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Corrections for Volume XLII

The Editor of the BULLETIN wishes to call attention to the following errors in Volume XLII:

February 8, page 222, left column, third line under Telecommunication: The date should read "December 22, 1952."

April 4, page 522, footnote 8: The members of the Latin American Free Trade Association are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay.

May 9, page 744, right column, 10th line: The sentence should begin "Commodore Perry"

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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January 4, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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North Atlantic Council Begins Ministerial Meeting

Following is a statement made by Secretary Herter on his arrival at Paris on December 13, together with the text of a communique issued by the North Atlantic Council on December 17 at the close of the first part of its regular semi-annual Ministerial Meeting, which was held at Paris December 15 to 17.

SECRETARY HERTER'S ARRIVAL STATEMENT, DECEMBER 13

Once again the Foreign, Defense, and Finance Ministers of the NATO countries will meet here in Paris.¹ On December 18 I will meet President Eisenhower in Toulon and accompany him to Paris for the heads-of-government meeting beginning the following day.

At the meeting of the NATO Council this year we will consider the state of our Alliance and of our defenses and will discuss the international situation, including plans for a summit meeting.

In considering the international situation, our assessment should be a realistic one. The sense of crisis appears to have lessened of late. We welcome this, but it remains to be seen whether the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate seriously to reach equitable settlements of major issues. It would be a grave error to base our plans for the future on a more optimistic appraisal than is warranted by the facts.

The defensive strength of the NATO Alliance and its further improvement continues to be of fundamental importance. The economic strength and material well-being of the NATO member countries have grown substantially even while NATO has made steady progress in building its defenses. This fact testifies to the vitality and the

energy of the peoples whose security and well-being our Alliance serves. I am confident these same qualities will also serve our common needs in the future.

With respect to the United States, let me say that we have always given our full support to NATO. This continues to be our policy. The United States will, as it always has done, discharge its responsibilities in NATO and carry its fair share.

FIRST COMMUNIQUE, DECEMBER 17

Press release 865 dated December 18

The North Atlantic Council began its regular Ministerial session in Paris on December 15. At the opening meeting, which marked the inauguration of the permanent headquarters of NATO at the Porte Dauphine, statements were made by M. Michel Debré, Prime Minister of the French Republic, and Mr. Halvard Lange, President of the Council and Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Council devoted three days to a thorough discussion of the affairs of the Alliance, beginning with a review of the international situation. The Ministers unanimously reaffirmed their confidence in the North Atlantic Alliance, and agreed that it will remain indispensable during the coming years. They instructed the Permanent Council to undertake long-term planning, to cover the next ten years, on the objectives of the Alliance in the political, military, scientific and economic fields, and in regard to arms control.

The Council also agreed that various economic problems, as they relate to NATO, should form the subject of further study in the Permanent Council.

The Council examined the military situation. It took cognizance of the fact that Soviet military strength continues to grow. Current NATO de-

¹For a departure statement by Secretary Herter and an announcement of the U.S. delegation, see BULLETIN of Dec. 28, 1959, p. 934.

fense plans therefore remain valid. In view of this, and in the light of the Annual Review, the Ministers agreed that a determined effort is required to guarantee the necessary strength of the Alliance. They expressed confidence that on the basis of the progress already achieved and in view of favorable economic developments in most NATO countries, this essential task is certainly within the ability of the Alliance as a whole.

The Council reaffirmed that general and controlled disarmament remains the goal of the West. Every opportunity will be taken to make progress in this direction. Until this goal is achieved, however, the Alliance cannot afford to neglect the measures necessary for its security.

The Ministers had a full discussion on the forth-

coming negotiations between East and West and agreed on the procedures whereby NATO will continue to participate in the preparations for these negotiations. The Council will resume these discussions on December 22, after the meeting of Heads of Government, and a second communique will then be issued.

The Council concluded by expressing the hope that the negotiations between East and West will advance the solution of important problems and thus serve the ideals of peace and security which the Alliance has always upheld and defended.

At the invitation of the Turkish Government the next Ministerial session of the Council will take place in Istanbul in May, 1960.

