capital, an amount which is stated in the agreement. The amount for which we subscribe is \$3,175,000,000. Other nations subscribe other amounts.

Having made those subscriptions, the countries pay in only 20 percent; they do not pay 100 percent of their subscription. Of that 20 percent, a small amount is in gold and the rest is in their own currency. That forms the paid-in capital of the Bank. With that capital, the Bank may make direct loans.

The remaining 80 percent is the guaranty of the countries. The countries say to the Bank, "We subscribe to so much in the form of a guaranty, and if loans go bad, and the interest and amortization is not paid out of your special reserve, which you have built up, or out of the paid-in capital which you have, then you may call on all the governments, in proportion, to pay the amount of that loss." The loss is then adjusted and the Bank has what is recovered from the borrower, whether it is a smaller amount at a different rate, or whatever it may be. The governments are not called on to pay, under their 80 percent guaranty, until a loss occurs.

It is also provided in the agreement that the Bank will lend only up to 100 percent of its unimpaired capital and reserves. That is a very conservative provision. That means that the Bank is not going to have loans outstanding, as it might well have done, of three or four or five times its capital. Therefore, the chance that a member will be called on, under the Bank's guaranty, is very much reduced.

That is the system of the Bank and the Fund. I think there has been no objection in any quarter to the Bank. The Bank is the most conventional and conservative arrangement. The objections have been made to the Fund.

It has been said that the Fund uses a novel method of lending. The fact is that the Fund is not novel except in the sense that 44 countries would now do together, on a multilateral basis, what some of them have hitherto done on a bilateral basis. Our own exchange stabilization fund, established in 1934, has made agreements with about 12 countries under which the United States Treasury buys their currencies, for example, Mexican pesos, with dollars that must be used only to stabilize the exchange rate. The sale of dollars can be terminated at any time if the money is not used for the purposes contemplated by the agreement. The country selling its currency for dollars undertakes to repurchase its currency, and in the meantime the value of the foreign-currency holdings of our own fund are guaranteed against depreciation. This is precisely the method used by the International Monetary Fund.

Critics of the Fund have said that it would make loans without regard to the credit-worthiness of the borrower. The Fund agreement explicitly

states that the Fund will not undertake exchange operations with any country that is not in a position to use the Fund without impairing the Fund's resources. Countries may use the Fund only for the purposes of the Fund which include the taking of measures necessary to maintain stable and orderly exchanges. Countries that follow such policies are credit-worthy. Finally, the Fund can declare a country ineligible to use the resources of the Fund whenever, in the opinion of the directors of the Fund, the country is violating the provisions or the purposes of the Fund. What greater safeguard can there be than to give the directors of the Fund complete authority to refuse a country help from the Fund?

Opponents of the Fund have stated that the thing to do is to accept the Bank and not to accept the Fund, or to put them together in some way which leaves out most of the features of the Fund.

The answer is that, of course, it is possible to separate the Bank and the Fund. But to do so would mean a rejection of the Bretton Woods agreements and a complete rewriting of the documents. This is so because the Bretton Woods agreements have been thought of as one great conception, and therefore the documents relating to the Bank and the Fund are intertwined. The members of the Bank are those members of the Fund who wish to become members of the Bank. Any number of other provisions are interdependent. So the whole thing would have to be rewritten.

But the point which I think escapes people when they make the suggestion that the Fund be rejected is that the purposes which have been conceived of in this whole plan would not be achieved, if you do that. The whole heart of the matter is contained in the Fund agreement—in the operation of the Fund—which provides for putting aside the instruments of economic warfare, for putting aside this fratricidal struggle through currencies, to make it possible for currencies to be freely used through the world so that trade may expand.

It is one thing to make loans through a bank, under a system like that, and it is another thing to make loans through a bank when you have no such orderly system, but only a system of warfare. The Bank's loans will be infinitely safer where you have a fund operating which makes it possible for trade to expand and which makes



it possible for people to abandon restrictive measures.

Most of the difficulties we have experienced in connection with the foreign loans we have made in the past, aside from errors of judgment which may have occurred as to particular loans, have resulted from disasters which occur to whole countries, and to the whole of the trade of the world, from causes which the Fund would remove.

A loan may be just as sound as anybody can possibly ask for when it is made, but if international trade and international exchange are subject to all the hazards which come from economic warfare, then things which you have not foreseen will happen. The country will be unable to pay, not because it does not want to pay, but because it cannot get the money to pay, because it cannot get the trade which would develop the money to pay. We believe these difficulties will be eliminated by the Fund.

Therefore, from the point of view of the conception, from the point of view of the object which is sought to be attained, the Bank and the Fund are part of one conception, and to take away one part of it gives you something wholly different and something which was not contemplated.

I have run through the description of the Fund and the Bank. I have tried briefly to show how they can be instruments of peace, how they can help to end economic warfare. If many nations agree to cooperate and assist each other, they can, together, perfect financial instruments and develop the unused resources for the entire world. Thus a new confidence and a new hope may unite nations in the interest of the well-being of all.

## Meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee

### UNITED STATES DELEGATION

[Released to the press March 20]

The Department of State has announced that the following persons will serve as the United States Delegation at the forthcoming meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee, scheduled for April 2, 1945:<sup>1</sup>

L. A. Wheeler, Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations

- E. S. Mason, Deputy Director to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State  
 C. C. Smith, Director of Cotton Division, Commodity Credit Corporation  
 C. D. Walker, Director, Southern Division, Agricultural Adjustment Agency

## Visit of Brazilian Surgeon

[Released to the press March 23]

Dr. Edmundo Vasconcelos, distinguished Brazilian surgeon, and chairman of the Department of Clinical Surgery of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of São Paulo, Brazil, is a guest of the Department of State on a three months' tour of medical institutions in this country. Dr. Vasconcelos is especially interested in conferring with American colleagues and educators with a view to introducing new plans and curricula for postgraduate work in surgery at the University of São Paulo, based on first-hand observance of the latest American postgraduate teaching methods in that field.

Dr. Vasconcelos has been professor and head of the Department of Surgical Technique and Experimental Surgery since 1934 and is now chairman of the Department of Clinical Surgery in the hospital of the University of São Paulo, the largest hospital in Brazil. He is also surgeon of the Santatório de Santa Catarina and Casa de Saúde Matarazzo, two of the leading hospitals of São Paulo.

Dr. Vasconcelos is a fellow of the American College of Surgeons, the Society of Gastroenterology of New York, and various Brazilian medical organizations. He is founder and director of the journal *Archivos de Cirurgia Clínica e Experimental* and the author of surgical textbooks, one of which has been translated into English under the title *Modern Methods of Amputations*.

Although Dr. Vasconcelos has represented Brazil at several international congresses of medicine and surgery, this is his first visit to the United States. His tentative plans for travel in the United States include visits to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, and the West Coast.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 25, 1945, p. 301.

# International Economic Cooperation for Peace

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY CLAYTON<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 24]

Somebody has said that it is easier to make war than it is to make peace.

It could well be added that it is easier to *make* peace than it is to *keep* the peace.

But the San Francisco conference has the responsibility of setting up an international organization to do just that—to *keep* the peace!

Any organization designed to accomplish this purpose must deal with the economic as well as the political aspects of war and peace.

I wish to speak to you this evening about some of the economic conditions which are essential to the preservation of peace.

It so happens that these conditions are also highly desirable for their own sake.

Expanding world trade, increased production, free and equal access for all nations to the raw materials and trade of the world, and higher levels of living for all peoples everywhere are essential conditions to the maintenance of world peace. We know that our own security and economic well-being are closely linked to that of other countries. If other countries are suffering from depression and unable to buy our goods, our factories must reduce their output and lay off workers; our farms will have food and fiber that cannot be sold. The seeds of war find fertile ground when economic conditions throughout the world are unsatisfactory.

A solid foundation for peace means that there must be a high degree of international cooperation in the world, not only in the political field, but in solving the difficult economic problems that are so important to all peoples. We must not return to the unhappy conditions of the 1930's when nations engaged in vicious economic warfare. This period was marked by rising tariffs and other barriers to trade, by restrictions on the purchase and sale of foreign currencies, and by competition to depreciate currencies so as to gain a temporary trade advantage. The results were stagnant trade, unemployment, and, in some countries, the

growth of Nazi and Fascist philosophies, leading to war.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, which are to be considered further at San Francisco, include provision for an Economic and Social Council wherein the member nations can agree upon policies to promote economic health throughout the world.

In addition to this Economic and Social Council plans for cooperation include several specialized international institutions, two of which are the financial institutions proposed at the conference held at Bretton Woods last July. These are the International Monetary Fund and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Let us suppose for the moment that each State in this country had its own currency. The United States would then have 48 different currencies with fluctuating and uncertain relations between them. A person in Massachusetts selling goods in Ohio would receive Ohio money which could not be spent outside of Ohio. If a merchant in Philadelphia desired to purchase goods in New York, he would first need to acquire some New York money with which to pay for the goods. The rate for New York money would be frequently changing. Let us assume, furthermore, that in order to purchase or sell the currency of another State a license were required, and that applications for licenses were frequently denied. A person who had sold goods in another State would thus be unable to bring home the proceeds from his sale.

It is clear that such conditions in the United States would be intolerable, and would reduce trade to a fraction of its present volume. Yet, these are the conditions which have existed for 10 to 12 years throughout much of the world. The purpose of the Bretton Woods Proposals is to eliminate these conditions, and thereby to quicken and expand the exchange of goods and services between countries.

According to the provisions of the International Monetary Fund, all member countries would agree

<sup>1</sup>Delivered over the Columbia Broadcasting System from Washington on Mar. 24, 1945.

to maintain their exchange rates at a stipulated relationship to gold. A change in rates would be made only in the case of some fundamental maladjustment, and then only by consultation with the Fund. If the change were more than a limited amount it could not be made except with the approval of the Fund. These provisions for exchange stability would mean the end of competitive currency depreciation which was the source of so much economic trouble before the war.

Another important provision is that countries would agree to abandon restrictions on the making of payments and the transfer of funds between countries for current transactions. This is a significant provision and would free foreign traders from their past difficulties of not being able to bring home the proceeds of their foreign sales, or not being able to buy the currency of a country in which they desired to make purchases. It would mean, for example, that an American exporter would get paid in money that he could convert into American dollars and at known rates. He would not end up with some blocked foreign currency.

The agreement provides that each member pay into the Fund a certain amount of its own currency and a less amount of gold. The amounts to be paid are determined according to quotas assigned the different countries. The United States quota is about 28 percent of the total. This common pool of resources would be available, under certain safeguards, so that a member could buy from the Fund, with its own currency, the currency of another member. Member countries would therefore be able to obtain foreign currencies to tide them over temporary periods of difficulty.

For example, if an agricultural country that normally was a heavy exporter of its products suffered a crop failure, it could go to the Fund, and if everything were in order it could acquire from the Fund needed foreign currency so that it could continue to import necessary goods. This pool of resources would thus provide a supply of currencies to help make currencies interchangeable one for the other, and also to equalize fluctuations in the demand and supply of a member for foreign currencies. It would give a country that was short of foreign currencies time in which to adjust its affairs without being compelled to alter its exchange rates or impose exchange restrictions.

Access to this pool of resources is carefully protected by provisions to prevent its abuse and to provide for its automatic replenishment by countries using it.

One of the significant things about the Fund is that the experts of 44 nations, after many months of discussion and study, have agreed upon the basic elements of currency stability, and on what have been called the "rules of the game". Any country which joins the Fund undertakes to abide by these rules, and to cooperate with other countries for the good of all.

The Fund is to be managed by a board of governors consisting of one governor appointed by each member country. Voting power is in proportion to a country's contribution, as determined by its quota. The United States would thus have 28 percent of the total votes.

A companion institution to the Monetary Fund is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. This Bank is designed to assist in the investment of funds in productive enterprises wherever they are needed. It would help to finance the reconstruction of devastated countries, enabling them again to become productive. It is highly important to the United States that the industries of such countries be rebuilt and that their cities, ports, and transportation systems be reconstructed so that they can again buy our goods and have the means with which to pay for them.

The Bank would also help finance the development of other countries where this could be done on a sound basis. Its loans would be made only after a thorough investigation.

The Bank would not take the place of private lending institutions, but on the contrary would assist such institutions by guaranteeing such of their loans as had been approved by the Bank. Most of the capital of the Bank, in fact 80 percent, would be available only for the purpose of such guaranties. Where private money, however, was not available on any reasonable terms, the Bank would be permitted to make loans itself. All loans made or guaranteed by the Bank would first be guaranteed by the national government of the borrower.

If there should be a default in a loan made or guaranteed by the Bank the loss would be spread throughout the entire world since such loss would be shared by all member countries.

It is important for the United States, as well as for other countries, that the flow of investment capital be restored. Foreign countries will need many products which the United States can supply, but these countries are not in a position under present conditions to make immediate payment for these goods. They need initial credits if they are to buy. The United States has at the same time enormously increased its productive capacity, especially in heavy capital goods such as machinery, equipment, and tools. Its production of such goods will be far in excess of its own requirements. If we are to attain a satisfactory level of employment after the war, we must find markets abroad for our surplus production.

Such markets certainly exist in almost unlimited volume. In order for the United States to take advantage of these potential markets it is necessary to assist foreign buyers in acquiring dollars with which to pay us until they can restore their own productive capacity.

In the end we must import if we wish to export. Trade is a two-way street, and we cannot continue to sell abroad unless we are willing to buy abroad. We must therefore eliminate trade discriminations and reduce our own tariff barriers if we wish to facilitate the expansion of world trade and to increase our real incomes here at home.

The Bretton Woods institutions are designed to assist in the development of this expansion in world economy, with greater production and consumption and rising levels of living for all peoples everywhere.

If democracy and private enterprise are to survive in the world they can only do so by measures which will prevent a resumption of the type of international economic warfare which was indulged in by practically all nations between the two World Wars.

Political arrangements alone for the preservation of peace in the world will not do the job if international economic warfare rears its ugly head again as it did after the first World War.

The part which the United States is to play in this program depends in the end upon the decision of 135 million American citizens.

That decision is certain to be right if the issues involved and the measures proposed are fully understood.

## Aviation Agreements

[Released to the press March 23]

### *Ethiopia*

The Honorable Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Minister of Ethiopia, signed on March 22 the following agreements concluded at the International Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago on December 7, 1944:

Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation

International Air Services Transit Agreement (Two Freedoms)

International Air Transport Agreement (Five Freedoms)

The Ethiopian Minister informed the Acting Secretary of State in a note dated March 22 that the signatures affixed on behalf of the Ethiopian Government to the interim, transit, and transport agreements constitute an acceptance of those agreements by Ethiopia.

Including Ethiopia, 43 countries have signed the interim agreement, 35 countries the transit agreement, and 23 countries the transport agreement; 5 governments have accepted the interim agreement, 5 governments the transit agreement, and 3 governments the transport agreement.

## UNRRA Agreement

### *Colombia*

Sr. Alberto Vargas Nariño, Colombian Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a note dated March 15, the instrument of ratification by the President of the Republic of Colombia, dated February 20, of the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation signed in Washington November 9, 1943, and a certified copy of the *Diario Oficial* of February 6 publishing Law 101 of 1944 by which the Congress of Colombia on December 31, 1944 approved the agreement. The instrument of ratification and the certified copy of the *Diario Oficial* were deposited in the archives of the Department of State on March 16.

# Operation of the Proposed Voting Procedure In the Security Council

[Released to the press March 24]

The Department has received inquiries concerning the operation of the proposed voting procedure in the Security Council as agreed to at the Crimea Conference.<sup>1</sup> These inquiries relate to the peaceful settlement of disputes in cases (a) when a permanent member of the Security Council is involved, and (b) when a permanent member is not involved.

The question is put in the following form: Could the projected international Organization be precluded from *discussing* any dispute or situation which might threaten the peace and security by the act of any one of its members?

The answer is "No." It is only when the question arises as to what, if any, decision or action the Security Council should take that the provisions covering the voting procedure would come into operation. This Government proposed the provisions for voting procedure in the Security Council, which have been accepted by all governments sponsoring the San Francisco conference, as part of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, which will afford a basis for a pattern for the international Organization. It is this Government's understanding that under these voting procedures there is nothing which could prevent any state from bringing to the attention of the Security Council any dispute or any situation which it believes may lead to international friction or may give rise to a dispute. And, furthermore, there is nothing in these provisions which could prevent any party to such dispute or situation from receiving a hearing before the Council and having the case discussed. Nor could any of the other members of the Council be prevented from making such observations on the matter as they wish to make.

The right of the General Assembly to consider and discuss any dispute or situation would remain, of course, at all times untrammelled.

## THE VOTING PROCEDURE

Under the proposed voting procedure for the Security Council an affirmative vote of seven out of the eleven members is necessary for decision on

## Statement by ACTING SECRETARY CREW

both substantive and procedural matters. Decisions as to procedural matters would be made by the votes of any seven members.

### A. When a permanent member is involved.

In decisions on enforcement measures, the vote of seven must include the votes of all five permanent members whether or not they are parties to the dispute. On questions involving the peaceful settlement of disputes, no party to the dispute—whether or not a permanent member—may vote. In such decisions the vote of seven must include those permanent members which are not parties to the dispute.

This means that when a permanent member of the Security Council is involved in a dispute the representative of that state may not vote on matters involving the peaceful settlement of that dispute (under Section A of Chapter VIII). In other words, that permanent member would have no "veto" in these matters. In this case, however, the remaining permanent members must concur in the total vote of seven by which the Security Council reaches its decisions. Any permanent member not party to the dispute would thus have a "veto", should it care to exercise it.

Further, if two of the permanent members of the Council are parties to a dispute, neither of them can vote and the decision must be made by the three remaining permanent members and four of the non-permanent members of the Council. If more than two permanent members are involved in a dispute the vote would require the concurrence of the remaining permanent members plus the number of non-permanent members necessary to make a total of seven. Under such circumstances, if there are four members of the Council involved in the dispute—and, therefore, none of the four could vote—each of the remaining members of the Council, whether permanent or non-permanent, would have the same "veto".

### B. When a permanent member is not involved.

When a permanent member of the Security Council is not involved in a dispute, the affirmative vote of each of the five permanent members is required for the Council to take any decisions or action on that dispute.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 11, 1945, p. 394.

## “Building the Peace”

# What About the Enemy Countries?

[Released to the press March 24]

VOICE No. 1: How are we going to deal with the Nazi war criminals?

VOICE No. 2: How can we reeducate the German people, who have been getting nothing but Nazi propaganda for so long?

VOICE No. 3: What about our unconditional-surrender policy?

**ANNOUNCER:** Tough questions. But we must find the answers if we don't want to pave the way for World War III. For authoritative information regarding our foreign policy, NBC's University of the Air calls upon officials of the Department of State, in seven broadcasts on the problems of *Building the Peace*. These programs are part of a larger series on “Our Foreign Policy”, for listeners in this country and, through the facilities of the Armed Forces Radio Service, for our service men and women overseas, wherever they are stationed.