Importance of Cultural Ties in Franco-American Alliance

by Under Secretary Dillon¹

We in the Department of State applaud the outstanding contribution which the Lafayette Fellowship Foundation is making to the long and cherished tradition of Franco-American friendship and cooperation. Today's pressing need to strengthen free-world unity calls for ever-closer ties between the American people and the great, liberty-loving people of France. The Lafayette Foundation, through its scholarship program for exceptionally gifted French graduate students, is immeasurably enhancing this relationship.

Lafayette fellows are offered an opportunity to acquire a broad knowledge of the United States and of the lives and aspirations of our citizens. They are exposed to our uniquely productive economic system. They are eyewitnesses to our political and civic activities. They participate in our cultural affairs and learn to appreciate the spiritual and moral values we hold so dear.

Although this program is only 4 years old, I am confident that we will soon see the day when Lafayette fellows will be numbered among the active leaders of France's social, economic, and political life. By sending back to France a succession of potential leaders who have a full understanding of the United States and its people, the Foundation is rendering an invaluable service to both nations.

There has never been a time in history when there was greater need for better understanding between all nations and all peoples. Indeed, mutual understanding is an imperative of 20th century existence if we are ever to ease the tensions which beset today's sorely troubled and sadly divided world. The ties which bind France and the United States together are a shining example of an admirable alliance in which understanding goes hand in hand with mutual respect and warm friendship.

These ties have been formed over a period of nearly 200 years by ideals commonly held, by experiences commonly shared, and by bloodshed in a common cause. They have been strengthened

¹Address made before the Lafayette Fellowship Foundation at New York, N.Y., on Dec. 15 (press release 859). On this occasion Mr. Dillon received the Lafayette Gold Medal Award as a "statesman and diplomat who has dedicated his life and career to the finest tradition of democratic friendship."

by an interchange of opinions and customs and by a continuing and lively interest in each other's language and culture.

French Influence in America

French influence has been strong in America since the early days of the exploration and colonization of the continent. It is to French explorers, such as Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, Robert de La Salle, Louis Joliet, and the French missionaries—of whom Père Marquette is an outstanding example—that we owe the exploration of the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi basin. The memory of these French explorations lives on in ringing place names: Detroit, Des Moines, Vincennes, Terre Haute, Fond du Lac, and a host of others. Père Marquette alone has given his name to a great university, a railway system, a river, two counties, and five towns and villages.

During colonial days another strong current of French influence was evident in the successive waves of Huguenot immigrants who settled along the Eastern seaboard from New England to the Carolinas. The Huguenots were mostly artisans and tradesmen, and, through their knowledge and skills, they contributed significantly to the building of colonial America.

As our American Revolution developed, our leaders drew inspiration and encouragement from the French philosophers of the 18th century. In particular, the political theories propounded by Montesquieu in his remarkable work *L'Esprit des Loix* had a profound influence on the framers of the American Constitution. The extent of the political, military, and material assistance furnished by France to the Revolutionary American Colonies—in one of the earliest “foreign aid” programs—is too well known to require elaboration here. We have a perpetual reminder in the serene and lovely Lady of Liberty presented to us by France, who marked her 75th anniversary in New York Harbor last July.

A quarter of a century after our liberty had been won with the help of French troops led by Lafayette and Rochambeau, there occurred an episode which provides a deep insight into the character of the great Frenchman whose name is proudly borne by this foundation. When the Territory of New Orleans—which the French had begun to colonize nearly a hundred years before—became a part of the Union in 1803, the United

States Congress granted a tract of land to General Lafayette. Through an inadvertence, a portion of that same tract was later granted to the Corporation of New Orleans. Lafayette was assured by eminent jurists that he was in the right and was urged to put forth his claim. To which that gallant soldier replied:

I cannot consent even to inquire into the validity of my title. It was gratuitously bestowed by Congress, and it is for them to say what was given. I cannot for a moment think of entering into litigation with any public body in the United States.

On the tract that Lafayette so gracefully relinquished was built the city of New Orleans. To this day the citizens of New Orleans take justifiable pride in their French heritage. For the French epoch has left behind an indelible imprint on their architecture, customs, cuisine, and family names.

In recent times French influence in the United States has been exercised primarily through artists, writers, and teachers of both nations. Since the early days of this century, when the Paris school of painting gained undisputed primacy, American artists have flocked to that lovely city. Many American writers, and particularly those of the generation which came to maturity between the two world wars, found in Paris the intellectual and artistic atmosphere most congenial to their work. Since the last war the number of American students enrolled in French universities—more than a thousand annually—has been larger than that from any other foreign country.

The number of French students in this country is growing and now averages about 600 each year.

French continues to be one of the most popular foreign languages in American universities and colleges. From a study of the language many American students are able to move on to a first-hand acquaintance with the great classics of French literature. The works of French dramatists, from Molière and Rostand to Sartre, are produced on Broadway and by little theater groups across the country. The output of France's motion picture studios has always found an appreciative audience here, and many French entertainers and popular ballads are almost as well known on Main Street as they are along the Champs Elysées.

The French have enriched our American social fabric in another significant manner. They have brought us a certain grace and joy of living. Our

Puritan and pioneer ancestors had many excellent qualities, but urbanity and gaiety were not conspicuously among them. Thanks in good part to French influence over the years, we have a more cosmopolitan outlook on life. Certainly French influence can be found everywhere about us: on our restaurant menus, on the dining tables of our homes, in our shops and fashions, our art and architecture and interior design, and in our everyday conversation and humor.

Two-Way Cultural Avenue

From the earliest days of our Franco-American friendship the flow of influence and ideas between the two countries has been reciprocal. The architects of that monumental event of history, the French Revolution, owed much to the earlier American Revolution. In 1789 Thomas Paine said, "The principles of America opened the Bastille." In recognition of the influence of the American experiment on the French Revolution, Lafayette sent the key of the Bastille to George Washington, who accepted it as "a token of the victory gained by liberty."

After the revolutionary periods, the heavy traffic in words and ideas was maintained. Frenchmen who have come to our shores have been eager to weigh our qualities and to draw parallels between the two democracies. Such brilliant observers of the American scene as De Tocqueville stimulated French interest in the United States. More recent literary explorers have been André Siegfried and André Maurois. Jacques Maritain, who has lived among us for nearly a quarter of a century, has eloquently expressed faith in the United States as "a country entirely turned toward the future, not the past."

This two-way cultural avenue made the novels of Fenimore Cooper as familiar to the French turn-of-the-century schoolboy as were the works of Dumas to his American contemporary. In our own days the plays of Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams, the novels of Hemingway and Faulkner, are accorded a respectful and searching attention in France—an attention given to few other foreign writers. We reciprocate with our interest in such modern French writers as Gide, Cauts, Rolland, and Mauriac.

Perhaps one of the most golden pages in this history of cultural exchange was written during France's dark days of 1940, when more than a

hundred French artists, professors, and scholars came to this country, where they were able to keep the vitality of French thought and culture alive and free. Many accepted teaching and research assignments at leading American universities. Others formed, at the New School for Social Research in this city, the nucleus of what has since become the French University in New York.

U.S. Aware of France's Resurgent Strength

In discussing Franco-American cultural ties I cannot help recalling that in the past certain of our French friends have taken us to task for what they believed, rightly or wrongly, was our preoccupation with the material aspects of civilization and the day-to-day practicalities of international relations. Today, as I learned during my all-too-brief visit to Paris,² some of these same friends feel that we are being overly sentimental about their country. They fear that concentration on past glories may be causing us to overlook the realities of the new France.

I can assure our friends that their concern is unwarranted. We are well aware of France's resurgent strength. Over the past 10 years French industrial production has grown at a prodigious rate. In the last 5 years alone industrial output has increased by nearly 50 percent.

At a time when the Soviet Union is talking of the supposed "decadence" of the Western democracies and is seeking to project its own image to the newly developing countries as the ideal blueprint for rapid industrial growth, it is important that France's remarkable recovery has proceeded at a pace at least equaling that of the Soviet Union and that it has been achieved within the framework of a society erected on the ideals of individual liberty and human dignity. This is eloquent testimony that freedom, not tyranny, is the wave of the future.