This, the fifth of the State Department programs, is about the enemy countries. Assistant Secretary of State Archibald MacLeish has with him Assistant Secretary James C. Dunn, who is in charge of European, Near Eastern, and Far Eastern Affairs, and Ambassador Robert Murphy, Political Adviser to General Eisenhower. And now—

**MACLEISH:** This is Archibald MacLeish. I want to quote a paragraph or two from a letter sent in by a man who lives on Monroe Street in Memphis, Tennessee. It will explain our purpose in being here tonight far more eloquently than I can. Our correspondent says:

“In yesterday's paper I read that the outfit with which I served in World War I, and which spent a year ‘occupying’ Luxembourg, has just taken Trier again. To me things like this are certain

### PARTICIPANTS

JAMES C. DUNN

Assistant Secretary of State

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

Assistant Secretary of State

ROBERT MURPHY

United States Political Adviser on German Affairs, SHAEF

KENNEDY LUDLAM

Announcer for NBC

proof that a do-nothing policy has gotten us nowhere, and fast.

“My personal policy is boiled down to this: Will it be necessary for the Fifth Division to occupy Trier for the third time?”

That's a fair question. It's up to us—to you who are listening, and to those of us who are

charged with responsibility for the formulation of our foreign policy—to make sure that the Fifth Division won't have to occupy Trier a third time.

Now, what about Germany? Such influential newspapers as the *New York Times*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Christian Science Monitor* have asserted that it is time for the people of the United States and the United Nations to be more fully informed about our intentions with regard to Germany. We hope to make our position on this question clear. And this is a most appropriate time to do it, with Allied armies advancing rapidly into Germany from the east and from the west. I have here with me two men who are directly concerned with our policy toward a defeated Germany. Ambassador Robert Murphy has just come from the European theater of war, and is about to return to his duties as Political Adviser to SHAEF—S-H-A-E-F—Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force. Is that right, Mr. Murphy?

**MURPHY:** That's right, Mr. MacLeish. I might add that the State Department is working hand and glove with the Army in these matters. That's why I'm assigned to SHAEF.

**MACLEISH:** There's one question, Mr. Murphy, which has been the subject of much discussion here at home in recent months—our demand for unconditional surrender. The public-opinion polls show that an overwhelming majority of Americans support this demand. But there are some who argue that this policy forces the Germans to fight on, making victory more expensive for us. What do you think of that argument?

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast over the network of the National Broadcasting Company on Mar. 24, 1945, the fifth in a series of seven sponsored by the Department of State.

MURPHY: That's pure eye-wash. If we offered the Germans any sort of compromise—which we have no intention of doing—it would be taken as a sign of weakness. They wouldn't believe us anyhow; the Nazi propagandists have drilled into their minds too long the idea that Wilson's Fourteen Points were just a ruse to get Germany to surrender in 1918. This time the Germans will not be able to claim that they were duped into laying down their arms. They are now witnessing the thing they understand best—superior force of arms.

MACLEISH: We have made it abundantly clear, too, in our broadcasts to Germany and in the report on the Crimea Conference, that "it is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans".

MURPHY: And judging from the increasing number of German soldiers who are surrendering, Mr. MacLeish, and the large numbers of German civilians who are disobeying their leaders' demands that they evacuate the western areas—the German people understand us on this point. They know that we mean to destroy German militarism and Nazism, and they respect us for it. The German people are very tired of war.

MACLEISH: That's the way it looks from Supreme Headquarters in Europe; how does it look from the desk of the Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of European Affairs? Mr. Dunn, you have your own views on the unconditional-surrender policy.

DUNN: Yes. I think it's more than a military problem. We've got to realize that while our primary military objective is the defeat and unconditional surrender of the German forces, it is just as necessary for us to require the unconditional surrender of the German Government. This is essential if the necessary steps are to be taken to prevent a resurgence of the militarism which has caused this war and the previous wars started by Germany. Anything short of a realization by the German people that their whole apparatus for making war is to be stamped out would only give rise to another wave of militaristic planning. Remember, last time we had an armistice instead of unconditional surrender.

MACLEISH: Here's a letter from a corporal in the European theater of war, who also has ideas on this subject:

"I was very angry when I read (about the talk of) a negotiated peace. I have seen enough of the

German soldier to form the definite conclusion that a negotiated peace will not end this war to any soldier's satisfaction. . . . I want to become a civilian just as much as the other fellow. But when I do become a civilian, I want to stay a civilian. I don't want to be called up again in five years, which is what will happen if we give the Germans a negotiated peace."

That was a corporal in the Army, who spent 80 days in combat before he was wounded. He wrote from an Army hospital overseas.

MURPHY: I know he speaks for our men over there. He speaks for us, too. Fortunately, this will soon become a dead issue in any event. Germany's choice now is between unconditional surrender and pulverization, and if they choose pulverization, they will have only themselves to blame for following vicious leadership.

MACLEISH: Another question we frequently get in this field is: What about the war criminals? Will they get away this time? One writer states: "I am very much concerned over your failure to advocate punishment of war-guilty leaders of Germany and Japan—surely you will not favor them going unpunished."

Now, one writer has stated that after the last war a list of 896 war criminals was compiled by the Allies and submitted to the Germans. By clever bargaining, the German Government reduced the list to 45. Only 12 were actually brought to trial, however, and only 6 were convicted, with light sentences. Can such a miscarriage of justice occur again, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: That's out of the question, Mr. MacLeish. We are fully determined to punish the war criminals this time. There is complete agreement among the Allied nations that all of them will be apprehended and will be "brought to just and swift punishment", to quote the Yalta declaration.

MACLEISH: How do you define a war criminal? Let's start right at the top. Hitler will, of course, be considered a war criminal.

DUNN: Yes, unquestionably.

MACLEISH: The fact that he is chief of state is no reason for excluding him? Some writers have expressed the fear that some such legalistic reasoning will stand in the way of justice being done.

DUNN: Hitler and Himmler and the others will be judged on the basis of the acts which they have committed or have caused to be committed. Hitler is directly responsible for the enslavement of the Jews and foreign workers; he is responsible for the mass murder of Jews, Poles, and others; for

such crimes as pillage, extortion, and arson; and for numerous other common crimes. He must be held responsible for them as an individual. There is no question in the world but that he is responsible, with others, for the initiation of policies which resulted in all of those acts.

MACLEISH: How far down the line would this go, Mr. Dunn? What about the Gestapo? It's supposed to be a voluntary organization which nobody is forced to join; should its members therefore be held responsible for the organization's crimes?

DUNN: We think that members of the Gestapo who have carried out criminal acts must be punished. All persons, whether members of any such organization or not, who have committed any of the acts which are considered crimes against humanity will be considered war criminals. We are interested first of all in justice being done, not in technicalities.

MACLEISH: Mr. Murphy, does all this square with the plans being developed at Allied headquarters?

MURPHY: I think Jimmy Dunn has expressed our views very well. In dealing with the part of Germany our American troops have occupied so far, we have apprehended any known war criminals who have been left behind. Our military authorities have dismissed Nazis from responsible positions as quickly as they could be identified and replaced, regardless of whether or not there were any specific charges against them. As American forces progress and larger areas fall to their jurisdiction, this becomes a major responsibility. After all, in Germany at last reports there were some 6 million members of the Nazi Party and 2 million of them held major or minor offices.

MACLEISH: Now let's examine that other legalistic argument which has been cited as a possible loophole for war criminals—the argument that if an individual is merely carrying out orders from above in committing atrocities, he's not personally responsible. Will that argument be given any weight, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: I think we should look at the act itself, Mr. MacLeish. We are determined to punish the *individual* for the acts which that individual has committed. We will make only one stipulation—that there must be a fair trial in every case.

MACLEISH: How about atrocities committed by Germans against Germans, for example, against German Jews? Will the perpetrators of such crimes be punished?

DUNN: Yes, we expect to go the whole way on this. Under Secretary Grew made that clear a few weeks ago in one of his press conferences. He said that we proposed to bring the Axis leaders and their henchmen who have committed war crimes and atrocities to justice, regardless of who the victims were. That applies to crimes of Germans against Jews, and against the people of every occupied country.

MACLEISH: An accountant up in Newark who wrote in asking us to discuss this whole question as it applies "not only to soldiers but also others who have helped Hitler to get his power" brings up this question: Will Nazi industrialists be included in the definition of war criminals? I don't mean as a group. But take a case like this, and there will be quite a few like it, I'm sure: A German industrialist has supported Hitler from the outset. He has helped finance his rise to power, supported the rearmament of Germany, sold arms to the Nazi Government at a profit, used forced labor from the occupied countries in his plant, and supported the Nazi cause and cooperated with the Nazi Government in every way. Would that man be classed as a war criminal?

DUNN: Well, Mr. MacLeish, whether he would actually be punished as a war *criminal* would presumably depend on whether he committed a specific criminal *act* or caused it to be committed. But he would certainly be among those to be dealt with. There will inevitably be a lot of borderline cases for which a yardstick will have to be constructed. We don't want any of the war criminals to get away.

MACLEISH: You have certainly made our position on war criminals clear enough, Mr. Dunn. Some people seem to think we're just going to sit behind dusty legal volumes and let the culprits get away.

DUNN: They're mistaken. They're dead wrong.

MACLEISH: There have been some press reports that Nazi political leaders and businessmen have their plans all laid for escape, or have already escaped, to certain neutral countries. Is that true, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: Our representatives in the neutral countries have been on the alert for prominent Nazis coming in, but there has been no sign of it so far.

MACLEISH: Can you summarize the steps that have been taken to prevent the escape of war criminals?

DUNN: We have had assurances from most of the neutral countries that they would refuse ad-



mittance to any Axis war criminals and would deport them if they came in illegally. We are not entirely satisfied on this as yet. But we will take every necessary step to prevent the criminals from escaping.

MURPHY: Our military have instructions to round them up before they can get away, and we will act quickly when we occupy Germany.

MACLEISH: Mr. Murphy, you have seen the work of the United Nations War Crimes Commission in London. There is a prevalent idea in this country that it is supposed to set up the machinery for catching the war criminals and bringing them to trial.

MURPHY: The present War Crimes Commission was set up at the suggestion of the British. It includes representatives of 15 of the United Nations, including the United States and Great Britain, and we hope later the Soviet Union. It identifies and lists war criminals. It is a commission for preliminary study and has not been given executive powers.

MACLEISH: The Soviet Union, according to the press reports over here, deals with the war criminals she captures swiftly and drastically. But Mr. Murphy points out that she is not represented on the War Crimes Commission. Does this mean there is a difference of policy between the Russians and ourselves, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: No. There is no difference of policy. There is complete agreement among the three big powers on this general issue.

MACLEISH: Ambassador Murphy, there have been criticisms of our occupation policy as regards the use of Fascist officials locally. I have seen allegations that Fascist officials have been left in local office in Italy, and recently a New York newspaper said that four Nazis were left in official positions at Aachen. Is that true? If it is, how do you reconcile that with the tough policy you have both been outlining?

MURPHY: On the contrary, in Aachen we have systematically removed not only Nazi Party members but others known to be hostile to the Allies. When we reconstituted the administration, a few Nazis were unwittingly left in office, but I was assured just before I left SHAEF that they had been removed. Of course, you've got to consider this: It sometimes takes our combat commanders a little time to find out who the Nazis are. But our policy is definite and unequivocal. We intend to have no truck with the Nazis, or with people

known to hold Pan-German theories, for that matter.

MACLEISH: Pan-Germanism—by that I understand you to mean the theory that it is Germany's destiny to expand, to take in Germans everywhere in the world, and to create a German superstate—Pan-Germanism is classed with Nazism as a dangerous doctrine, then?

MURPHY: It is one of the basic Nazi theories. In a way it is even more dangerous than Nazism in that it goes back much farther and has inspired German aggression time and time again.

MACLEISH: Can you give us a quick fill-in on the way the AMG—that is, the Allied Military Government—program operates in occupied German territory?

MURPHY: Well, the first step of the Allied forces on moving into a new place is to dissolve all Nazi and affiliated organizations. Our forces revoke all Nazi laws which discriminate against racial minorities and anti-Nazis generally. They also get rid of the Nazis in all official posts as soon as possible. Complete freedom of religion is established. When all this is done, and matters are running more or less smoothly, our occupation forces get on to other things.

MACLEISH: You might mention some of the "other things."

MURPHY: All Nazi newspapers are closed down immediately, of course; but as the press is essential, newspapers are gradually allowed to resume publication, under close supervision, after sifting out the Nazis on the staff. Licensing boards will be established to supervise this whole process.

MACLEISH: There has been a great deal said and printed over here, as you probably know, about the necessity for encouraging democratic tendencies, such as may exist in Germany, to provide a basis for popular government in the future. One newspaper columnist put it in this way: "If we treat the whole nation as Nazis, they will react as Nazis. If we differentiate, we will discover differences." Do you agree with that, Mr. Murphy?

MURPHY: Well, Mr. MacLeish, I don't think we should be too optimistic about the early discovery of many "democratic" Germans. After a dozen years of Nazi rule, there's not much left to build on. But we are trying. We are encouraging the trade unions to organize again. Eventually, I believe, we should make it possible for some of the qualified workers in the mines and factories to participate in their management.

MACLEISH: That would be a forward-looking policy by anybody's book. But how about political organizations?

MURPHY: Our only move so far is to outlaw all Nazi political organizations. Eventually we expect to see the political parties which were dissolved by the Nazis stage a come-back. But that would be premature now because of the military situation. It will have to be done gradually. Local self-government will have to come first.

MACLEISH: When the occupation comes, it will of course be shared among the four occupying powers. Now, to what extent have detailed plans been drawn up for that, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: Well, there has been an understanding among the nations as to the general location of the occupation zones. And there has been agreement on the type of central control machinery which will govern Germany—the Allied Control Council.

MACLEISH: How long do you think Germany will probably have to be occupied?

DUNN: It's absolutely impossible to make any predictions as to actual time periods in connection with occupation. One thing is certain: It will be necessary to keep Germany under control for a great many years in order to insure that she doesn't rebuild her armament and start up her militaristic activities all over again. After the tapering off of military control, it will still be necessary to control manufacturing, and possibly the whole economy.

MACLEISH: And what would that require? A corps of civilian observers?

DUNN: Yes. But whatever type of system or control is put into effect, we must not get the idea that that is the solution; it is going to require continued vigilance on the part of this country and the world to see that Germany does not again rearm. No matter what system we adopt, we've got to be on the alert to prevent a new growth of German militarism. Don't you think so, Bob?

MURPHY: I agree. We should be wary of putting our entire confidence in any particular plan of control, as such. We should always bear in mind the importance of Allied unity in dealing with the German problem, and the importance of vigilance in maintaining whatever system of control the Allies put into effect. But, whatever system is adopted the most important element is that there should be back of it informed American public opinion and a continuing interest by our people in this problem.

MACLEISH: Do you think that very large American forces will have to be used over a long period of time to help in policing Germany?

MURPHY: Of course, when the collapse or surrender of Germany takes place, there will be very large American forces in Germany. The size of the American Army to remain in Germany thereafter, for carrying out German disarmament and control, would depend on two things. One is the time we will need effectively to carry out our part of the job; the other is the use of whatever American troops may be necessary in the Far Eastern war.

MACLEISH: Then there is the question about the division of Germany into three or four parts. Several writers have suggested that, Jimmy.

DUNN: The answer to that will depend on the final decision of the United Nations as to the most effective means of preventing Germany from again becoming a war-making nation. That's the prime consideration.

MURPHY: It's not impossible, of course, that there may be a movement inside Germany to divide the country. If such a tendency occurs and the Allies find it to be in the interest of long-term security and the future peace, they may encourage and approve such a development. This question naturally is of the longer-range variety. It should be answered in accordance with what seems to us to be our best interests, and the best interests of Europe as a whole.

MACLEISH: A woman out in Wisconsin has written to ask whether the Austrians will be treated differently from the Germans proper. Jimmy, will the fact that Germany annexed Austria by threat of violence influence our treatment of the Austrians?

DUNN: The Governments of the three big powers made a declaration at Moscow in 1943 in favor of the reestablishment of the independence of Austria. They also added that the action taken by the Austrians themselves in liberating Austria would be taken into account, in determining the status Austria would have after the war. We have reminded the Austrians of that again recently.

MACLEISH: Suppose the Austrians want to continue *Anschluss*—that is, union with Germany—for economic reasons. Would the policy you mention rule that out?

DUNN: I should think *Anschluss* would be definitely ruled out, Archie. Austria would not be combined with Germany in any way, within the foreseeable future at any rate.

MACLEISH: There has been some controversy, as you gentlemen know, over just how Germany should be controlled economically. The alleged proposal that most of Germany's industry be destroyed and Germany be reduced to an agricultural country has been the biggest storm center. Most of the press, and public opinion generally, has opposed it. But a great majority of the public favors stripping Germany of all industry she might conceivably use for war purposes.

DUNN: There's no doubt that will be done. The Yalta declaration says: "It is our inflexible purpose . . . to eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production."

MACLEISH: Some commentators over here have pointed out that in view of war damage, German industry will be almost entirely destroyed. In view of this, what about reparations?

DUNN: Under the Crimea Conference decision the matter of reparations from Germany was left to a commission to meet in Moscow. Isador Lubin, who has long been head of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the U.S. Department of Labor, is to be the American Delegate to the Commission.

MACLEISH: Now we come to one of the toughest questions we have to deal with—that is, the re-education of the Germans. A recent opinion survey showed that Americans believe, by a majority of more than two to one, that there won't be "enough of the right kind of Germans within Germany to reeducate the people along democratic lines". How about that, Jimmy? Are we going to be able to reeducate the Germans?

DUNN: I think this is a very broad problem, one that will have to be given very careful study by experts in the field of education. A program of reeducation which would make Germany a peace-loving nation must be instituted. It seems to me that the two most important aspects of the long-range treatment of Germany are the reeducation of the Germans and the reestablishment of the rights of labor.

MACLEISH: A radio forum I heard recently came to the conclusion that reform of education should come from within Germany, but that such reform should be made "a part of an international program of cooperation, through an international office of education". In the light of your experience, so far, Bob, do you have any ideas on how reeducation should proceed?

MURPHY: Well, to begin with, Archie, all Nazi teachers, teachings, and textbooks must be eliminated in the early period of control. Schools will

be closed temporarily until necessary adjustments of faculties and textbooks have been effected.

MACLEISH: Will there be enough Germans who are democratic and anti-Nazi to fill the teaching jobs?

MURPHY: That is a tough question. In the Aachen area it was found that only a small percentage of the school teachers who remained were not members of the Nazi Party. Some of the local Germans who offered their services to the Military Government authorities, proposing to carry out a program of education adapted to liberal ideas, were found to be of exceedingly doubtful origin. It will not be easy always to identify a school teacher as a member of the Nazi Party or to determine what affiliation he or she might have had with Nazi organizations, such as the Storm Troopers or the Hitler Jugend. This will require careful and patient screening over a considerable period of time. I believe that unquestionably the Allies must supervise this delicate operation.

MACLEISH: According to one public-opinion poll, two thirds of Americans favor some sort of Allied supervision over German education after the war.

DUNN: I should think we would certainly want to keep an eye on the reeducation process. That will be essential if we ever expect to see a democratic Germany emerge from the occupation period. But to bring that about—we'll have to find or train Germans to do the main job.

MACLEISH: Now, gentlemen, we have spent virtually all of our time on Germany, which is appropriate enough, since we've got to deal with a post-war Germany in the very near future. In the Pacific there is much more fighting still to be done. But, Jimmy, you might at least touch on our policy toward Japan.

DUNN: Well, Archie, our plans are much less advanced where Japan is concerned. We have to take first things first. Then, too, very little can be said about long-range plans for Japan, for obvious military reasons.

MACLEISH: Of course, some things are a matter of record. Our stand on unconditional surrender applies to Japan as well as Germany.

DUNN: Yes. We'll have no more truck with the Japanese militarists than with the Nazis. As far back as December 1943, the Cairo declaration made it clear that "the three Allies . . . will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan". President

Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said that.

**MACLEISH:** And the same United Nations leaders also announced at Cairo that Japan will be stripped of every bit of territory she has taken by force of arms, since she started on the warpath back in the 1890's. Formosa and Manchuria will be restored to China, and the Koreans will get their independence "in due course", which presumably means as soon as they are in a position to govern themselves. What can you add to that, Jimmy?

**DUNN:** Well, as Under Secretary Grew has said, "There can be no peace anywhere in the world until the Japanese, as well as the Nazi enemy, is laid low". If the resistance on Iwo Jima is any criterion, we've still got a big job on our hands to defeat Japan on her home islands and on the mainland. Once Japan is beaten, she will of course be completely demilitarized, like Germany.

**MACLEISH:** One question that our correspondents show a lot of interest in is: What is our policy toward the Japanese Emperor?

**DUNN:** Mr. Grew has told the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that no one is in a position to determine the post-war position of the Japanese Emperor at this stage of the game. I would like to say this—certainly neither the State Department nor Mr. Grew is defending the Emperor.

**MACLEISH:** What this all seems to come down to is the conclusion that our plans for the treatment of Japan, like the end of the Japanese war itself, are still in the future. So far as Germany is concerned, however, we seem to be able to make some pretty precise statements. I would sum them up in this way. First, we are definitely committed to the policy of unconditional surrender. We believe that Nazism can only really be destroyed and the war really won on that basis. We believe the great majority of the American people feel the same way. Secondly, it is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany but only the gangs who have misgoverned, mismanaged, and misled them. That means that we propose to punish—and really to punish—the guilty war leaders and their tools and agents. Third, our whole policy for the occupation of Germany is a policy aimed at stamping out Nazi controls at every point. We don't know how long it will be necessary to occupy Germany in order to undo the evil work which has been done there, but we propose to stay with the job until

it is finished. We believe, however, that something more than the destruction of the physical power of Germany to make war will be required. We feel that the German people must themselves change their point of view about their relation to the rest of the world. This we think is one of the toughest problems with which we are faced. It is tough because it is part of the larger problem of the future reintegration of the German people into the community of mankind.

**ANNOUNCER:** That was Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Public and Cultural Relations. With him were Assistant Secretary James C. Dunn, who is in charge of European, Near Eastern, and Far Eastern Affairs, and Ambassador Robert Murphy, Political Adviser to General Eisenhower. This was the fifth of seven programs on the problems of *Building the Peace*, featuring top officials of the Department of State. Copies of this broadcast or of all seven State Department programs may be obtained by writing to the Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. These programs are part of a larger series on "Our Foreign Policy", arranged by NBC's University of the Air. Starting on April 14, NBC will present members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, after which the series will be moved to San Francisco for the opening of the United Nations Conference on April 25.

Next week at this same time you will hear a discussion of America's good neighbors in Latin America. Archibald MacLeish will be back. With him will be Assistant Secretary of State Nelson Rockefeller, who is in charge of American republic affairs. Mr. Rockefeller recently returned from the Inter-American Conference on the Problems of War and Peace at Mexico City, as did Mr. Avra Warren, Director of the Office of American Republics, who will also be on the program, and our Ambassador to Cuba, Spruille Braden, who will speak from Habana. They will answer such questions as these:

**VOICE No. 1:** How is the good-neighbor policy related to the Monroe Doctrine?

**VOICE No. 2:** What is this Economic Charter of the Americas that came out of the Mexico City conference?

**VOICE No. 3:** What about Argentina?

**ANNOUNCER:** This program came to you from Washington, D.C. This is the National Broadcasting Company.

# The Youth of the World and the Problem of Peace

Address by BRYN J. HOVDE<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 21]

To you who have organized this most inspiring meeting, let me express sincere congratulations. I know from considerable personal experience what shrewd planning and solid work it takes to organize such an occasion. You have reason to feel deeply gratified. But even more I would congratulate the multitudes in the United States and in all freedom-loving countries who cherish the ideals of peace. Whether this world shall be at peace for but a relatively short time or for a long time depends upon the youth of the world. Very likely the terms and conditions of peace, and its organizational structure, will be more directly the handiwork of your fathers and mothers, even your grandparents, than your own. Yet, important as we must agree this immediate handiwork to be, it is not important at all compared with the degree to which the young people of the world are now and remain throughout their lives determined to maintain the peace. If they are utterly so determined, they will continually repair and improve upon the work of their elders. They will properly nurture their children to continue on the same road, but beyond the point they reached themselves. If, through the determination of the youth of the world, peace can be preserved and made to grow for two or three generations, perhaps conditions so favorable for its maintenance will have been created that it will never again be seriously disturbed. It is because you have in the World Youth Week, in your organization, and in your work exemplified the determination of youth for peace that I feel deeply hopeful for the common people of all lands.

Here I suppose I might, in a way, appropriately close my remarks, for this in general is what I came to say. But the urge to elaborate somewhat upon the text is irresistible to one whose work in life has been mainly that of learning and teaching.

I shall not speak with special reference to the youth that is present here or even directly rep-

resented here. Your organizations and their members have undoubtedly labored in thought to a point quite beyond the simple things I shall say tonight. Until the war began we of middle age considered our generation the generation of youth. Looking backwards now I realize that we viewed the generation pretty elastically. But with the war we were suddenly and brutally made old-age conscious. We suffer rather tragically from a sense of failure. We are prone to consider ours a *lost generation*. We have a profound parental devotion to your generation, the youth of today. You are confronting today almost identically the same problems as we confronted, too, at your age. Therefore I ask you to consider me for the time being a self-appointed spokesman for the thoughtful members of our generation, or, if you will, the Lost Generation, to your youthful generation, which must not lose itself.

In the wilderness certain rules, if we take careful note of them and make them *ours*, will enable us always to move freely about without losing the way. Our older generation probably lost its way, it seems to some of us, because we rushed on headlong to make what we called "progress", without taking these rules into account. We are much concerned that your splendid younger one shall avoid our errors. Considering how *we* failed and how *you* are paying for that failure, it may seem impertinent of us to give you advice. But, after all, we have quite an interest in you; weak as we may have been, we gave you life. In making the most of life, experience is very helpful—especially if it be bitter but vicarious. It has been bitter to us; may it be only vicarious to you.

The first principle, one which was missed by most of us, but which properly learned can never be lost from view, is at the same time very simple and very mysterious. It cannot be learned without positive and conscious effort, yet it comes naturally to him who makes the effort. It is furthermore something which can only be learned by the individual for himself, yet it must be a light and a guide to the whole generation. It is not easy to describe in words. But if you know what

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the World Youth Rally in New York, N. Y., on Mar. 21, 1945. Mr. Hovde is Chief of the Division of Cultural Cooperation, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State.

Socrates meant when he said "Know thyself," you have learned this landmark. Shakespeare put it a little differently: "To thine own self be true . . . thou canst not then be false to any man".

Knowing oneself is vastly different from knowing how to read, knowing what is in the textbook, or even knowing science so well as to possess mastery over the energies of nature. Academic robes bespeak no degree of attainment in self-knowledge. This is essentially a question of personal morality, a question of having convictions. No generation previous to ours had been marked by so high a degree of literacy, book knowledge, and scientific mastery of nature. But for want of truly knowing itself, thus attaining a moral mission in life, our generation remained badly confused. Progress to most of us had no social or ethical connotation; it consisted merely of being able to have or enjoy the wonderful gadgets produced by applied science. No wonder we got lost, so much lost that we did not even protect the peace that allowed us to enjoy our false kind of progress. You must, in the words of Kierkegaard, become ethical, not merely esthetic, personalities; you must give your individual thinking order and direction if you are going to establish order and peace among nations. The individual is still important.

There is another point of reference, which will prove a good guide. He who knows himself well enough will have no difficulty learning this rule, namely, that we must have regard for other people. Robinson Crusoe is interesting mainly for his misfortune in being isolated from his fellow men, and only secondarily for his ingenuity in finding ways to remain alive. The fact is that the rules by which men live best, their ethics in other words, are almost preponderantly rules for living with other human beings. The rights we claim for ourselves as individuals we cannot long enjoy unless we extend them to our fellows. The right of free speech is not one that any individual or even any group of individuals can monopolize and long continue to enjoy for themselves. Its very denial to anyone creates the conflict that must eventually cause it to be shared. The right of access to the truth, through education, through free informational services such as the press, the radio, and motion pictures, and through forms of worship, cannot in the long run be withheld from any one without entailing its loss to those who would limit it. We have learned by bitter experience in our older generation that an economic and social system which

results, either by deliberate design or by mere inadvertence, in scarcity of work and in social insecurity for some can only jeopardize the work and security of all. Democracy is a contradiction of itself unless it be complete. Therefore, man does not live unto himself alone.

We have learned by experience this simple lesson, which we could have learned from history and which we would spare you the bitterness of learning by your own experience—the lesson that the establishment of *peace at home* is a necessary antecedent to the establishment of *peace between nations*. The nation that has no peace at home, which permits irreconcilable conflict to endure within its own body, will be a disturber of peace between nations. Peace at home, however, cannot be won by the brute force of one group, even if that group be a majority. It can exist only by substituting the processes of orderly change for an impossible unchanging order. The cure for the evils of partial democracy is more, not less, democracy. And democracy is based upon the ethical principles of individual integrity and regard for our neighbors. When the youth of today wants peace between nations, it must know that it must first establish a democratic peace at home.

Finally, there is a third point of orientation which our generation knows from sad experience must not be lost from view. It can be expressed idiomatically in the cliché, "Get wise, organize!" Having learned, each within himself, the lessons of personal integrity and personal conviction, and having imbued itself with a democratic regard for the well-being of other individuals and groups, the youth of the world must organize *to achieve the common welfare*. Organization for action is essential in the democratic way of life. Indeed, an unorganized society is almost inconceivable. What distinguishes democratic organization from other forms of organization, however, is this: that democracy is more than mere organization. It is no mere ritual to cover the preservation of the *status quo*; it is dynamic; it implies life and growth.

Therefore, as your generation organizes for action to preserve the peace at home and between nations, it is important to be on guard against two dangers: first, the danger of accepting a set of absolute, static ideals; second, the danger of mere factionalism, or the irreconcilable fragmentation of ideals. Our generation has failed, in large part, because we did not orient ourselves adequately with

reference to the guiding principles of organization. Most of us ignored entirely the obligation to organize for the preservation of peace; some of us thought the obligation to organize meant organization to preserve an impossible *status quo*; and too many of the rest of us would not be practical, or sensible, in our organizational work, insisting that our many specific ultimate ideals alone be the beneficiaries of our organizational energies and refusing stubbornly to compromise so that at least such ideals as we held in common might be realized. You must do better than we. You must be fertile in ideals, but you must be effective in action, and you will discover, quickly we hope, that when it comes to organization for effective action it is necessary to seek the highest common denominator in ideals. Do not be ashamed of such compromise, provided it is made deliberately with the firm resolve to set a higher common denominator for the next step. This is the way, in a democracy, the people gets what it wants. This is what makes democracy dynamic.

I have spoken thus far principally of the manner in which the responsible individual and responsible democracy must approach all problems, with only sufficient allusion to the main interest of the World Youth Week Rally, namely a lasting peace, to indicate that in this area, too, the guideposts I have enumerated are valid. May I attempt now to outline what the youth of the world can contribute to a progressive solution of the problem of world peace?

I have mentioned the fact that it is necessary for each individual and for youth as a group to know itself and the moral problems of the age well enough to have profound, not merely superficial, convictions about them. Most certainly the problem of establishing and maintaining world peace is the most important problem of this age. The real question is therefore whether your generation, no less than our older one, is possessed of really deep convictions upon it.

It would, at first asking, seem possible to answer with an immediate affirmative. Ask any service man or woman, or their people back home, what they want above all else, and the answering chorus around the whole world replies "peace". Your generation is fighting for it and dying for it. Ours, shame-facedly conscious of our failure to keep it for you, whom we love so much, join earnestly in wanting peace back upon the earth. And we know proudly, you and we, that the war

is being won. But does that of itself mean that we shall have peace, or even that we all possess the necessary fundamental ethical conviction that will enable us not to get lost again, not again to allow the establishment of peace to go by default? Probably not. At least we had better not take it for granted. Our generation wanted peace after the last war and made such effort as we could to establish it upon a firm foundation. But we lacked the moral convictions to follow through. Both our generations want peace after victory, but we shall fail again unless we have the everlasting conviction to stay with the job for the rest of our lives.

The youth of today must insist, together with the rest of us who have learned from the bitter cup of failure, that the peace be organized, and together we must organize to keep the peace. Our experience of failure should not discourage you, but should merely be a lesson. That is the only value in failure—to teach us lessons. Let us remember that the first American constitution was also a disappointment, and that it was followed by a brilliant success based upon the realism learned in failure.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a world security organization, drawn up by the four great powers, have been submitted to the peoples of the United Nations and their associates for discussion and debate. That discussion has been active and sincere, a most heartening proof of greater intelligence and moral conviction on the problem of world peace than ever existed before. Everywhere there is recognition that this time a realistic, practical effort is being made by those who possess the great bulk of the world's power to find a solid basis for a world organization. These Proposals and others will be discussed at the forthcoming international conference at San Francisco. Definitive agreement upon a form for world organization will almost certainly be achieved by the delegates, and will then be referred back to each participating government for ratification.

And here my generation has something very important to say to the generation of youth. I have alluded to it before, but it needs to be underlined in red pencil in this connection. As you and we consider proposals for a world organization and organize ourselves for effective maintenance of peace, let us not this time be deluded into impractical byways where, in zeal for pure idealism, we sacrifice all achievement. No docu-

ment has ever come from the hand of fallible man that other men could not criticize. What has already been proposed, and any plan that may be agreed upon, are necessarily subject to this common fate. And they may be imperfect measured against the yardstick of the most ideal. The finding that should determine our final judgment, however, is whether or not the eventual proposal represents the best that can be achieved as the highest common denominator of the world's idealism at this stage in history. If it be so, let us organize to support it.

Without such organized support from decade to decade, no world organization, however ideally constructed, can long endure. No human institution derives vitality from itself, but only from the people who support it. We must be in position to protect it from those who would destroy it, adjust and strengthen it where experience proves that it is inadequate, and thus to make of it a living thing. This is particularly the duty of those who today are young. Youth can devote to this a whole lifetime. It will take a whole lifetime and many lifetimes beyond, each filled with unstinted devotion. But in such time and with such consecration the people can transform even a very small beginning into a splendid finale.

The people can thus transform it. You who are young, and the children who will follow you, throughout the world—you are the people. The people of the world are many and diverse. They think differently, live differently, and act differently. This is fortunate because it is in differentiation that evolutionary progress manifests its power. A flattening out, or complete blending, of the many and interesting cultures of the world is neither to be sought for its own sake nor would it be any support to peace. But cooperation between the cultures of the world, their constant cross-fertilization, can not only enrich them all by an infinite variety of mutations but can so much acquaint the peoples of the world with each other that it promises to be the best of all factors in the preservation of peace. A world organization for peace will remain effective only as long as the peoples of the world want peace. And people do not want war with others whom they know and whom they like. The problem therefore is to organize such relationships between the peoples of the world as will naturally acquaint them sympa-

thetically with each other. This is the purpose of cultural cooperation, public and private.

Never before has man possessed for communication with his fellows instruments or media so instantaneously effective and therefore so fraught with potentialities for good and evil. The more we extend our powers, the more we add to our responsibility for their use in the common welfare. The welfare of all lies in the free flow of information, even if in that flow there may be a mixture of common human frailties. The people, God bless them, are like the earth itself in their capacity to receive vileness and to neutralize it. Give them the rain of facts and the sun of unrestricted common sense; then the evil of falsehood will be nullified in a strange but common alchemy.

But as responsible human beings people cannot depend on the mere chance of the free exchange of information for their knowledge of each other or the ways in which they may help one another. This is something to be sought deliberately. If we want to be neighbors in the good old sense, neighbors who develop everlasting friendships with each other, we must not only pay one another formal calls through the conventional diplomatic procedures. We must develop something more than a mere speaking acquaintance between the peoples of the world. Good neighbors visit with each other. Their young peoples exchange with one another their family ways and the family gossip, work out together their problems in algebra, and resolve not to let minor disagreements become irreparable. Between nations the same neighborliness is achieved through a program of student exchange. In later life such experiences are summed up in Americanese by saying, "I grew up with that fellow. He's okay." Among friendly neighbors groups of young people and adults are often brought together in one of the homes or in a community meeting hall to listen to the wisdom of a preacher, a teacher, or a traveler. Between nations the analogy is the exchange of professors and leaders. Afterwards we say, "Yes, I heard him speak. They must be fine people where he comes from." In real neighborhoods the women exchange recipes, bring one another samples of their prize cooking, and teach one another new skills at the quilting party. The men throw some horseshoes, teach one another how to set the lawn-

(Continued on page 506)



# Displaced Populations in Europe in 1944 With Particular Reference to Germany

By JANE PERRY CLARK CAREY<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the greatest population movements of history is taking place before our eyes. As the German retreat has rolled westward before the oncoming Soviet troops and as the Allied armies have pushed eastward on the western front, millions of people have been uprooted and are fleeing toward the center of Germany. These new groups of displaced persons, including all those separated from their homes and consequently in need of some sort of help, are rising in number by the tens of thousands. Technically a displaced person is a person swept by war away from his normal place of residence, whether beyond the borders of his own country or within them. Frequently the term is used to mean a civilian driven by war into an alien country, such as a foreign worker forced to labor in the German Reich or a prisoner of war held in an enemy country. The total number of uprooted and displaced people in Germany today may run as high as 23 or 24 million, though 18 to 20 million is probably a more accurate guess and includes some 9½ million foreign laborers and prisoners of war, 4 to 5 million displaced Germans returning from outside the Reich, and 4 million and probably more war fugitives who have fled before the oncoming Soviet and Allied troops. These groups must be added to the possible 20 to 30 million<sup>2</sup> of the people of Europe already torn from their moorings by the terrific impact of the war. This displacement in Germany presents the most complicated section of the total European picture, both because of the numbers involved and because of the wide geographical and political implications of the German situation.