France is the oldest ally of the United States. This alliance has survived nearly two centuries of wars and revolutions and is today one of the foundations of the foreign policies of both our countries. Today our alliance has a new form, that of the Atlantic Pact, in which—for the first time during peacetime—France and the United

² Mr. Dillon was at Paris Dec. 11-14 during a visit to Europe for discussions with economic officials. For an announcement of his itinerary, see BULLETIN of Dec. 14, 1950, p. 862.

States find themselves associated in an organization for the defense of their common patrimony, both territorial and spiritual. It is fitting that France was chosen as the seat of NATO and that an American has been chosen as its military commander. For both countries have been among the most ardent defenders, propagators, and practitioners of those ideas which the Atlantic Pact is designed to protect.

As always, we look upon France as a staunch friend and ally. We fully recognize and welcome the industrial and economic rebirth that is taking place in France. Our tourists, students, and young artists will continue to be drawn to France as the repository of a great culture. In truth, the reality of France today is the sum and total of qualities both old and new which give her a unique and influential place in world affairs. And today, more than ever before, we realize the importance of cultural ties in cementing our alliance.

I regret that my good friend, Ambassador Hervé Alphand, was called to Paris and is unable to be with us tonight. For I can think of no better way of stressing the value of French-American cultural interchange than by quoting from one of his recent speeches. He said:

The unique brotherhood which, for nearly two centuries, has bound our two countries together in the political field, obtains also in the cultural field, and it is hard to imagine how one could exist without the other.

By exerting its efforts to achieve ever-closer relations, the Lafayette Foundation is not only serving the best interests of France and the United States but also the cause of human freedom everywhere.

U.S. Protests to Czechoslovakia on Anti-American Exhibit

Press release 855 dated December 15

The U.S. Embassy at Prague delivered the following note to the Czechoslovak Government on December 12.

The Government of the United States is surprised to learn of an exhibit displayed at the Klement Gottwald Museum in Prague. This exhibit contains a number of items highly offensive to the United States Government since they are false in content and markedly anti-American in

character. The exhibit includes, for example, a photograph of twelve severed human heads lying on the ground, with a caption: "American head hunters and their helpers. The methods of colonialists do not change." Another part of the display refers to General MacArthur as a "mass murderer".

An exhibit of this character could not be displayed without the sanction of Czechoslovak authorities. Such an exhibit is clearly inconsistent with repeated statements by the Czechoslovak Government of its desire to improve Czechoslovak-United States relations and seems deliberately calculated to worsen rather than ease the international atmosphere.

U.S. Replies to Soviet Protest on German Draft Radio Legislation

Following is an exchange of correspondence between the United States and the U.S.S.R. concerning German draft legislation providing for the establishment of a central radio network with headquarters in West Berlin.

U.S. NOTE OF DECEMBER 15¹

The Government of the United States received the Soviet Government's note of November 11, 1959 with some surprise, for it appears to have been prompted by certain misapprehensions about those procedures and safeguards which have long been in effect regarding the application of Federal German legislation and the operation of Federal German agencies in Berlin. The importance which the United States, as one of the occupying powers, attaches to the maintenance of the special status of Berlin has been dealt with in numerous communications to the Soviet Union.

The Government of the United States wishes to reaffirm the principle of four power responsibility for Greater Berlin and notes that the desire of the Soviet Government to avoid interference with Berlin's special status is reflected in the reference note.

In view of the experience of the past ten years, it

¹ Delivered to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the American Embassy at Moscow on Dec. 15 (press release 861 dated Dec. 16).

seems superfluous to remind the Soviet Government of the arrangements which the occupation authorities have long kept in force to insure that the relationships of the German Federal Republic and Berlin are compatible with the special status of the city. The Government of the United States is not aware that any proposal raised to date for the establishment of a Deutschlandfunk contains features which are incompatible with the special status of Berlin.

In view of the foregoing, the Government of the United States believes that the considerations expressed by the Soviet Union in its note are not valid.