The number of French in Germany today shows not only the size but also the different facets of the problem. There are 2½ million of these

French, so that 3 out of 5 French families probably have someone in Germany. The total includes, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, about 800,000 deported workers, 1 million prisoners of war, and 600,000 persons deported from France to Germany for political reasons. The prisoners of war have been away from France since June 1940 and the deported workers for about 18 months or less, while the majority of the political deportees were removed from France in the summer of 1944.

## Forced Labor in Germany

One of the most important categories of displaced population within Germany is that of forced labor. There are constant references in the newspapers to the 12 million foreigners sent from almost all the occupied countries and a few from the European neutral countries; as, for instance, in the appeal of the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force issued on February 11, 1945, when the foreign workers on German railroads were urged to leave their work or aid in preventing the movement of trains. It stated: "your own liberation and that of the 12 million foreign workers in Germany . . . depend on your actions". The number, 12 million, has never been used to refer to any definite territorial area. It is probable that this number includes not only foreigners working in Germany but also those formerly working for Germany in countries outside its boundaries; as, for instance, the large number of Soviet workers, predominantly women, sent by the Germans to France and found by the American Armies on occupation.

If *Germany* is used to mean Germany before the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland, the number means one thing. If *Germany* refers to the country after such annexation, the number means another thing, and still another if Luxembourg, Alsace-Lorraine, and various areas of Poland are included.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eugene M. Kulischer, *The Displacement of Population in Europe* (Montreal, 1943).

Last of all, the definition of *worker* is a contributing factor in estimating the total. About 85 percent of all prisoners of war are considered as workers, though the Geneva convention of 1929 provides restriction as to the kind of work prisoners of war of all countries of Europe, except the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, may perform and the conditions under which such work may be carried out.<sup>3</sup> The U. S. S. R. is not a signatory of the convention; therefore, it is denied the protection of the convention.

The most accurate estimates of the number of forced workers in Germany refer to the Reich as of September 1, 1939, plus the incorporated Polish provinces, Alsace-Lorraine, and Luxembourg. By the beginning of January 1944 the number of foreign laborers in the Greater Reich was approximately 8,600,000, made up of 6,400,000 civilian workers and 2,200,000 working prisoners of war.<sup>4</sup>

Austria is included, since the moving of German industrial plants from severely bombed German areas together with the growth of new industry necessitated the upbuilding of a large labor force. Possibly 70 percent of all the factory workers today are foreigners, with a total of 1,500,000 foreign factory and agricultural workers. The Sudetenland, annexed by Germany in 1939 and then incorporated into Germany, is also included and is estimated to have 300,000 foreign workers, almost half of whom are employed in agriculture. Many laborers were deported to Germany from Luxembourg, which was incorporated into Germany in 1940. It is hard to find how many laborers were sent because of the fact that Luxembourgers are not regarded as foreigners.

The total number of foreigners taken into Germany as laborers probably did not grow greatly in 1944 because of the terrific pounding of Ger-

<sup>3</sup> Arts. 31 and 32 of the Geneva convention [Treaty Series 846] state:

"Labor furnished by prisoners of war shall have no direct relation with war operations. It is especially prohibited to use prisoners for manufacturing and transporting arms or munitions of any kind, or for transporting material intended for combatant units."

"It is forbidden to use prisoners of war at unhealthful or dangerous work.

"Any aggravation of the conditions of labor by disciplinary measures is forbidden."

<sup>4</sup>"The Mobilisation of Foreign Labour by Germany", *International Labour Review*, vol. L, no. 4 (ILO, Montreal, Oct. 1944). Based on information communicated to the ILO by Dr. Kulischer, with the cooperation of Dr. J. B. Schechtmann.

many by air raids. A plan was inaugurated by which Germany carried on her war manufacturing in outside territories which she occupied and carried war products into the Reich rather than workers to make those products. It is possible that the recent shrinkage of German borders may have meant a new removal of factories back into Germany. Furthermore, the vast number of refugees in Germany provides available sources of manpower and lessens the necessity for transportation of foreign workers into the country.

Beginning in the early summer of 1944, induction of labor for the Reich largely stopped in Belgium, France, and Holland, but workers were still being deported to Germany from Northern Italy, and a renewed campaign for deportation from Holland was undertaken, though probably for punitive rather than manpower purposes.

Growing manpower shortages and war needs have emphasized the need for maximum use of workers already in Germany. Workers formerly on contracts for definite periods are now conscripted for compulsory labor. Except for neutrals and in rare emergencies, periodic leaves for workers to take trips within the Reich or to their home countries were no longer permitted, because of difficulties in getting these workers back and also because of increased pressure for war production.

Probably about one fifth of the workers from Europe outside of the U. S. S. R. are women. There are probably a larger number of forced women workers among the Russians, if one can judge from the large number of Russian women found by our armies in France. Some Latvian, Polish, and Soviet women are servants in German homes.

Foreign workers, formerly permitted to live in private homes because of housing shortages, in the spring of 1944 began to be sent in increasing numbers to labor camps, for prevention of any foreign contact with the Germans and for surveillance. By July of that year about 100,000 camp leaders, who would act as liaison officials between the German and foreign national groups, were reported to have been appointed from among those workers whom the Germans regarded as "reliable" elements among the foreigners.

In the summer and fall of 1944, in order to keep foreign workers from efforts at sabotage and from spreading dissatisfaction among German workers,

and in order to obtain maximum use of much-needed skilled workers, their treatment was improved. Differences in wages and taxes between eastern and other workers were dropped, and Soviet prisoners were reported by the Germans by the mid-winter of 1944 to be "treated as people of a friendly nation", though the truth of this statement is doubtful. Honorary orders were planned for foreign workers, and in labor legislation even eastern workers were treated substantially in the same way as German workers, though in practice the eastern workers often continued to have the heaviest and dirtiest work. In the fall of 1944 it was reported that well over a thousand foreign doctors were on hand to care for foreign workers and that many Ukrainian priests were present to look after their own nationals. In October foreign workers were promised the same food rations as the Germans, together with the prospect of a Christmas bonus.

On the other hand, fear of the presence in Germany of large numbers of foreigners led to repressive measures and was a major reason for the establishment of the Volksturm. Reports indicate that foreign workers have been deliberately killed. Many workers fled the country, and in December more than 50,000 were reported to have escaped into the Black Forest en route to Switzerland or possibly into the forests and mountains of Austria. By November 1944 sabotage and unrest were spreading among the workers in Germany. As the retreat began on the eastern front and as displaced persons streamed into the center of Germany, authorities in Hamburg, Bremen, Kiel, Rostock, and other northern port cities were reported to be taking special precautions because of the fear that foreign workers might provoke the German people to strike and revolt.

The number of Belgian forced laborers runs into high figures: an estimated 500,000 by January 1944.<sup>5</sup> An increase in this number is unlikely in view of Germany's recent desire to keep those laborers working for Germany in industries outside Germany. Tens of thousands of Belgians had not returned to Germany at the expiration of their home leave. Nearly 100,000 Belgians had been sent to German-occupied countries, namely France and the Netherlands. The number of dis-

placed Belgian and Netherlands workers and war fugitives is so great that Belgium and the Netherlands have entered into an agreement to care for each other's nationals pending repatriation.

By the beginning of 1944 35,000 Bulgarians were working in Germany; and probably few, if any, more entered after that date. About 100,000 Slovaks, 18,000 *Volksdeutsche* from Slovakia, and 230,000 Czechs from Czechoslovakia were working in Germany on January 1, 1944. The Czech Government in November 1944 estimated that one third of all the Czech skilled workers have been sent to Germany. Part of the workers in the incorporated Czech territory, particularly of the 19-year-old group, are sent to Germany for ten months' training in Reich factories, but the general German policy has been to keep Czechs employed at home in their own war production. The number of Slovaks in Germany decreased from 120,000 in 1942 to 100,000 in 1943. A large proportion of the Slovakian workers are women employed in German war industry.

There has been a constant movement of Danish workers to and from the Reich. On January 1, 1944 approximately 23,000 Danes were working in Germany. After the attempted revolt in Denmark in the fall of 1944, regulations for Danish workers in Germany became more stringent, and they were prohibited from leaving their camps in the evening. Many were employed probably in coast towns not far from the Danish border, especially in Hamburg, but 5,000 are reported to have fled after the bombings of July 1943.

About 15,000 Estonians, largely agricultural laborers, were working in Germany on January 1, 1944. This number probably has increased because of the flight of refugees from the Baltic countries into Germany in the summer and fall of 1944. Many Estonian boys and girls by January 1944 had been sent to the Reich for work. By March of that year at least 100,000 Lithuanians together with 60,000 Latvians, largely farmers, domestic servants, and shipyard workers, had been sent to Germany for work. It is probable that both of these groups have also greatly increased.

On the first of the year 1944 there were about 1,100,000 French civilian workers in Germany, including 800,000 to 900,000 workers recruited for Germany and 250,000 prisoners of war who had accepted a status changed to that of so-called "free workers" and as such have been treated as work-

<sup>5</sup> "The Mobilisation of Foreign Labour by Germany," *op. cit.*, p. 472 ff. All figures following are references to this article unless otherwise stated.



ers rather than as prisoners of war. It is reported that after June 26, 1944 no more workers left France for Germany. There was a constant return movement to France, at least until the Allied liberation. Probably the return movement canceled the flow to Germany.

Early in 1944, 20,000 Greek laborers were working in Germany. Women constituted almost one fourth of that number because of the difficulties confronting Greek women in their search for work at home.

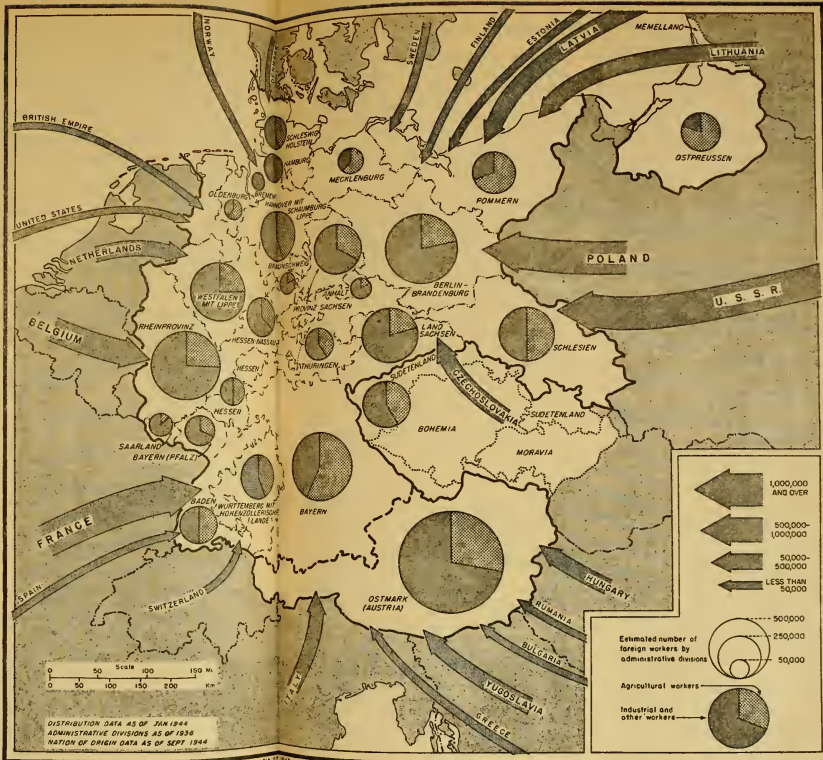
By the beginning of 1944 there were not more than 25,000 Hungarian workers in Greater Germany; but following the German occupation of Hungary in the spring of 1944 it was planned to recruit 150,000 workers. This plan was probably carried out. Later a reported 160,000 Hungarian Jews were in labor service in several localities in German-controlled territory, particularly Austria.

A conservative estimate of the number of Italian workers in Germany in the beginning of 1944 is 180,000, in addition to 170,000 working prisoners of war. An agreement between Mussolini and Hitler in May 1944 provided for almost total labor conscription in Italy for Germany. An attempt was still being made to carry out this conscription in North Italy in the fall of 1944. In the summer of 1944 it was reported that a large number of interned Italian prisoners of war were being released for work as so-called "free civilians". It is reported that in November 1944 almost all young men in Trieste were being arrested in the streets and deported to Germany for forced labor. In one day 1,200 young men were picked up and sent.

The Netherlands Unemployment Council estimated there were 282,000 Netherlands forced laborers in Germany in the spring of 1944. The number has probably greatly increased since then because of German efforts to break the resistance movement by deportation to Germany. Tens of thousands of young men and women are reported to have been sent to Germany in large-scale round-ups in Holland. All men and boys from 16 to 40 were being called together in the winter of 1944.

## Foreign Workers in Germany, 1944

### Distribution and Nation of Origin



45.<sup>6</sup> It was stated that 50,000 were taken from Rotterdam and even larger numbers from The Hague and Leiden. A number of these men succeeded in escaping. Students were regarded as leaders of sabotage and underground movements in Germany; many of these have been sent to punishment camps.

It is probable that no more than 2,000 Norwegians are working in Germany, because of Norway's own need for labor. Several hundred political prisoners are reported to have been sent to Germany for forced labor.

In January 1944 there were 1,400,000 Polish workers in the Greater Reich, of whom 900,000 came from the General Government (less those who died or had returned home), 250,000 came from the incorporated Polish provinces, and 250,000 were prisoners of war converted into free workers. The number of Polish workers in Germany apparently has not greatly decreased since then. At the beginning of 1944, 24,000 Polish workers were reported to have been sent to the Ruhr basin for work. Allied armies entering Germany have found some of these.

The number of Rumanian workers increased from the 4,500 known to be in Germany at the beginning of 1943 to an estimated 6,000 by the first of 1944. Since that time the number has probably not greatly increased.

Estimates of Soviet civilian workers are complicated by scarcity of information and by the changing meaning of the German term *eastern workers*, which apparently now includes laborers from the entire Soviet territory which was formerly German-occupied. In January 1944 there were probably 2,000,000. It is possible the number has increased because of forcible abduction of civilians by the retreating German Army and some voluntary evacuation of Soviet citizens.

The number of forced laborers in Germany from Yugoslavia at the beginning of 1944 was approximately 270,000. In April 1943 200,000 Croats were working in the Reich, including those who had come from France and Belgium, where they had been living for years. Although a large number of the Croats are seasonal agricultural workers, 200,000 is an average number of Croats in Ger-

many. There were an additional 60,000 to 70,000 Serbs.

#### Prisoners of War in Germany

Prisoners of war form another important category of displaced persons, for they are numerous and will have to be returned home. Under the 1929 Geneva convention regulating the employment and living conditions of prisoners of war, officers may not be required to work, though enlisted men may be required to do certain kinds of work under certain conditions.<sup>7</sup>

Practically all the able-bodied prisoners of war, besides commissioned officers and others not required to work, are employed as workers either in Germany or in German-occupied territories. In January 1944 there were approximately 2,200,000 employed prisoners of war besides commissioned officers and others not obliged to work. These last two groups average about 15 percent of the total number of prisoners of war.

The Germans formerly sent United Nations prisoners of war to the east for agricultural work and for protection from bombing and military operations as required by the Geneva convention. The winter retreat in 1944-45 necessitated removal to the center of the country of Allied prisoners of war who had been in the east. As of January 1944 approximately 29,000 Americans were held in camps in the districts affected. Many of these are being sent westward on foot, in accordance with the Geneva convention, which allows prisoners of war to make maximum daily marches of 12½

<sup>7</sup> Art. 27 of the Geneva convention states:

"Belligerents may utilize the labor of able prisoners of war, according to their rank and aptitude, officers and persons of equivalent status excepted.

"However, if officers or persons of equivalent status request suitable work, it shall be secured for them so far as is possible.

"Noncommissioned officers who are prisoners of war shall only be required to do supervisory work, unless they expressly request a remunerative occupation.

"Belligerents shall be bound, during the whole period of captivity, to allow to prisoners of war who are victims of accidents in connection with their work the enjoyment of the benefit of the provisions applicable to laborers of the same class according to the legislation of the detaining Power. With regard to prisoners of war to whom these legal provisions might not be applied by reason of the legislation of that Power, the latter undertakes to recommend to its legislative body all proper measures equitably to indemnify the victims."

<sup>6</sup> *Netherlands News*, vol. II, no. 5, Jan. 15, 1945, p. 154.

miles unless longer ones are necessary to reach food and shelter.<sup>8</sup>

The westward Russian drive was reported to have freed 100,000 to 200,000 French from prisoners-of-war and concentration camps, out of a total of 2,500,000 Frenchmen in Germany or German-occupied territory.

About 1,000,000 Frenchmen are prisoners of war in Germany; and of these about 870,000 are at work. The figure excludes 250,000 converted to the status of free workers in German employment. These were persuaded to change their status to that of free workers because of the presumption they would be better fed and cared for than prisoners. The total of both working prisoners and free workers is 1,120,000. The free workers, who wear civilian clothes, are treated not as prisoners of war but as civilian laborers. It is probable that these men voluntarily accepted the status of laborers because of advantages which they received, such as greater freedom and possibly better food. Since under the French law they are said to be regarded as on furlough and still legally as prisoners of war not demobilized, they will be subject to the French military authorities on their return if a question is raised concerning their status.

Of the 126,178 Belgian prisoners of war in Germany in December 1940, 68,600 remained by November 1943.

Since Luxembourg was incorporated as an integral part of Germany in 1942, Luxembourgers of military age were forced into the German Army and were not counted as prisoners of war.

\* Arts. 7 and 9 of the Geneva convention state:

"Prisoners of war shall be evacuated within the shortest possible period after their capture, to depots located in a region far enough from the zone of combat for them to be out of danger.

"Only prisoners who, because of wounds or sickness, would run greater risks by being evacuated than by remaining where they are may be temporarily kept in a dangerous zone.

"Prisoners shall not be needlessly exposed to danger while awaiting their evacuation from the combat zone.

"Evacuation of prisoners on foot may normally be effected only by stages of 20 kilometers a day, unless the necessity of reaching water and food depots requires longer stages."

"No prisoner may, at any time, be sent into a region where he might be exposed to the fire of the combat zone, nor used to give protection from bombardment to certain points or certain regions by his presence."

In October the *International Labour Review* reported 133,207 Yugoslav prisoners of war in Germany. Almost all these prisoners are Serbs, as prisoners of German, Hungarian, Albanian, and Macedonian descent were released, as well as all the Croat prisoners, reported released in 1941 after the creation of the puppet state of Croatia. About 95,000 of the prisoners of war are employed as workers.

On April 15, 1943 only 56,000 of a former 694,000 Polish prisoners of war were still in German prison camps, including officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the regular Polish military standing army.

Because of the fact that the U. S. S. R. is not a signatory of the Geneva convention no International Red Cross visits are made to camps containing Soviet prisoners.<sup>9</sup> The number of Soviet prisoners of war is therefore impossible to estimate accurately. In view of the character of military operations on the Soviet front in 1944 it can be assumed that the number of Soviet prisoners of war has not greatly increased. These prisoners were originally put to work on the spot. In 1944 they were shifted to Germany in increasing numbers.

A large number of Soviet war prisoners were sent to work in various German-occupied terri-

<sup>9</sup> Arts. 78 and 79 of the Geneva convention state:

"Relief societies for prisoners of war, which are properly constituted in accordance with the laws of their country and with the object of serving as the channel for charitable effort, shall receive from the belligerents, for themselves and their duly accredited agents, every facility for the efficient performance of their humane task within the bounds imposed by military necessities. Agents of these societies may be admitted to the camps for the purpose of distributing relief, as also to the halting places of repatriated prisoners, if furnished with a personal permit by the military authorities, and on giving an undertaking in writing to comply with all measures of order and police which the latter may issue."

"A central information agency for prisoners of war shall be created in a neutral country. The International Committee of the Red Cross shall propose the organization of such an agency to the interested Powers, if it considers it necessary.

"The function of that agency shall be to centralize all information respecting prisoners, which it may obtain through official or private channels; it shall transmit it as quickly as possible to the country of origin of the prisoners or to the Power which they have served.

"These provisions must not be interpreted as restricting the humanitarian activity of the International Committee of the Red Cross."

tories, such as France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway. As already indicated a large number of these were found by American forces in both France and Belgium, together with deported Soviet civilian workers, including many women. In assembly camps in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands more than 200,000 Poles, Czechs, Russians, and Yugoslavs are reported, together with others found by the Allied forces in the path of the military and evacuated by them from the front to await return home. A few thousand of the Russians have been started homeward.

In January 1944 about 170,000 Italian prisoners of war were working in Germany. After the Allied occupation of Italy, Italian troops located in Germany and German-controlled areas were made prisoners of war and were interned.

The great westward flight from the Soviet Armies includes many kinds of uprooted civilians. The various types of people pushing westward toward the center of Germany are often referred to as "refugees". When the Russian onslaught began to develop formidably it was reported that hordes of German refugees streamed out of Poland and eastern Germany, back-tracking the paths over which the German Army had swept in its war of conquest more than five years ago. Within a few days it was estimated that 2,000,000 refugees were choking the railroads and highways of eastern Germany. A January broadcast reported an unprecedented mass migration under conditions of deepest winter and biting frost. As the people marched, a howling snowstorm drove the chill through every rip and seam. Within a couple of days the numbers were reported to have risen to 3,000,000, then to 4,500,000, and probably rose even higher later.

The word *refugees* which newspaper accounts use merely means people in flight and may include any type of displaced person: Racial Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) previously settled in German-annexed or German-incorporated Polish territory; forced foreign laborers sent to other places by the retreat of the German Armies; even German people fleeing from their homes in Germany.

The ordinary use of the word *refugee* is different from that found in international usage, which has accepted the term to identify people who have left their homes and countries for political, religious, or racial reasons and consequently lack the protection of any government. The defi-

nition of refugees used by the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force has still a different meaning. It includes only civilians not outside the national boundaries of their own countries who desire to return to their homes but who require assistance and who are either temporarily homeless because of military operations or are at some distance from their homes for reasons related to war.

As the German retreat began on all fronts, the Germans forced many French, Belgian, Netherlands, and Soviet citizens to accompany or to follow the German Armies. By December 1944 the number of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians alone who had left their homes and entered Germany had reached a million. The total is expected to increase. The figure seems high, though the number of Baltic peoples is large enough to have necessitated special reception districts and special schools, newspapers, and radio broadcasts.

The presence in Germany of well over a million persons friendly to the Germans was reported. If foreigners friendly to the Germans do not return home, it would seem possible that their governments would withdraw protection. In such circumstances they would eventually become stateless.

Because of enormous shortages of housing and food, refugee collaborationists have not been received in Germany with a warm welcome. This situation of shortages has been growing markedly worse as constantly increasing bombings devastate more and more of Germany. On the eastern front provision of food and shelter for the vast horde of refugees from eastern Germany became a problem second only to that of stemming the invaders. Another important population movement within Germany today is the return of racial Germans to the Reich or to Austria. Both groups are war fugitives dislocated by the shock of active hostilities in a war in which civilian populations flee from the mechanized power of modern warfare. Although both of these groups are in flight there are no homes to which the racial Germans and East Prussians may return, whereas Germans sent out from the Reich as colonists or officials probably have places or relatives in Germany to which they may flee.

After the collapse of Poland in 1939 the territory was divided into three sections: The German-Polish provinces lost by Germany after 1918, plus



areas under Russian rule before 1914 which were made into two new German provinces and known as the Incorporated Provinces; the rest of German-occupied territory, which became a separate administrative unit known as the General Government; and the sections occupied by the U. S. S. R. In addition, the Ciechanow district was merged into the province of East Prussia. After the invasion of the U. S. S. R., eastern Galicia was included in the General Government and Bialystok in the province of East Prussia. From the tracts of Polish territory incorporated into the Reich were formed the Warthegau, or Wartheland, which extended close to Czestochowa and included towns like Lodz. East Prussia was extended south, beyond Ciechanow.

In 1939 some 800,000 Germans were living in Polish territory. Racial Germans from northern, eastern, and southeastern Europe were settled in this territory, as well as a large number of German officials and their families. All these people started in westward flight with the Soviet advances.

In contrast to those persons displaced outside of their own countries are those who have homes to which they can return but who are displaced within their own countries—referred to as internally displaced. The Allied Expeditionary Force definition also has its own meaning here and explains displaced persons as those civilians displaced outside the national boundaries of their country by reasons of the war and who are desirous of returning home but are unable to do so, or to find homes without assistance, or who are to be returned to enemy or ex-enemy territory. Internal displacement usually occurs when people have been moved within their own countries because of movement from bombed areas or zones of military operations, or because of movement of war industries with their consequent need of manpower in the new location. Before the beginning of the Soviet drive toward Berlin, more than 20 million Germans were reported to have been made homeless or forced into temporary shelters away from home by continual bombing.

The flight from the east of Germany and Poland includes many internally displaced persons—those evacuated by the Germans themselves for protection from bombing or to clear an area for military operations. Thus the German authorities in retreat were reported to have planned to

remove only 1,500,000 people from the danger zone east of the Oder River, but when the time came to put the plan into operation it is estimated that in one week about 3,000,000 had to be moved. Children under 12, nursing mothers and women over 60, some men over 65, and those unfit for military service were sent immediately. All others had to take their stand and fight.

These women and children moved back from the lines are only one kind of evacuee. Thousands of other evacuees have been moved from their homes in bombed areas and have been sent to other places in Germany or even outside the country. It is reported that Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland received nearly 1½ million of these. Recent stories of the movement from the east tell of the numerous children's camps which had been set up in eastern Germany and Poland for children evacuated from bombed areas. These camps in their turn were evacuated before the oncoming Soviet troops, and the children presumably were sent to the center as war fugitives.

Internally displaced Germans from the east arriving in Berlin became further displaced by orders telling them to move on after a three-day stop. Carts, cars, and pedestrians moving in three lanes were said to have jammed all southwestern highways out of Berlin.

A tragic group of internally displaced is formed by the non-Aryans. Few, if any, of them are in their old homes; most of them have been ruthlessly exterminated, and others have been uprooted and displaced. Discriminatory laws and regulations deprived those few who remain of the greater part of their property and of the right to practice professions or to engage in most occupations. They are German nationals but with none of the rights of citizens. Their residence has been restricted and they are required to wear the six-pointed Star of David sewn on their garments. In spite of all the discrimination it is reported that a number have been kept at work in factories and on fortifications. Others are reported to be held as forced laborers in work camps in which there are only non-Aryans. Perhaps not more than a mere 5,000 are left in Germany after deaths and dispersal are taken into account.

There are still other kinds of displaced persons, of whom the most important are deportees, to whom reference has been made. This term is generally used to indicate persons removed or ex-

pelled from the district or country in which they live. Now the term *deportation* is used generally not to refer to the ordinary process of removal of persons who for political, social, or health reasons are found undesirable in a country, but to refer to arbitrary removals from one place to another. Today, for instance, Netherlanders and Norwegians who have become politically obnoxious to the Germans are being deported to Germany in probably large numbers, while many Italians in the area of Italy still under German control have been sent forcibly to Germany for labor.

A last group of displaced persons is political prisoners. There are in Germany an unknown but probably large number of Belgian, Luxembourg, French, Netherlands, and Norwegian political prisoners, but the number of Poles or Soviets who are political prisoners is unknown.

Questions which are becoming increasingly important are how the millions of uprooted will fare in the last stages of dissolution of Germany, how they are going to get back home, and what will happen to them. These questions will constitute no small part of the problems of European settlement.

## Conclusion of Discussions in London on Telecommunications

[Released to the press March 19]

The discussions by telecommunications representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States,<sup>1</sup> assisted by representatives of Cable and Wireless Limited, Western Union, and Commercial Cable Company, which have been held in London and which dealt with the facilitation of the exchange of official communications both military and civil in the Mediterranean areas incident to the war have been concluded, and a satisfactory agreement has been reached on the points at issue. As a result of that agreement 13½ cents a word for government plain-language messages and 8½ cents a word for government code messages will be established from New York to Rome, and rates of 8 pence and 5 pence a word respectively will be established for messages in these classifications from Rome to New York.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 4, 1945, p. 388.

## Lend-Lease Agreement Between the United States And the Provisional Government of France

### OCEAN-GOING MERCHANT VESSELS NOT INCLUDED UNDER SCHEDULE 2 OF 3(C)<sup>2</sup>

At hearings held on March 9, 1945 by the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House of Representatives on H.R. 1425, a Bill "To provide for the sale of certain Government-owned merchant vessels, and for other purposes", apprehension was expressed that merchant vessels might be sold to the French Government under the agreement between the United States and the Provisional Government of France regarding supplies and services signed at Washington on February 28, 1945, generally known as the 3(c) lend-lease agreement, on terms more favorable to the purchaser than those contemplated for sale to citizen purchasers under H.R. 1425. Reference was had in this connection to the item of 140 million dollars for "merchant marines" in schedule 2 of the joint statement to the 3(c) lend-lease agreement.<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, the Secretary of State and the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration addressed to the chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, the Honorable Schuyler Otis Bland, on March 12, 1945, a letter stating, in part, that:

"In view of the fact that ship-disposal legislation is now under consideration by Congress, the Department of State and the Foreign Economic Administration have agreed with M. Monnet, Special Envoy of the Provisional Government of France, that there will be no transfer of title of ocean-going merchant vessels under the terms of the 3(c) lend-lease agreement. If at some subsequent time it becomes necessary to consider transfer of vessels to France or to any other foreign government, the provisions of such legislation as may exist bearing on the subject will be followed."

<sup>2</sup> Based on section 3(c) of the Lend-Lease Act of Mar. 11, 1941, 55 Stat. 31.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 4, 1945, p. 365.

# Anglo-American Cooperation For Expansion of World Trade

Remarks by FRANK WHITSON FETTER<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 20]

Even the most self-confident crystal gazer would hesitate to predict developments for the next few decades in most fields of economic life. Yet in one field a prophecy may be made with some assurance: If the United States and Great Britain follow the same general policy in the field of international trading methods, their action will determine the nature of international trading for many years to come. The basis for this belief is found in the role of the United States and Great Britain in world trade.

The figures of world trade in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of this war give some indication of the importance of the United States and Great Britain in international trade. The United States had the largest export trade, Great Britain the largest import trade. Between them they accounted for nearly 25 percent of the exports and nearly 30 percent of the imports of the world. In 1937 over 40 percent of the wool that moved in international trade, over 25 percent of the hides, nearly 55 percent of the rubber, and 60 percent of the sugar was imported by the United States and Great Britain. The role that these countries have played and will play in the pattern of international trade is even greater than the bare statistics would indicate, because the smaller countries of the world, including the British Dominions, will in such questions as import controls, exchange control, and commercial treaties be greatly influenced by the policies followed by the United States and Great Britain.

Both in Great Britain and the United States

people are looking forward to a post-war era of peace, prosperity, and rising living standards. There is a wide-spread opinion in both countries that there should be an expanding world trade. If this is the feeling in both countries, and if both are looking toward the same goal, one might ask why one stresses the need for Anglo-American cooperation. Yet, even when people seek the same goal, a difference of opinion over paths may sometimes be as great a cause of friction as would a difference over the goals themselves.

The American and British peoples have a somewhat different attitude toward international trade, a difference that has its roots deep both in the geography and in the history of the two nations. Foreign trade has always played a far more important role in the economic life of Great Britain than in that of the United States. Only by a large exchange of the products of its industry for the foodstuffs and raw materials of other countries can Great Britain maintain its present population at a high living standard, and only by such an exchange can it be a political and economic power of the first rank. It is hard to conceive of modern Britain except as a great trader. Every inhabitant of that tight little island knows that a substantial part of what he eats and drinks, of what he wears, of what shelters him, must come from abroad. He knows that to pay for these goods Britain must export. To the British, exports are potential imports of cotton, of oil, of meat, of wool, of apples, of hides, of tobacco, and even of American movies and some types of American machinery. That Britain must import, and that exports are but a means to imports, are first principles to the British, and they go far to explain present attitudes in Great Britain on trade problems.

For nearly three quarters of a century before 1932 Britain had virtual free trade, conducted on a multilateral basis, with no exchange controls, no clearing agreements, and imperial preference of only a very limited type. For some years be-

<sup>1</sup> Made at a meeting on Anglo-American trade relations, sponsored by the American Marketing Association in cooperation with the Institute of World Economics, in Philadelphia, Pa., on Mar. 20, 1945. Mr. Fetter is Adviser on Lend-Lease Matters in the Division of Lend-Lease and Surplus War Property Affairs, Office of Financial and Development Policy, Department of State. Mr. Fetter was Adviser on British Commonwealth Financial Affairs in the former Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs.

fore 1932 many lines of British business had been finding increasingly severe competition abroad, not only from the exports of the United States, of Germany, and of Japan, but also from local production in many countries, including the British Dominions and India, that previously had depended almost entirely on imported manufactured products. Many British exporters, faced with this competition, looked wistfully at the British trade relations with a number of countries where Britain was buying much more than she was selling. They pointed out the expansion in exports that would take place if these countries could be persuaded to buy more British goods as a condition of maintaining their own export markets in Great Britain. British commercial policy in the 1930's involved the use of trade agreements—both the Ottawa agreements and agreements with non-British countries—as a means of expanding British exports, but the movement never crystallized into a general acceptance of bilateralism. The sterling area in the 1930's was simply a group of countries that kept a large part of their monetary reserves in London, or maintained their currencies at a par with sterling, and only in 1940 did it take on its present legal significance of an area that maintains a rigid exchange control as against the rest of the world.

The war brought to Britain rigid trade and exchange controls. When this war is over Britain will have to decide the basis on which she will carry on her peacetime foreign trade. Will she as rapidly as possible get rid of exchange control and return to a system of multilateral trade on a world-wide basis and move away from imperial preference? Or will she perpetuate the sterling area, maintain strict controls as against the rest of the world, make bilateral agreements with non-British countries, and expand the scope of imperial preference? There is some difference of opinion within England as to the line that post-war policy should take. In accordance with the best British tradition there has been a pragmatic approach on the part of all participants in this debate: They realize that not pure logic alone, but the course of world-trade policy, and in particular the commercial policy of the United States, will influence greatly the final decision on British international trade policy.

To the United States foreign trade has never held the importance that it has to Great Britain. We had rich resources to develop after the Civil

War, and for many decades our primary concern in foreign trade policy—a concern that at times was short-sighted in the exaggerated form that it took—was to see that foreign imports did not interfere with our industrialization. Except to the cotton and tobacco growers of the South, and the grain farmers of the Middle West, foreign trade seemed of little importance to most Americans. With the industrial growth of America, and with its rise as a world power, many more Americans have come to believe that foreign trade is important to the United States. But too often Americans have thought of trade only in terms of exports, with imports, if brought into the picture at all, simply a necessary evil that we had to put up with. Fortunately, that thinking is changing. We are realizing not only the importance of exports to a prosperous and fully employed America, but also the importance of imports as a means of paying for exports, and also as a means of enabling Americans to enjoy more of the good things of life that come from a large and varied import trade. That is shown by the continued support that the trade-agreements program has received—a support which extends across party lines—and in the achievements under that program, before war came to the world in 1939, in bringing about a reduction of trade restrictions both here and abroad.

One of the fundamental principles of the trade-agreements program, a principle that was formally adopted as part of American commercial policy in the Republican administrations of the 1920's but was reemphasized by Secretary Hull, was non-discriminatory treatment of the products of all nations in foreign trade. We granted equal treatment to the products of all countries, and we expected other countries to give our trade as good treatment as our competitors received. A feature of the trade-agreements program that appealed to the American public, and that did much to win support of Americans interested in export markets, was this emphasis on non-discriminatory treatment. Yet the American emphasis on non-discriminatory treatment was in the 1920's and early 1930's a cause of friction in the economic field between this country and other countries. The reason why this was so in the years before the passage of the Trade Agreements Act was that when non-discrimination was accompanied by high tariffs, it was indeed cold comfort to the many

countries that protested against new duties that cut into long-established trades to be told that this was on a non-discriminatory basis—that the practically prohibitive duties applied equally to all countries. With understandable realism many a foreigner between 1922 and 1934 suggested that discrimination which allowed a country to trade was preferable to non-discrimination which kept it from trading. The trade agreements did much to correct this situation, but much still remains to be done if our policy of non-discrimination is to have the sound basis of an expanding trade.