SOVIET NOTE OF NOVEMBER 11²

Unofficial translation

92/OSA

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considers it necessary to draw the attention of the Government of the United States of America to the following question:

On 30 September the Government of the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] approved and sent to the Bundestag for its consideration draft legislation on radio broadcasting which provided for the establishment in West Berlin of the West German radio station "Deutschland-Funk". According to the draft legislation the radio station would be run by representatives of the FRG and of the Laender.

This decision of the Government of the FRG is illegal because it is incompatible with the existing statute of West Berlin. As is generally known—and was confirmed by the participants of the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers—West Berlin has never been a part, and is not now a part, of the state territory of the FRG, cannot be governed by organs of the Federal Government, nor does the jurisdiction of FRG authorities extend to it.

It must be noted that this is not the first time the Government of the FRG has attempted illegal interference in the internal affairs of West Berlin. The Soviet Government has already called the attention of the Government of the USA to this fact, particularly in connection with the holding of elections in West Berlin for president of the FRG. Recently the authorities of the FRG again selected West Berlin as a place for holding elections, for purposes of show—this time for president of the West German Bundesrat.

The creation of the radio station in West Berlin now being undertaken by the Government of the FRG cannot be looked upon as other than an attempt to intensify subversive activity and hostile propaganda from the territory

² Handed to American Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson at Moscow by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister V. S. Semenov.

of West Berlin, which testifies to its lack of desire to take into consideration the readiness expressed by participants of the Geneva Conference to resolve the question of not permitting such activity.

The plan for the creation of a West German radio station in West Berlin, in the center of another state, clearly has as its purpose the intensification of hostile activity against the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Government considers the aforementioned activities of the Government of the FRG as a new provocation which is calculated to make the atmosphere in Berlin and all of Germany more tense and to fan the flames of the "cold war" in the center of Europe. The activities of the Government of the FRG cannot be considered as anything but a premeditated attempt to interfere with the successful conclusion of forthcoming negotiations on the Berlin question at a time when more favorable foundations for the attainment of an agreement on West Berlin have been created as a result of conversations between the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N. S. Khrushchev and the President of the USA D. Eisenhower.

In connection with the foregoing the Soviet Government expects that the Government of the USA—which has repeatedly declared that it, together with the Governments of Great Britain and France, bears responsibility for the situation in West Berlin—will take the necessary measures to preclude the possibility of the authorities of the FRG conducting such illegal activities with respect to West Berlin.

Similar notes are also being sent by the Soviet Government to the Governments of Great Britain and France.

Moscow, November 11, 1959

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Discussion of Activities of Panama Canal Company.

Hearing before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. April 14, 1959. 9 pp.

Agreement for Cooperation Between the United States and the International Atomic Energy Agency. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. June 30, 1959. 94 pp.

Passport Reorganization Act of 1959. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee. August 26–September 1, 1959. 568 pp.

Rio Grande International Storage Dams Project: Proposed Amistad Dam and Reservoir (formerly known as Diablo Dam). Report of the International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, United States Section. S. Doc. 65. September 9, 1959. 153 pp., with charts and maps.

United States Foreign Policy: Developments in Military Technology and Their Impact on United States Strategy and Foreign Policy. A study prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, the Johns Hopkins University. No. 8. December 6, 1959. 120 pp. [Committee print.]

New Nonimmigrant Visa Regulations

by Hallie Mae Pryor

The Department of State announced recently that it had issued new regulations designed to speed the issuance of visas to aliens who want to visit the United States.¹ The regulations, with a delayed effective date of January 1, 1960, were published in the *Federal Register* of August 18, 1959,² thus giving more than 4 months' advance notice to those interested persons who wished to comment or offer suggestions on the new provisions. Comments were also specifically invited from the Federal Bar Association, the American Bar Association, and the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers.

The first general regulations governing the issuance and refusal of visas were issued by the Visa Office on June 13, 1946, and became effective September 10, 1946. These regulations were published pursuant to section (3) (A) of the Administrative Procedures Act of June 11, 1946, which required every agency to separately state and currently publish in the *Federal Register* substantive rules adopted as authorized by law. Published as part 61 of title 22, these regulations were comprehensive in nature and laid down the basic pattern which has since been followed in the issuance of all visa regulations. With minor amendments and a change in 1948 in the part number to 42, they remained in effect until the regulations issued pursuant to the Immigration and Nationality Act were published on December 19, 1952.