The wartime exchange controls and import controls of Great Britain, and similar controls throughout the whole sterling area, have been applied with a view to conserving the limited supplies of gold and dollar exchange. These controls have in some instances hit hard on the toes of American business. Many persons in Great Britain feel that only by continuing such controls, and by exploiting to the full the bargaining power inherent in the great potential imports of Great Britain—a bargaining power of tremendous potential in the case of many food- and raw-material-producing countries for whose products Britain has been the principal market—will Britain after six years or more of war be able to develop a sufficient volume of exports to meet her import needs. They see the one hope of British trade in perpetuating and consolidating the wartime sterling area, and developing a trade largely independent of the United States and other countries outside the sterling area. Such a policy would mean that countries that enter into bilateral trading relations with Britain would divert their imports to Britain, and that Britain would divert its imports to those countries. Even the threat of such a policy stiffens the backs of Americans. This is a game that two can play, and the natural reaction of many is that the American answer to such a threat should be higher tariffs against British goods and perhaps some exclusive trading arrangements of our own. This in turn would strengthen the hand of those in the United Kingdom who favor bilateralism, and in both countries that primitive human reaction, "You can't shove me around," could easily make us forget the larger common interests that are involved. In brief, strong public support in Great Britain for a return to multilateral trade after the war will depend in no small part on the trade policy of the United States; backing for a liberal trade policy

in the United States will be much easier to obtain if the trend in Britain is back to multilateral trade.

The United States, however, has both a greater power and a greater freedom of action in this matter than has Great Britain. Our gold position and our international economic position are stronger than Great Britain's. Foreign trade is not the life-and-death matter to us that it is to Britain. A successful British bilateral trade policy, and the continuance of the sterling area in its present form, would be possible only because many countries of the world not only do the major part of their trade with Great Britain, but also have an export surplus in their trade with Great Britain. That puts them in a position where they have little choice open to them but to conform to a bilateral trade policy, if Britain wishes such a policy. Greater trade opportunities for the rest of the world with the United States is one of the most effective measures not only to weaken the case for bilateralism in Great Britain, but to lessen the possibility that other countries will wish to participate in bilateral trading arrangements with Great Britain. That is why it is so important today to continue and to expand the scope of the American trade-agreements program.

We and the British need an expanding international trade. We both look forward to a world in which the finest energies of men can be devoted to the pursuits of peace, and in which modern science, industry, and transportation can make their full contributions to rising living standards. If we can follow liberal trade policies, based on multilateral exchange, there will be enough trade for all, and the fears here and in Great Britain lest the other country get more than its share will largely vanish in the common benefits of an expanding trade.

## Death of Minister of South Africa

*Statement by ACTING SECRETARY GREW*

[Released to the press March 21]

I was shocked to hear of the death of The Honorable Ralph William Close, for many years South African Minister to the United States. During his 11 years in Washington he represented his Government with distinction and made a multitude of friends, who, with me, have been deeply grieved by the sad news of his death.

# The Concept of the United Nations

Remarks by CARLTON SAVAGE<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 20]

It can truly be said that grim necessity produced the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942. The signature of this historic Declaration by representatives of twenty-six governments brought the United Nations formally into being. At that time the situation of these nations was desperate. One by one their territories had been overrun by Axis armies. Furthermore, Japan had just entered the war with a treacherous attack at Pearl Harbor. The outlook for the nations arrayed against the Axis was dark indeed. It was realized that this is a war for survival and that only by being united could these nations survive.

In the United Nations Declaration it is affirmed that complete victory over the common enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence, and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice. To this end each Government pledges its full resources in the war and agrees not to make a separate armistice or peace. But this is not all. In the Declaration the signatory governments subscribe to the common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter, the central goal of which is the establishment of a peace "which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want".

Thus, from the beginning the aims of the United Nations have been: (1) complete victory over the common enemies, and (2) the establishment of future peace and security. But at first the emphasis had to be placed on winning the war. It was immediately and absolutely necessary that the strangle-hold of the Axis powers be broken, and all energies were turned in that direction.

Slowly but steadily the number of United Nations increased. In 1942 four states entered the war against the Axis. Mexico took its stand with

the United Nations on June 5. Five days thereafter the late President Quezon communicated the adherence of the Philippine Commonwealth to the Declaration, stating that the people of the Philippines did "not intend to be cowed by the armed might of Japan". During July the Emperor of Ethiopia, the first state to regain its territory after temporary occupation by an Axis aggressor, announced the adherence of Ethiopia to the Declaration. In August Brazil entered the war against Germany and Italy, and shortly afterward adhered to the United Nations Declaration.

Meanwhile, statesmen in several of the United Nations discussed from time to time the establishment and maintenance of future peace. In this country Secretary Hull said it was plain that some international agency must be created which could—by force, if necessary—keep the peace among nations in the future. The Chinese Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Hu Shih, said that after this war there must be established a league to enforce peace—an international organization based upon the principle of a threat of overwhelming power to prevent aggressive wars. More and more attention was given to this problem as time went on and as the impressive victories of the United Nations over our enemies brought a little closer the day of peace.

This subject was considered at Moscow in October 1943, and there the four nations bearing the principal burden of carrying forward the battle against the Axis issued a declaration that their united action, which had been pledged for the prosecution of the war, would be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security. Furthermore, they declared themselves in favor of establishing a general peace and security organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states.

Immediately after the Moscow Conference the leaders of these United Nations assembled at Tehran and Cairo with their military advisers. At these conferences they strengthened the collabora-

<sup>1</sup>Made at the United Nations Club in Washington on Mar. 20, 1945. Mr. Savage is Assistant to the Secretary of State.

tion of the four nations in carrying on the war against the common enemies. At the same time they reaffirmed the determination of their nations to work together in the peace that will follow the conclusion of the war.

Meanwhile, the United Nations increased in number and developed still further their collaboration. During 1943 and 1944 three general United Nations conferences were held: Food and Agriculture, Relief and Rehabilitation, and Monetary and Financial. In 1944 representatives of China, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States met at Dumbarton Oaks and agreed upon tentative proposals for the establishment of an international peace and security organization open to membership of all peace-loving states and bearing the title of the United Nations. These Proposals were made public on October 9 with the understanding that they would be completed and would serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations conference. Since that time they have been the subject of discussion throughout the world.

At Yalta in February of this year the chiefs of state of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States met with their political and military advisers and took important decisions in furthering United Nations collaboration. They worked out plans for the final defeat of Germany and for the occupation and control of that country. They determined upon joint assistance to the liberated states. They reaffirmed their common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come the unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war.

It was agreed at Yalta that the United Nations should assemble in San Francisco on April 25 for the purpose of preparing a charter for the United Nations Organization, along the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. The general provisions of these Proposals are well known: The purposes of the proposed Organization are to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, achieve cooperation in the solution of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; the members of the Organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means; the Organi-

zation is to be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states with membership open to all such states. Finally, the international Organization is to be given power to take such measures as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Secretary Stettinius has pointed out that the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are based squarely upon the principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the United Nations Declaration.

There are many problems to be solved at San Francisco in setting up an international peace and security organization. We earnestly hope that the United Nations there will agree upon a charter for this Organization. It can be anticipated that the provisions agreed upon will not be completely acceptable in every detail to every nation concerned. But if the Organization can be launched, a great step forward will have been taken. Through the years to come the United Nations can perfect and develop it.

We of the United Nations cannot too often remind ourselves that to construct the machinery of peace will not in itself preserve peace. Commander Stassen has well said that we must look upon the San Francisco conference as a golden opportunity to win a beachhead in the battle for a just and lasting peace; that the beachhead is not the final goal, but only the jumping-off place for the long, hard drive toward victory. This is not to minimize in any way the work to be done at San Francisco, but to emphasize that it is only the beginning.

The United Nations must remain united and must be forever vigilant if this noble enterprise is to be successful. Peace and security cannot be maintained otherwise.

In the years immediately following the present hostilities, it is likely that the peoples of the world will make every effort necessary to maintain peace, as the horrors and sufferings of the present war will be indelibly impressed upon their consciousness. However, as time goes on, human nature is such that the vigilance of the peoples of the world may be lessened. In this connection, we should ever keep before us the lesson of the 1930's. And I do not think that lesson has ever been more vividly expressed than in a recent issue of a New Zealand newspaper which described the situation as follows: "The 1930's were the most amazing

years in modern history. They were the years in which, east and west of the water, great nations watched fascinated and unbelieving the open preparation of their own destruction. So vast was wickedness, so bold and blatant, that peaceful millions took truth for nightmare and sought refuge from grim reality in senseless optimism."

The United Nations constitute a truly remarkable coalition. Born when our national existence—our very lives—were at stake, these nations have fought shoulder to shoulder to repulse those who would destroy us. Through it all the peoples of the United Nations have endured suffering to an extent never before experienced in all human history.

The comradeship and friendship forged during this common ordeal should bind us together for the tremendous tasks ahead. The United Nations, now numbering 45, vary greatly in size, in race, in cultural and political background. But we have an overwhelming common aspiration for peace, freedom, and security. We have learned from our experience during recent years that the only way we can achieve this goal is to work together to finish this war and to insure that no such catastrophe shall again blight our civilization. The thought of the innumerable dead, the countless maimed, the incalculable destruction, and the widespread suffering drives us on in an inexorable determination to this end.

There may be times in the future when we feel that we have difficulty in working together. However, we should ever keep in mind what will happen to our civilization if we drift apart and another war results. The development of the flying bomb and the possibilities of other new weapons serve as an ominous warning that if we do not cooperate to prevent aggression we shall surely be destroyed.

We of the United Nations cannot too often remind ourselves that the war is by no means over, that there remains a long and weary struggle ahead before the last of the Axis forces have laid down their arms. Through unity and effective cooperation we can hasten the day of final victory. Thus also we can more surely bring about a lasting peace. As Prime Minister Winston Churchill said during the blackest days of the war: "United we stand. Divided we fall. Divided, the dark age returns. United, we can save and guide the world."

## Visit of the Governor General Of Canada

His Excellency the Right Honorable the Earl of Athlone, Governor General of Canada, and H.R.H. Princess Alice arrived in Washington on March 22. The Governor General and his party were formally received at Union Station by President and Mrs. Roosevelt and were then escorted to the White House. On Friday, March 23, President and Mrs. Roosevelt entertained at dinner in honor of the Governor General and Princess Alice. Before leaving Washington on March 24 for Canada they were entertained at luncheon by Acting Secretary of State Grew.

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HOVDE—Continued from page 490.

mower, where to get good potato seed, and how to plant it for the best results. Internationally we learn skills and ways of doing things through programs of industrial training, the exchange of experts, and acquaintance with scientific and technical literature. After such service to one another neighbors stand together against the trouble-maker.

If in this manner, in such cultural cooperation, the peoples of the world will create a good-neighborhood, the police organization will be truly effective but need seldom be summoned. The youth of the world has a stake in cultural cooperation between nations that extends even beyond the development of the spirit of peace.

These, then, are the things the members of my generation would say to the youth of the world. And, in passing, a word of envy. In spite of the sacrifices you are making in the war; whatever the terrors you have endured; in terms of the opportunities for service that confront you, this is a time when "to be young is very Heaven".

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### THE DEPARTMENT

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#### Appointment of Officers

Philip O. Chalmers as Chief of the Division of Brazilian Affairs, effective February 24, 1945.



# An Economic Policy for Peace

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY ACHESON<sup>1</sup>

[Released to the press March 23]

On April 25 the representatives of the United Nations will meet here in San Francisco to draft the Charter of the general international Organization for security and peace.

Nothing is more important than that Charter. By it the United Nations will transform their wartime partnership, the partnership that won the war, into an enduring institution for the winning of the peace. That institution is not narrowly conceived. It will include organs not only for military power and political adjustment but for justice, economic betterment, and humane work of every kind. It will do this because security and peace depend on the broadest practicable measures of cooperation.

Collective security is not divisible. People and governments cannot expect to work successfully together in political and military affairs if they go off in opposite directions in the other matters where their interests cross. If we want our partnership to be successful, we must try to apply it to all the fields in which governments are likely to be active.

One of the important fields in which governments are certain to take an interest in the years ahead is commerce, and its handmaid, currency. We believe in private enterprise in the United States, but that has never meant that we have no laws at all upon commercial matters. The Constitution of the United States gives to Congress power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and to regulate the value of money and of foreign coin; and Congress has passed laws on both subjects many times since the beginning of the Government. Those laws obviously have effects outside our borders, whether we want them to or not. They cannot be considered wisely unless those effects are borne in mind.

Obviously I am not suggesting that our tariff and currency laws ought to be written solely to please foreign countries. We will write them in

the end to please ourselves. But we ought always to think of our *whole* interest, including that in security and peace and therefore in international collaboration. It is from that point of view that we should look at the Bretton Woods proposals, the trade-agreements program, the Mexican Water Treaty, the pending legislation on post-war sale of ships, the programs of export subsidy on wheat and cotton, the Chicago proposals on civil aviation, and every other proposal for economic action that will have effects abroad.

The true commercial interests of the United States are not opposed to those of foreign countries. Our relations with Great Britain are a good illustration. Some Americans, and some Englishmen too, speak of those relations as if the main thing were the competition of the two countries for business in South America, or in the Near East, or in China. Undoubtedly some firms in the United States will find themselves in active competition with British firms, just as they will with other firms in the United States. But the main fact about our commercial relations with Great Britain is that Great Britain has been for many years either our largest or our second largest peacetime customer, and that, when she is second, Canada is first. Among the things that Britain bought from us in large volume before the war and would like to buy again were cotton, tobacco, gasoline and oil, apples, raisins, prunes, and motion pictures.

The amount of these things and other things that the British buy from us after the war will depend chiefly on how many dollars they can earn to pay for them. They can earn dollars chiefly by selling goods and services abroad. But we have not been, in recent years, a very large customer for the things the British have for sale abroad. They have to earn dollars largely by selling, for instance, textiles and machinery to tropical countries who sell, for instance, tea and cocoa and other tropical products to us.

Trade is not as simple as a two-way street. In fact it has to be about an eight-way crossroads to be really useful. It is for this reason that, when

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Center for International Understanding in San Francisco, Calif., on Mar. 23, 1945.

we start to stabilize world currencies so that trading can go forward, it is not enough to stabilize dollars and pounds, or pounds and francs, or francs and kronor. It is important to stabilize all currencies in relation to each other. That is why the International Monetary Fund proposed at Bretton Woods is not simply an arrangement between the United States and Britain, or between Britain and France, or between France and Norway. That would not be enough. If trade is to go forward, traders in any country must be able to deal with their customers or suppliers in any other country, and therefore every currency must be stabilized with every other. It is for that reason that the Bretton Woods conference was attended by the monetary experts of all of the United Nations, and that the International Monetary Fund which they proposed will include all of them.

Since trade has to move in so many directions it is clear that it can be interfered with by unwise commercial regulations made by any government. We are all interested in each other's tariff laws, in the treatment that all countries give such subjects as cartels, and in the quotas, prohibitions, and other obstacles to trading that any country may set up. Neither we nor any other country can give excessive protection to domestic producers without doing damage to the complicated network of international exchange. It is for this reason that it is vitally important to reach general agreement, among at least the principal trading nations of the world, as to the commercial policies that they respectively apply. Collective security, I said a while ago, is not divisible. Neither is foreign trade.

I said a while ago that the true interests of the United States in commercial matters are not in conflict with the interests of other countries. The fact is that what we need from them agrees very closely with what they need from us.

We want them to be prosperous, in order that they may be good markets for our products. They want us to be prosperous, for the same reason.

We want their prosperity to be as stable as possible, in order that sharp declines in their orders from us may not set off depression here. They want our prosperity to be stable, for the same reason.

They want us to be efficient at the things that we do best, in order that we may be a good place to buy good products at fair prices. We want them to be efficient at the things that they do best,

for the same reason. We want their tariffs and other barriers against our exports to be low, in order that we may have a chance to sell our products in their markets. They want our tariffs to be low, for the same reason.

We want them to help preserve stability in the exchange rates so that our people can do business with them across national frontiers without taking gamblers' chances. They want us to help in the same job, for the same reason.

We want them to join with us in making international investment reasonably safe, so that capital can be applied to undeveloped resources, productivity and wealth increased, and profits made. They want our help in the same effort.

And so on and so on. The truth is that in economic matters, as fully as in peace, the real interests of peoples run in parallel. They ought to work together, and they can.

It is not certain that they will. It is not always easy for some special group or interest or region to forget what often seems the immediate main chance. It is not easy in this country, and it is not easy elsewhere.

It is not easy always to bring ourselves to see that it is better to expand the general prosperity, and our own welfare with it, than to fight about the minor segments of an economy of scarcity.

It is not easy to remember that the first test of any economic program should be whether it tends to multiply wealth or to divide it.

It is not easy to see that what looks like an immediate advantage may destroy a larger and more permanent prosperity. It is not easy, as Mr. Justice Holmes once said, to train oneself to truly national views.

We shall have to undergo that training, and so will many other people, if we really mean to be secure and prosperous. For the world *might* yet break up into competing economic blocs, as the President said in his message on the Bretton Woods proposals. But, as he also said in the same message:

"We have a chance, we citizens of the United States, to use our influence in favor of a more united and cooperating world. Whether we do so will determine, as far as it is in our power, the kind of lives our grandchildren can live."<sup>1</sup>

In the time remaining, I wish to sketch some of the main economic problems confronting us and

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 18, 1945, p. 222.

the rest of the United Nations and to suggest what seems to me the right direction for our policy in respect to them.

At the threshold lie financial questions. They lie at the threshold, because, unless the nations agree—and provide the means for keeping their agreement—to put aside the devices and tricks of monetary warfare which they learned so well before and during this war, there is little chance for world recovery through increased production, expanding trade, and better living standards. Without such a recovery the future for millions of men and women and the future for world peace is dark indeed.

Since every deal between businessmen in different countries necessarily involves two currencies, the problem is necessarily international. The United Nations' answer is the International Monetary Fund proposed at Bretton Woods.

I discussed the Fund at some length this noon before the Commonwealth Club.<sup>1</sup> The main ideas, in briefest outline, are quite simple. The Fund consists first of a set of rules by which the member nations each agree to abide. These rules provide for stability, non-discrimination, and so on. Then, to enable countries to keep the rules they have agreed to, there is a fund of currencies from which each country with its own money may buy the money of other countries within a stated limit, to meet emergency requirements. There is provision also for continuous consultation and exchange of information.

In short, what the Fund comes down to is a practical arrangement by which the United Nations work together to maintain the free use of their currencies for trade purposes at stable rates and to avoid competitive depreciation and other forms of financial warfare. Nothing that I know of in the economic field is more important for the future.

The other great problem in the financial field relates to international investment. Lending and investment will be critically needed in the early post-war years in order that the devastated countries may have the wherewithal to buy abroad the things they need to reconstruct their countries, in order that the undeveloped countries may be able to increase their productivity and wealth, and in order that the countries that will have production goods for sale, like the United States, may find a

market. The difficulty is that the devastation and confusion following the war make many of the risks too great for private lenders.

Here again there is proposed a United Nations institution, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which will investigate the loans and spread the risks and permit the business to go forward. Most of the loans it supervises will be made by private capital; the Bank will guarantee them. Others it will make itself. Upon both sorts it will make sure that the project is worthwhile, that the charges to the borrower are moderate, and that the money is expended in accordance with the plan. Everyone seems to be agreed that this proposal is intelligent and useful.