While the Department claims exemption from the provisions of section 4 of the act requiring advance notice of proposed rulemaking, the Visa

Office does publish advance notice of such amendments whenever there appears to be sufficient public interest. Such was the case of an amendment requiring certain additional information to be submitted in connection with applications for crew-list visas.

Furthermore, visa regulations contain a considerable amount of interpretive material. For example, much of the material contained in section 41.91(a) (9), (10), and (12) was formerly contained in administrative instructions but has now been incorporated into the regulations. Sections 41.25 (b) and (c), 41.40(b), 41.55(c), and 41.91 (a)(28) also contain interpretations. This material is included in the regulations to keep the public informed of the statutory and regulatory constructions of the Department, since there are no published decisions on visa matters and very few visa questions find their way into the courts. The Visa Office Bulletin also serves to keep the public informed with regard to interpretations of the immigration laws made by the Department.³

Simplification of Procedures for Issuing Visas

During the last 5 years remarkable progress has been made in the simplification and liberalization of the procedures governing the issuance of non-immigrant visas. On March 30, 1954, in his message to Congress on the foreign economic policy

• Mrs. Pryor is chief of the Regulations Branch of the Visa Office, Department of State. This article is based on an address which she made before the Federal Bar Association at Washington, D.C., on November 18.

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 7, 1959, p. 349.

² 24 *Fed. Reg.* 6678.

³ Persons wishing to receive the Visa Office Bulletin may have their names placed on the mailing list upon request to the Visa Office, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

of the United States, the President stressed the cultural and economic importance of international travel and stated:⁴

Meanwhile, in the executive branch, I shall instruct the appropriate agencies and departments, at home and abroad, to consider how they can facilitate international travel. They will be asked to take action to simplify governmental procedures relating to customs, visas, passports, exchange or monetary restrictions and other regulations that sometimes harass the traveler.

A directive was subsequently issued by the President to the Departments of State, Commerce, Justice, and the Treasury on May 26, 1954, requesting that the action indicated in the message be taken. In complying with the President's directive the Department has initiated a systematic program of expediting the documentation of bona fide nonimmigrants consistent with the immigration laws and regulations, particularly those provisions relating to the security of the United States.

The first and perhaps the most significant change was a regulatory amendment published on June 30, 1955, which permitted all bona fide nonimmigrants to be issued nonimmigrant visas and to have their names entered or retained on a quota or subquota waiting list with the exception of (1) exchange visitors, (2) aliens who willfully violated their nonimmigrant status while in the United States, and (3) aliens who had been deported from the United States and had not been granted permission by the Attorney General to reapply following deportation. Under the regulation as amended a consular officer will issue a nonimmigrant visa to an alien registered on a quota registration list if he is satisfied that for the purpose of the visit presently contemplated the alien is a bona fide nonimmigrant; that is, he can and will depart from the United States upon the conclusion of his temporary stay in this country. It was thus recognized that an alien might qualify as a nonimmigrant for the purpose of making one or more trips to the United States even though he might have an eventual intention of immigrating to this country. The regulations provide that the names of aliens who violate their nonimmigrant status in the United States will be removed from the registration list and may not be reinstated under their original priority.

Simultaneously with the publication of this reg-

ulation the period of maximum validity of nonimmigrant visas was extended from 24 to 48 months in cases of aliens who are nationals or stateless residents of foreign countries whose governments issue visas to U.S. nationals in a similar class valid for an equivalent period or whose governments do not require visas of U.S. nationals in a similar class visiting that country. Sections 221 (c) and 281 of the act require that, insofar as practicable, the validity of nonimmigrant visas and the fees charged therefor shall be governed by reciprocity. Under the statute visa requirements may be waived on a reciprocal basis only for nationals of foreign contiguous territory or adjacent islands so that the United States cannot reciprocate fully if a foreign country does not require visas of U.S. nationals proceeding to that country. The Department can, however, issue to nationals of such countries nonimmigrant visas valid for 4 years and an unlimited number of applications for admission without fee. The regulations published on June 30, 1955, also provided that nonimmigrant visas could be revalidated any number of times without a formal application up to a period of validity not extending more than 4 years from the date of original issuance.