In the field of trade itself the major international problem revolves about our old familiar friend, the tariff, and about the more recent devices—quotas, prohibitions, preference systems, subsidies, and so on—by which governments seek to force exports, prevent imports, and solve their business problems at the expense of foreigners.

It is here, perhaps, more than any other place, that nations find it hard to make a choice between cooperation and economic warfare. Protective sentiment is strong in every country. It seems so very easy to exclude competing foreign goods, reserve local markets for local producers, and dump surpluses abroad.

The trouble is that more than one can play that game. They can, and have. No one, I hope, wants to repeat what happened between 1920 and 1935.

Eleven years ago, in 1934, this country took the other road. By the Trade Agreements Act we made a standing offer to reduce our tariff barriers upon the goods of any country which would do the same for us. The Congress has renewed that act three times since 1934, and I hope will soon renew it once again, and this time strengthen it. Under the act, in the years since 1934, we have made 32 agreements with 28 countries. Each one of those agreements lowered foreign barriers against the export trade of the United States, lowered United States tariff rates against the products of the other country to the bargain, guaranteed each country against discrimination by the other, and thus permitted private trade to move more freely back and forth between them, to the benefit of both.

To be fully useful under present-day conditions the Trade Agreements Act needs to be strengthened at one important point. You will remember

<sup>1</sup> See p. 460.

that as passed in 1934 the act authorized reductions in our tariff up to 50 percent of each rate as it then stood. In the last 11 years a good many of those reductions have been made, always in response to corresponding reductions in foreign barriers against our exports. Those rates of course cannot be reduced again. Other rates have been reduced less than the full authorized 50 percent, so that in them some authority and bargaining power remains. On others no reductions have been made at all.

In dealing with each country we have of course, in order to use our bargaining power to best advantage, dealt with commodities which that country had for sale. The result of operations up to date therefore is that the original 1934 authority is pretty well used up as it affects some of our best friends and best customers. For example, we could not make much of an offer either to Great Britain or to Canada under the act as it now stands, because most of the authorized reductions on things that they sell us in large volume have already been made. The same thing is true, less strikingly, as to France, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, and most of the American republics. The commodities on which a really attractive offer could be made under the present law are those of interest to countries with whom we have never in the past been able to negotiate a trade agreement. The situation ought to be brought up to date. Whatever anyone may think of the tariff rates of 1934, I think everyone will agree that a great many things have happened since that year. We need a new scope to meet new conditions.

The suggestion made in Congress therefore, and embodied in the bill which has been introduced, is that the 50 percent limit be applied, not to the old rates of 1934, but to the present rates of 1945. If that is done, we shall be able to start off from a new basis and to make the same kind of an offer to all our present fighting Allies and good friends.

The policy which our interest dictates is, I think, clear. We have goods to sell abroad, and we want our loans repaid. Both will depend on foreigners' supplies of dollars, and that depends on what we buy from them. We should continue steady pressure for reduction of all kinds of government-created obstacles to trade, and for removal of discriminations. We should do this through a strengthened Trade Agreements Act,

by negotiations under it, and by any other method of international negotiation that promises to get results. We must enlist as many countries in the effort as we can.

But even large reduction of all government-created barriers to trade will not solve all our problems. There are also private barriers, created by cartels and combinations. Here our law at present differs from the law of several foreign countries, especially on the continent of Europe. We must try to bring about agreement—an agreement which will open up trade channels and let trade develop as it should.

There are some international trade problems for which reducing government and private barriers will not be an adequate solution. Some commodities have been produced in such great quantity that it is doubtful whether any likely peacetime market can absorb them at fair prices. Some of these commodities are the chief source of livelihood of many people in great regions.

Cotton means the South in the United States, and it also means Brazil, Peru, India, and Egypt. Wool means our West, but it also means Australia. Wheat means the United States, Australia, Argentina, Canada, and the Soviet Union. Nitrates mean Chile and the synthetic plants in the United States. Copper again means Chile, and the Belgian Congo, and the United States, and Canada. And so on and so on. When a depression strikes one of these great commodities, whole regions are in trouble, and the finances of great countries with them. We all remember well enough what happened to wheat farmers in this country after the last war, and to many other kinds of farmers after 1929.

Governments are sure to deal with some of these commodities. They may either go it alone or try to do something together. If they go it alone, by the route of support prices, export subsidies, and so on, they will lose their friends and probably increase the surplus and the trouble. The only real hope lies in acting together, by agreement. In those agreements they should remember that consumers' rights are as important as producers', that it is better to expand demand whenever possible than to restrict supply, and that whatever regulation is imposed should give incentives to high-cost producers to shift to something where the opportunities are better, so that in the end supply may be drawn from the best sources. The problems of

commodities are not insuperably difficult if we tackle them together.

Finally I want to say a word about shipping and the air.

In both these fields there are people who say that the United States is strong enough to act alone, and ought to do so. We will have, these people say, when the war ends much the largest merchant fleet in the world, and very much the largest national supply of transport aircraft, trained ground crews and flight crews, know-how and experience. Why don't we simply hang on to what we have and go ahead from there?

Let me take shipping first. Suppose we decline to sell any of our more modern types of merchant ships to foreigners. The first result is that some of our best friends abroad, Norway, for instance, whose national income depends very heavily on shipping earnings and whose fleets have been terribly battered by the war, are condemned to a long period of slow recovery.

The second result is that instead of buying ships from us they will build new ships themselves. The result of that is to add further to the surplus, and the result of that is to postpone again the day when the great shipbuilding industry of the United States can be profitably employed in peacetime building.

How much more sensible to sell some of our ships at reasonable prices to our friends abroad, so that they can start quickly on their national recovery, existing ships can be kept working, the total number may remain in bounds, and our shipyards can look forward to peacetime business.

In the air the case for international cooperation is even more compelling. The Civil Aeronautics Board has made a very interesting map. It sets out international air routes which CAB tentatively has concluded would be desirable for post-war operations by air carriers. Consent of the countries which those routes traverse, of course, is necessary to create them. I can assure you that the countries whose consent would not be necessary are very few indeed, and very small. Yet if anything is clear it is that every country has a right, if it desires, to exclude foreign aircraft from its skies. How would we react, for instance, quite aside from the war, if a foreign airline started operating into San Francisco Bay without asking our permission?

Without international agreement on a wide

front post-war civil aviation outside our own frontiers is simply not possible. It is for this reason that the Civil Aviation Conference met last fall in Chicago. You know of the results reached at that Conference. First there was drawn up a convention creating a permanent international aviation organization.<sup>1</sup> This is now being considered by the Senate. Then there was an interim agreement creating a temporary body to act until the nations could pass upon the permanent body. Finally, there were the Two Freedoms agreement and the Five Freedoms agreement.

A great deal of technical material was considered at the Conference, and a large area of uniformity in technical matters worked out, which will help make international flying safe and practical after the war. But for those of us who are not air experts the most interesting results of the Conference are the Two Freedoms and the Five Freedoms agreements.

You remember I said a moment ago that every country has the right in international law to control the use of the sky above its territory. Obviously if countries used that right to exclude foreign aircraft international flying could not occur at all. Accordingly the problem at Chicago was to work out a fair basis on which nations could grant each other reciprocal rights, without making them the subject of discrimination, power politics, or monopoly. These two short agreements are the answer.

By the Two Freedoms agreement the countries that join will grant to each other:

*First:* Freedom for the peaceful flight of commercial aircraft without landing;

*Second:* Freedom for such aircraft to land at designated ports for the purpose of refueling and overhaul, but not to take on or discharge traffic.

By the Five Freedoms agreement the countries that join will grant to each other these same two freedoms plus three more, that is:

*Third:* Freedom to discharge traffic which originated in the plane's home country;

*Fourth:* Freedom to take on traffic destined for the plane's home country;

*Fifth:* Freedom to carry traffic between the point of landing and another foreign country.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 31, 1944, p. 843, and Mar. 11, 1945, p. 411.

The possible *sixth* freedom, to carry traffic between two points in the same country, is not granted by these agreements but is reserved to the aircraft of that country, like the coasting trade at sea. Of course any country that wanted to could grant that privilege to foreign aircraft, but the agreement is that if any country does so it will not discriminate, but make the privilege available to aircraft of any other member country that can use it.

These proposals have already had a hearty welcome both from countries which expect to have air-transport lines in foreign operation after the war and from countries whose chief interest is in having services available. It is already clear that a long stride has been made toward establishing the essential freedoms of the air and toward agreement

on the peacetime legal basis of our newest and one of our most important industries. Civil flying overseas can now get started promptly when the shooting stops. We and a large group of other countries have learned once again that our really fundamental interests are not served by trying to go it alone but by sitting down together in a reasonable frame of mind and finding the ways to compose our disagreements and promote our common interest.

The greatest effort of all to do that will begin in San Francisco on April 25. Let us show our fitness for leadership in that effort by tackling the tough and concrete problems of money, trade, and transportation in the same spirit and with the same method. Let us show beyond doubt that what we preach in San Francisco we practice everywhere.

## Request for Increase in Green-Coffee Ceiling Prices

### ACTION TAKEN BY UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

[Released to the press March 22]

The State Department announced on March 22 that, following the recent request of 14 coffee-producing countries of this hemisphere for an increase in green-coffee ceiling prices, this subject had been discussed in detail with the other agencies of this Government concerned with food distribution and price control.

The coffee-producing countries concerned have now been informed that this Government genuinely regrets that it is not possible to accede to the request for increased prices. There are printed below copies of the request from the 14 coffee-producing countries and the reply of the Acting Secretary of State, which has been delivered to the embassies of the 14 countries in Washington. It will be observed that this Government's inability to raise green-coffee ceiling prices is premised largely upon the necessity for the maintenance of price control to prevent serious inflation in the United States and at the same time to lessen the danger of inflation throughout the Americas.

It will be recalled that similar considerations were involved when the petition of the Inter-American Coffee Board for a similar increase was denied in November 1944 by the Office of Price

Administration and the War Food Administration—a decision which was reviewed and confirmed by the Director of the Office of Economic Stabilization on December 19, 1944.

MEXICO, D. F.

March 8, 1945.

#### EXCELLENCY:

AS YOUR Excellency knows, the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace approved a resolution with reference to the application of war measures on price control. In our capacity of representatives of coffee producing countries and referring to the above-mentioned resolution, we wish to express the following to Your Excellency:

According to our judgment, which faithfully represents the unanimous opinion in our respective countries and the result of a detailed knowledge of the economy of coffee production and present conditions therein, the moment has come in which, in harmony with the principles which the said resolution acknowledges, the maximum prices established for green coffee in the United States should be changed, because said prices have ceased

to have an adequate relation with the costs of production, and because their maintenance would imply the progressive lowering of the standard of living of the workers, due to the rise which is being registered in the price of necessities in coffee producing countries. We think, moreover, that the application of the principles contained in points (b) and (d) of the said resolution makes the indicated change imperative, to seek a just balance between the price of coffee and that of manufactured articles, within the criterion which the United States has applied to its domestic agricultural production.

In expressing the foregoing concepts to Your Excellency, with the most earnest desire for collaboration, we are certain that the good offices of Your Excellency will be decisive for the beneficial change of a state of affairs which affects the economy of our countries and is capable of provoking grave disturbances in some of them.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to reiterate to Your Excellency the assurances of our most distinguished consideration.

BRAZIL; COLOMBIA; COSTA RICA; CUBA;  
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC; ECUADOR;  
EL SALVADOR; GUATEMALA; HAITI;  
HONDURAS; MEXICO; NICARAGUA;  
PERU; VENEZUELA.

His Excellency

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, Jr.,  
*Mexico, D. F.*

MARCH 22, 1945.

SIR:

On March 8, 1945, representatives of the governments of the coffee producing countries at the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace addressed a memorandum to the Secretary of State expressing the view that action should be taken to modify the maximum prices fixed for green coffee in the United States. In the memorandum reference was made to the resolution approved by Committee V of the Conference concerning the application of war time price controls, which was subsequently adopted by the Conference as Resolution XV.

The Secretary gave this matter his immediate attention upon returning to Washington and, since he is temporarily absent from the Department, has asked me to respond to the memorandum.

The question of coffee prices has been discussed very thoroughly by the appropriate authorities of the United States Government with a view to ascertaining whether, in the light of the above-mentioned Resolution, ceiling prices on green coffee may be increased.

As I am sure you will recall, a petition for an increase in the ceiling price of coffee was presented to this Government by the Inter-American Coffee Board last November. On that occasion the petition was given careful consideration by the appropriate authorities, and was finally denied. This decision was reviewed and confirmed on December 19, 1944. It was with genuine regret that this Government found it impossible to accede to the petition of the Inter-American Coffee Board.

It is now my duty regretfully to report to you that this Government finds it equally impossible to accept the request of the coffee producing countries expressed in the memorandum addressed to the Secretary at the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace. In this connection I should like to call attention to the fact that failure of the stabilization program in this country would release inflationary forces that might well seriously impair real incomes and living standards in the United States and, eventually, throughout the Western Hemisphere.

Resolution XV approved at the Mexico City Conference is, generally, a reiteration of certain principles in respect of price control previously adopted, specific reference being made to Resolution III approved at the Conference at Rio de Janeiro and to the fact that that Resolution urged the establishment by all of the American Governments of appropriate war time price controls. It is the view of this Government that its decision not to increase the maximum prices of green coffee is essential to the maintenance of price controls that are adequate to withstand the inflationary pressures with which this country is now faced. By adhering steadfastly to the purpose of resisting to the maximum any action which threatens the success of price control, it is the hope of this Government that it may be successful in preventing uncontrolled inflation in this country and at the same time contribute to the attainment of the same objective throughout the Americas.

Accept [etc.]

JOSEPH C. GREW  
*Acting Secretary of State*

## Sixth Meeting of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission

[Released to the press March 19]

The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission met in Washington on March 20 and 21.

This was the sixth meeting of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission since its establishment three years ago. The Commission is an international advisory body created for the purpose of encouraging and strengthening social and economic cooperation between the British colonies and the United States possessions and bases in the area.

Sir Frank Stockdale, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., British cochairman, arrived in Washington from the West Indies to attend the meeting. He will next proceed to London to assume his new duties as Adviser on Development Planning to the Sec-

retary of State for the Colonies. He will be succeeded by the new cochairman, Sir John Macpherson, K.C.M.G., now British resident member of the Commission and head of the British Colonies Supply Mission. Mr. Charles W. Taussig, United States cochairman, presided at the sessions.

In conjunction with the full Commission meeting, the Caribbean Research Council convened to plan further coordination of research in the area. The Research Council, an auxiliary group of scientific and technical people, was formed in 1943 in order to promote scientific, technological, social, and economic advancement in the Caribbean area. The Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands are represented on the Council, which met March 22 and 23.

### THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING

[Released to the press March 23]

The State Department announced that the sixth meeting of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission ended on March 23 in Washington. Mr. Charles W. Taussig, United States cochairman, who presided, and Sir Frank Stockdale, British cochairman, announced that one of the most important matters upon the Commission's agenda was the establishment of the Caribbean Research Council on a permanent basis with headquarters in the Caribbean area.

The Council, an advisory group to the Commission composed of scientific and technical men, was established by the Commission at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands of the United States, in August 1943 "with a view to encouraging an interchange of experience, improved use of resources and concerted treatment of mutual problems, and to avoid unnecessary duplication of work".

The Council has been operating since its organization under a provisional committee; it has now been dissolved, and a permanent Council has been

established. With a membership of not more than fifteen nor less than seven, the Council under its new organization is composed of at least one representative of the five Research Committees into which it is divided. The five fields of research covered by the committees are: (1) agriculture, nutrition, fisheries, and forestry; (2) public health and medicine; (3) industrial technology; (4) building and engineering technology; and (5) social sciences.

A permanent Central Secretariat will be located within the Caribbean and for the time being will operate out of the headquarters of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in the area.

Significant among the objectives outlined for this research body is that the Council shall suggest to the Commission what recommendations it should make to the governments concerned for further research for the benefit of the peoples of the Caribbean.

Other objectives are surveying the needs of the area, determining what research and research fa-



cilities exist in the area and how research can be facilitated on a cooperative basis, and arranging for prompt dissemination of the results of research. The Council will also recommend to the Commission the holding of meetings of scientific, specialist, and extension workers.

The Commission, in continuing its program for the improvement of public health, recommended that a Congress of Medicine should be held as suggested by the Research Committee on Public Health and Medicine to consider, among other things, the formation of a Caribbean Association of Public Health and Medicine. The date and agenda for such a congress will be announced later.

The Caribbean Research Council has already proved to be a valuable method of associating the peoples of the region with the solution of their problems. The Council has arranged for the exchange of visits of scientific men in the area, for the wider dissemination of technical and scientific material, and for the collating of scientific data. In the Land-Tenure Symposium, held in Puerto Rico last year, it approached one of the most fundamental problems of the region.

Members nominated by the Commission to the new Research Committees are:

#### AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, FISHERIES, AND FORESTRY

- Dr. C. E. Chardon, Director, Institute of Tropical Research, Puerto Rico, *Chairman*  
 Mr. K. Bartlett, Director, Mayagüez Experimental Station, Puerto Rico  
 Mr. R. J. Brooks, Conservator of Forests, Trinidad  
 Dr. H. H. Brown, Director of Fisheries Investigation in the British West Indies  
 Dr. E. Englund, Department of Agriculture, United States  
 Mr. O. T. Faulkner, Principal of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad  
 Mr. D. C. Ferguson, Commissioner of Commerce and Industry, Jamaica  
 Dr. D. S. Fernandez, Representative for the Netherlands  
 Dr. P. Morales Otero, Director, Institute of Tropical Medicine, Puerto Rico  
 Dr. Arturo Roque, Director of Agricultural Experiment Station, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico  
 Dr. S. J. Saint, Director of Agriculture, Barbados  
 Mr. A. Upton, Director of Forestry Research Institute, Puerto Rico  
 Mr. A. J. Wakefield, Inspector General of Agriculture of the British West Indies  
 Capt. H. V. M. Metivier, O.B.E., M.R.C.V.S., Veterinary Officer of Trinidad

#### PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICINE

- Dr. Pablo Morales Otero, Director, Institute of Tropical Medicine, San Juan, Puerto Rico, *Chairman*  
 Dr. Guillermo Arbona, Chief, Department of Hygiene, School of Tropical Medicine, San Juan, Puerto Rico  
 Dr. J. R. Arends, Port Health Officer, Aruba, Netherlands West Indies  
 Dr. G. Bevier, Representative of the Rockefeller Foundation  
 Sir Rupert Briercliffe, C.M.G., Medical Adviser to Comptroller for Development and Welfare, British West Indies  
 Dr. P. A. Clearkin, Bacteriologist and Pathologist, British Guiana  
 Brig. Gen. Henry C. Dooling, Office of Surgeon, Caribbean Defense Command  
 Dr. J. D. Pawan, M.B.E., Government Bacteriologist, Trinidad  
 Dr. R. A. Vonderlehr, United States Public Health Service, Puerto Rico  
 Dr. A. E. Wolff, Bacteriologist for the Government of Surinam

#### INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY

- Mr. J. E. Heesterman, Consulting Chemist, Government of Surinam, *Chairman*  
 Mr. Smith Bracewell, Director of Geological Surveys, British Guiana  
 Mr. G. O. Chase, Consulting Engineer to the Government of British Guiana  
 Mr. R. Fernandez Garcia, Consulting Chemist, Puerto Rico Development Corporation  
 Mr. G. Macduff, Managing Director of the Jamaica Public Service Company, Ltd.  
 Mr. Theodore Moscoso, Jr., Manager, Puerto Rico Development Corporation  
 Mr. Gilbert L. Pace, President of Virgin Islands Company

#### BUILDING AND ENGINEERING TECHNOLOGY

- Mr. P. Martin Cooper, Director of Public Works, Jamaica, *Chairman*  
 Mr. Gerald O. Case, Consulting Engineer to Government of British Guiana  
 Mr. Sergio Cuevas, Commission of the Interior, Puerto Rico  
 Mr. R. Gardner-Medwin, Town Planning Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare, British West Indies  
 Mr. Luis M. Guillermet, Jr., Executive Director on Design of Public Works, Puerto Rico  
 Mr. Antonio Luchetti, Director of Water Resources Authority, Puerto Rico  
 Col. G. B. R. Macdonald, Engineering Adviser to Comptroller for Development and Welfare, British West Indies  
 Mr. A. H. Nyland, Civil Engineer and Harbor Expert of Royal Shell, Curaçao; at present accredited to the Public Works Department of the Government of Surinam

Mr. Rafael Pico, Chairman of the Puerto Rico Planning Board, Puerto Rico  
 Mr. C. Roddam, Water, Sewerage, and Electrical Engineer to Comptroller for Development and Welfare, British West Indies  
 Mr. Emilio Serra, Executive Director of the Puerto Rico Housing Authority, Puerto Rico  
 Mr. J. J. Van Wouw, Deputy Director of Public Works, Surinam

#### SOCIAL SCIENCES

(Subcommittees will be formed from the following panel)

Santos P. Amadeo, Puerto Rico  
 F. C. Benham, Development and Welfare  
 K. W. Blackburne, Development and Welfare  
 Roy Bornn, Director of Public Welfare, St. Thomas  
 Ismael Rodriguez Bou, Puerto Rico

Miss Edith Clarke, Jamaica  
 Antonio Colorado, University of Puerto Rico  
 Rafael Cordero, Puerto Rico  
 D. T. M. Girvan, Jamaica  
 S. A. Hammond, Development and Welfare  
 Miss Dora Ibberson, Trinidad  
 A. V. G. Landon, Development and Welfare  
 Judge Malone, Windward and Leeward Islands  
 Arturo Morales, University of Puerto Rico  
 J. J. Osuna, Puerto Rico  
 R. Patrick, Trinidad  
 Manuel Perez, Puerto Rico  
 Rafael Pico, Puerto Rico  
 Mrs. Maria Pintado de Rahn, University of Puerto Rico  
 Jose C. Rosario, University of Puerto Rico  
 C. Y. Shepard, Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture  
 T. S. Simey, Development and Welfare  
 Eric Williams, Caribbean Research Council

## Presentation of Letters of Credence by the Ambassador of Panama

[Released to the press March 19]

The translation of the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Panama, Señor Don Samuel Lewis, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, March 19, 1945 follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: I have the high honor to submit to you at this time the autograph letters by which His Excellency the President of the Republic of Panama accredits me as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of my country near the Government of the United States of America, and the letters of recall of my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Enrique A. Jiménez.

My country and yours, Excellency, are bound together by ties of evident common interest, and on this bond more than any other depend, to a considerable extent, the prosperity of international commerce in times of peace and the defense and security of this continent in times of war.

It is natural, therefore, that our Governments have cultivated relations which have always been maintained on a plane of true friendship, conscious of the mandate which destiny has imposed upon them for the good of the community of nations.

That friendship, characteristic of our relations, could remain unchanged in past decades because of a rigid and formal concept of diplomacy, but it

has received and continues to receive the vitalizing and fruitful impulse of the new meaning which you, Excellency, have given to the relations between peoples, and which constitutes a milestone in the history of harmonious living among nations.

The good-neighbor policy, Excellency, more than a particular orientation of a country which is great and just in its foreign relations, is in its own right the common ideological patrimony of all peace-loving nations. Panama and the United States of America are among these, and it is for this reason that on the basis of realities, comprehension, and reciprocal respect they can face the problems which arise between them and find the solution.

When the Government of President de la Guardia entrusted to me the direction of the foreign affairs of my country (some time ago), my actions as Minister were guided by the profound conviction that fruitful and cordial relations cannot exist unless truth and frankness govern them and dignity and right serve as their basis. I can state with deep satisfaction that the degree of cordiality which the relations between Panama and the United States of America have reached reaffirms and strengthens in me that conviction, and I wish to assure you that in the execution of the honorable mission which has been entrusted to me I shall devote my highest endeavors to the

task of intensifying, if it is possible, the bonds of friendship happily existing between our two countries, doubly united by continental proximity and by the prodigious work of the inter-oceanic Canal.

Excellency, I must, furthermore, by the special commission of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Panama, transmit to you his cordial greeting and his wishes for the prosperity of the people of the United States of America and for your personal happiness.

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

MR. AMBASSADOR: I am pleased to receive from you the autograph letters by which His Excellency the President of the Republic of Panama accredits you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of your country near the Government of the United States of America.

I accept also the letters of recall of your distinguished predecessor, Señor Don Enrique A. Jiménez, whose relations with the officials of this Government were always conducted upon a most sincere and friendly basis.

I thank you, Mr. Ambassador, for the cordial greetings which you have brought to me and to the people of the United States of America from His Excellency the President of the Republic of Panama. I shall be most grateful if you will permit me to request you in turn to convey to Señor

Don Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia my sincere best wishes for his personal health and well-being and for the continued prosperity of the people of Panama.

I assure you, Excellency, that I subscribe wholeheartedly to your comments respecting the vital interests which unite our two peoples in friendly accord, in carrying out the mutual obligations involved in our joint interest in the Canal, which will be as important to the commerce of all nations during the peace to come as it now is to the security and defense of the hemisphere.

These relations are characterized by the devotion of both our peoples to the principles of freedom, democracy, and the good-neighbor policy. It is therefore most gratifying, Excellency, to have heard your testimony as to the practical achievements of the good-neighbor policy in the relations between our two Governments; and, like you, I believe that this policy should be regarded as a model program for all peace-loving nations.

In enabling you to fulfil the important mission which has been entrusted to you by the Government of Panama, the Government of the United States and its officials will be happy to facilitate and to support in every way your efforts to strengthen the bonds of friendship which have always existed between our two nations. Thus the many substantial benefits which should accrue to the two countries through their continued close cooperation in the post-war period will be realized.

## Presentation of Letters of Credence by the Minister of Syria

[Released to the press March 19]

The remarks of the newly appointed Minister of Syria, Dr. Nazem Al-Koudsi, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, March 19, 1945, follow:

MR. PRESIDENT: It is for me a unique privilege and high honor to present to Your Excellency the letter by which my President accredits me as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near Your Excellency as head of the Government of the United States of America.

I am also singularly fortunate and proud to be delegated to convey to Your Excellency the sincerest wishes of my President for Your Excellency's

happiness and for the continued prosperity and greatness of the American people.

It was a historic day in the life of my country when the Government of the United States of America recognized the independence of our Republic fully and unconditionally. The Syrian State, which is part of the great Arabic-speaking nation, has struggled long and hard to acquire its independence. In winning this independence and taking its place among the recognized states of the world, it has been helped and strengthened by the principles of international justice and self-determination which have been proclaimed and supported by the American Government and people.

I myself belong to a generation of Syrian Arabs which was awakened to the appreciation of the principles of liberty and international justice by the proclamations of the United States Government during the last war. We look to the United States of America as the guardian and promoter of these principles. We have been inspired by Your Excellency's leadership in furthering these principles, as in the great Atlantic Charter and the proclamation of the Four Freedoms, and in taking all possible measures to apply them even in the midst of the hard days of war.

May I also, Mr. President, express the gratitude of the Government and people of Syria for the hospitality which thousands of my compatriots have found in your country and with your generous people. The reception they have found in this marvelous land, with its tremendous opportunities and with its dominating spirit of liberty and equality, has been another of the many factors which have aroused the admiration of the Syrians and all Arabs for American principles and life.

In undertaking my mission, it will be my task to deepen this admiration which the Arab State of Syria feels for these principles that stand at the basis of American life and thought. In this, and in all other ways, I shall endeavor to strengthen the relations which bind our two nations together. It is in this spirit and with this aim foremost in my mind that I bespeak the kind assistance and support of Your Excellency and the American Government in the fulfillment of my charge.

The President's reply to the remarks of Dr. Al-Koudsi follows:

MR. MINISTER: It is with great pleasure that I accept the letters accrediting you as the first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Syrian Republic to the United States. This is an occasion towards which both our countries have looked forward for many years.

You will be warmly welcomed in the United States, Mr. Minister, not only by the thousands of our citizens of Syrian origin but also by the American people as a whole, who cherish the principles of democracy and international collaboration and recognize in your coming a new advance towards the fulfilment of these goals.

I note with pride Your Excellency's assertion that your countrymen have been helped and strengthened by the principles of international

justice and self-determination proclaimed and supported by the American Government and people and that they look to the United States as a guardian and promoter of these principles. In so doing, the Syrian people express a great confidence in the American people, which we shall constantly try to justify.

To you personally, Mr. Minister, I extend my most cordial welcome to Washington. I know that as an elected Deputy you ably represented the needs of your people to your Government. I hold high hopes for your success in your present task of representing your Government in the United States and strengthening the ties which bind our two countries. This venture is new for you and for your country, but I am confident that you will find your mission facilitated by the friendly encouragement and support of the American people and their Government officials.

In receiving the good wishes which the President of the Syrian Republic so kindly sent through you, I request you to convey to President Kouatli my deep appreciation of his message and my continued hope, on behalf of the American people, for the happiness and welfare of himself and of the Syrian people.

## THE CONGRESS

Authorizing the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce To Continue the Investigation With Respect to Petroleum Begun Under House Resolution 290, Seventy-sixth Congress. H. R. Rept. 345, 79th Cong., to accompany H. Res. 187. 1 p.

Amending Section 28(c) of the Immigration Act of 1924 in Order To Bring the Definition of That Term Current. H. R. Rept. 346, 79th Cong., to accompany H. R. 390. 3 pp. [Favorable report.]

Authorizing the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization To Study the Basic Problems Affecting Post-War Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. Rept. 357, 79th Cong., to accompany H. Res. 52. 1 p.

Relief of Settlers on the International Strip at Nogales, Ariz. S. Rept. 102, 79th Cong., to accompany S. 69. 32 pp. [Favorable report.]

Water Treaty With Mexico: Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Seventy-ninth Congress, First Session, on Treaty With Mexico Relating to the Utilization of the Waters of Certain Rivers. Part 4, February 12, 13, 14, and 15, 1945. iii, 308 pp. Part 5, February 16, 17, 19, 20, and 21, 1945. iii, 406 pp. [Department of State, 1760-82.]

## PUBLICATIONS

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

During the quarter beginning January 1, 1945, the following publications have been released by the Department:<sup>1</sup>

2219. Exchange of Official Publications: Agreement Between the United States of America and Afghanistan—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Kabul February 29, 1944; effective February 29, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 418. 17 pp. 10¢.
2227. Jurisdiction Over Prizes: Agreement Between the United States of America and Australia, and Proclamation—Agreement effected by exchange of notes signed at Canberra November 10, 1942 and May 10, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 417. 8 pp. 5¢.
2229. Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1930. vol. I. lxxv, 564 pp. \$1.75 (backram).
2230. America's Need for Understanding China. By Hal-dore Hanson, Division of Cultural Cooperation. Far Eastern Series 7. 16 pp. 5¢.
2231. Nominations for Under Secretary of State and Assistant Secretaries of State: Hearings Before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, December 12, 1944. 20 pp. 5¢.
2232. Dumbarton Oaks Proposals: Address by Leo Pas-volsky, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State. Conference Series 61. 14 pp. 5¢.
2233. Supplement to the Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 286A, December 17, 1944. 40 pp. 10¢.
2234. The Export-Import Bank of Washington. By Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs. Commercial Policy Series 75. 30 pp. 10¢.
2235. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 287, December 24, 1944. 26 pp. 10¢.<sup>2</sup>
2237. Payment for Expropriated Petroleum Properties: Agreement Between the United States of America and Mexico, and Joint Report—Agreement effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington September 25 and 29, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 419. 11 pp. 5¢.
2238. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 288, December 31, 1944. 12 pp. 10¢.
2239. Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Address by Joseph C. Grew, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State. Conference Series 62. 18 pp. 5¢.
2240. Agricultural Experiment Station in Guatemala: Agreement and Exchange of Notes Between the United States of America and Guatemala—Agreement signed at Guatemala July 15, 1944; effective July 15, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 422. 8 pp. 5¢.
2241. Diplomatic List, January 1945. ii, 126 pp. Subscription, \$2 a year; single copy, 20¢.
2242. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 5, January 12, 1945, to Revision VIII of September 13, 1944. 73 pp. Free.
2243. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 289, January 7, 1945. 44 pp. 10¢.
2244. The Administration and Structure of Japanese Government. By Hugh Borton, Division of Territorial Studies, Department of State. Far Eastern Series 8. 19 pp. 10¢.
2245. Publications of the Department of State (a list cumulative from October 1, 1929). January 1, 1945. iii, 32 pp. Free.
2246. Establishment of Agricultural Commission: Agreement Between the United States of America and Mexico—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Mexico January 6 and 27, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 421. 6 pp. 5¢.
2247. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 290, January 14, 1945. 24 pp. 10¢.
2248. Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation With the American Republics, December 1, 1944. Inter-American Series 25. ii, 18 pp. 10¢.
2249. The Livestock of China. By Ralph W. Phillips, Ray G. Johnson, Raymond T. Moyer. Far Eastern Series 9. vi, 174 pp. 30¢.
2250. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 291, January 21, 1945. 43 pp. 10¢.
2251. Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Uruguay—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington October 1 and November 1, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 423. 5 pp. 5¢.
2252. Temporary Raising of Level of Lake St. Francis During Low-Water Periods: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada Continuing in Effect the Agreement of November 10, 1941—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington August 31 and September 7, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 424. 4 pp. 5¢.
2254. Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Haiti—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington April 7, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 425. 5 pp. 5¢.
2255. Air Transport Services: Agreement Between the United States of America and Denmark—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington December 16, 1944; effective provisionally January 1, 1945. Executive Agreement Series 430. 10 pp. 10¢.
2256. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 292, January 28, 1945. 36 pp. 10¢.
2257. Dumbarton Oaks Documents on International Organization Together With Chart and Questions and Answers (Revised). Conference Series 60. 24 pp. 5¢.

<sup>1</sup> Serial numbers which do not appear in this list have appeared previously or will appear in subsequent lists.

<sup>2</sup> Subscription, \$3.50 a year.

2258. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 6, February 9, 1945, to Revision VIII of September 13, 1944. 80 pp. Free.
2259. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 293, February 4, 1945. 28 pp. 10¢.
2260. Diplomatic List, February 1945. II, 123 pp. Subscription \$2 a year; single copy, 20¢.
2261. Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Panama—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Panama December 31, 1942 and March 2, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 428. 6 pp. 5¢.
2262. Military Service: Agreement Between the United States of America and China—Effected by exchanges of notes signed at Washington November 6, 1943 and May 11 and June 13, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 426. 6 pp. 5¢.
2263. Air Transport Services: Agreement Between the United States of America and Sweden—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington December 16, 1944; effective January 1, 1945. Executive Agreement Series 431. 10 pp. 5¢.
2264. Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Paraguay—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington May 18 and 22, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 436. 5 pp. 10¢.
2265. Rights of American Nationals: Agreement Between the United States of America and Syria—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Damascus September 7 and 8, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 434. 5 pp. 5¢.
2266. Rights of American Nationals: Agreement Between the United States of America and Lebanon—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Beirut September 7 and 8, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 435. 5 pp. 5¢.
2267. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 294, February 11, 1945. 34 pp. 10¢.
2268. Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Venezuela Extending With Modifications the Agreement of February 18, 1943—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Caracas June 28, 1944; effective July 1, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 427. 7 pp. 5¢.
2269. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 295, February 18, 1945. 60 pp. 10¢.
2270. What the Dumbarton Oaks Peace Plan Means. By Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State. Conference Series 63. 13 pp. 5¢.
2272. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Revision IX, February 28, 1945, Promulgated Pursuant to Proclamation 2497 of the President of July 17, 1941. 371 pp. Free.
2273. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 296, February 25, 1945. 48 pp. 10¢.
2274. Inter-American Cooperative Food Production Service: Agreement Between the United States of America and Peru Extending With Modifications the Agreement of May 19 and 20, 1943—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Lima August 8 and October 10, 1944; effective May 19, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 433. 9 pp. 5¢.
2275. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 297, March 4, 1945. 72 pp. 10¢.
2276. Aid for Defense of Iceland: Agreement and Related Note Between the United States of America and Iceland—Agreement signed at Washington November 21, 1941; effective November 21, 1941. Executive Agreement Series 429. 6 pp. 5¢.
2277. Air Transport Services: Agreement and Related Notes Between the United States of America and Spain—Agreement effected by exchange of notes signed at Madrid December 2, 1944; effective December 2, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 432. 15 pp. 5¢.
2278. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 1, March 9, 1945, to Revision IX of February 28, 1945. 22 pp. Free.
2279. Diplomatic List, March 1945. II, 127 pp. Subscription, \$2 a year; single copy, 20¢.
2283. The Positive Approach to an Enduring Peace. Address by Henry S. Villard, Chief, Division of African Affairs, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State. Conference Series 65. 15 pp. Free.
2284. Index to the Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, nos. 262-288, July 2-December 31, 1944. 26 pp. Free.
2286. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XII, no. 298, March 11, 1945. 38 pp. 10¢.

## TREATY SERIES

987. Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences: Convention Between the United States of America and Other American Republics—Opened for signature at the Pan American Union at Washington January 15, 1944; signed for the United States of America January 15, 1944; proclaimed by the President of the United States of America September 8, 1944; effective November 30, 1944. 31 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; Im-

migration; 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.

#### FOREIGN COMMERCE WEEKLY

The article listed below will be found in the March 24 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:

"Post-War Construction Prospects in the West Indies", based on various Foreign Service reports from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti.