Following publication of these regulations, the Department made representations to the governments of foreign countries in an effort to obtain a liberalization of their treatment of American citizens entering those countries as nonimmigrants with respect to the validity of nonimmigrant documentation and the visa fees charged. As a result of this effort there are now 65 countries which either issue 4-year nonimmigrant visas to U.S. citizens free of charge or do not require visas at all of U.S. citizens visiting those countries, and the United States in turn issues 48-month no-fee visas to nationals of these countries.

Combined Business and Pleasure Visa

Early in 1956 the Department authorized consular officers to issue a combined B-1 and B-2 visa to aliens who might wish to make several entries into the United States, some entries for business and some for pleasure. If the country of which an applicant for this type of visa is a national charges a fee for either a business or pleasure visa, the consular officer must charge an equal fee. The Department also provided at that time that a visa valid for two applications for admission might

⁴ BULLETIN of Apr. 9, 1954, p. 602.

be issued to an alien who intended to make more than one entry into the United States in the course of a single journey regardless of the practice of the applicant's country in documenting American citizens. It was felt that, in view of the reciprocity requirements of the law, not more than two entries could be permitted in such a case, but it was thought that Congress certainly intended that an alien who wanted to make a visit to the United States and proceed briefly to Canada, Mexico, or some other nearby country and then return to his homeland through the United States should be permitted to do so without the necessity of applying for a new visa in a country in which he has no ties.

Prior to 1957 the law required that all nonimmigrants, except certain foreign government and international organization officials, be fingerprinted in connection with their visa applications. As a result of strong recommendations by the President and the Department, the Congress provided in section 8 of the act of September 11, 1957, that the Secretary of State and the Attorney General should have authority to waive fingerprinting of foreign nationals in nonimmigrant visa cases on a reciprocal basis. Although at the time of the enactment of this legislation several foreign countries fingerprinted U.S. citizens entering those countries as nonimmigrants, these requirements were eliminated as a result of representations made by our embassies; and at the present time we do not fingerprint nonimmigrant visa applicants of any nationality. Thus the reciprocal statutory provisions relating to the validity of nonimmigrant visas, the fees charged for visa issuance, and fingerprinting of nonimmigrants have not only facilitated travel to the United States of alien nonimmigrants but have also enabled the Department to obtain concessions for U.S. citizens traveling abroad which have freed such travel from certain fairly serious annoyances.

During these years the Department also undertook to standardize nonimmigrant visa procedures. A standardized preliminary nonimmigrant questionnaire was developed for use in cases in which there is question as to the bona fide nonimmigrant status or the eligibility of a nonimmigrant visa applicant to receive a visa. The form is also used in cases in which an alien resides at a considerable distance from the consular office and it is therefore

necessary to conduct the preliminary processing of the case by mail. The official nonimmigrant visa application form was revised and simplified and now consists of a three-by-five card designed for use as an index card by the consular office. It requires completion of approximately 10 items of information, most of which are required by statute, and is completed in single copy only.

Principal Changes in the Regulations

The Department has attempted, in the new nonimmigrant visa regulations which will become effective on January 1, 1960, not only to streamline the processing of nonimmigrant visa applications but to make as easily accessible and as clear and unambiguous as possible the information which consular officers must have in order to exercise the visa function properly. Significant changes made in the new regulations are listed in Visa Office Bulletin No. 45.

One of the important editorial changes in the new regulations is the avoidance of all repetitions of the statute. In earlier regulations certain provisions of the law were included without any distinction being made between statutory and regulatory requirements. For example, with regard to students, the regulations formerly provided in part that an applicant for a student visa must establish that (1) he has a residence in a foreign country which he has no intention of abandoning, (2) he is a bona fide student qualified to pursue and is seeking to enter the United States temporarily and solely for the purpose of pursuing a full course of study as prescribed by the institution of learning to which he is destined, and (3) he will attend and has been accepted by an institution of learning approved by the Attorney General as evidenced by the presentation of a Form I-20. The first requirement is statutory, the second is in part statutory and in part regulatory, the third regulatory; but there was no indication to this effect in the regulations themselves. Now the regulations say "an alien shall be classifiable as a nonimmigrant student if he establishes to the satisfaction of the consular officer that he qualifies under the provisions of section 101(a)(15)(F) of the Act *and that*"—and then follow on with the regulatory requirements which implement the statute.

Experience demonstrated that those using the earlier regulations, knowing that statutory pro-

visions were included in the regulations, might have felt that they could be governed by the regulations alone and need not refer to the statute. Since all applicable provisions of the law could not be put in the regulations, important statutory requirements might be overlooked. Now it is clear from the regulations themselves that the law must first be consulted and then the regulations. Consular officers have a complete collection of all statutes, treaties, Presidential proclamations, and Executive orders bearing upon immigration.

Other editorial changes include the expansion of the section on definitions, which now contains all definitions of terms which are used in more than one section of the regulations and an increased use of cross references.

The regulations are organized so that they follow as closely as possible the sequence in which a visa application is normally processed. When an individual makes application the consular officer must first determine whether he is a person to whom a visa can be issued and whether a visa is necessary. Therefore, the first sections deal with the documentation of nationals, claimant nationals, and former nationals of the United States, and the waivers of passport and visa requirements. Next, the consular officer wants to know whether the alien is a nonimmigrant and, if so, what classification is appropriate. So the classification sections follow. Sections dealing with the ineligible classes and the provisions under which, in exceptional cases, visas may be issued to aliens falling within certain of these classes, the types of visas which may be issued, whether diplomatic, official, or regular, the procedure to be followed by the alien in applying for his visa, and the procedure for issuing or refusing the visa or revoking a previously issued visa follow in logical sequence.

Other Innovations

The nonimmigrant regulations did not previously contain information on ineligible classes. These provisions were contained in the immigrant regulations and were made part of the nonimmigrant regulations by cross-reference only. Now there is a complete discussion of the ineligible classes in this part, and all of the exceptions for nonimmigrants are carefully pointed out in this section of the new regulations.

Another innovation is the inclusion of sections 41.100, 41.102, and 41.104 on the types of non-

immigrant visas. Formerly there was a separate part, part 40, dealing with diplomatic visas only, which gave rise to a number of misconceptions. Many persons thought that a diplomatic visa could be issued only to an alien classifiable as a foreign government official, that is, one coming to the United States on business for his government, or to an official of an international organization coming on business of the organization. However, this is not the case. Diplomatic and official visas are visas of courtesy which entitle the applicant to certain privileges in connection with his visa application, such as exemption from the requirement of personal appearance, submission of a photograph, and, on a reciprocal basis, from payment of visa fees. By comity the bearer of a diplomatic or official visa is usually accorded preferential treatment at ports of entry.

The issuance of this type of visa has, however, nothing to do with the granting of diplomatic privileges and immunities to persons who are acting in a representative capacity for foreign governments or international organizations. Diplomatic and official visas may be issued to persons falling within the categories listed in sections 41.102 and 41.104 even though they may be entering as students or on personal business or pleasure, or as exchange visitors. Such persons would be issued a diplomatic or official F visa if coming as students, diplomatic or official B visas if coming on business or pleasure, or diplomatic exchange-visitor visas if entering as participants in a designated exchange-visitor program.

Oath Requirement Eliminated

The requirement that an oath be administered in connection with an application for a nonimmigrant visa has been eliminated. While the elimination of the oath simplifies to a certain extent the visa-issuing process, it does not in any way represent a relaxation of the requirements to be met by visa applicants. The preliminary nonimmigrant visa application form lists the classes of aliens who are barred from permanent admission into this country. These classes include aliens who seek to procure or have sought to procure, or have procured, a visa or other documentation for entry into the United States by fraud or by willful misrepresentation of a material fact.

The nonimmigrant visa application form is

now revised to substitute the following language for the former jurat :

I declare under the penalties prescribed by law that the information contained in this application, including any statements made a part thereof, has been examined by me and is true, correct and complete to the best of my knowledge and belief and that 18 USC 1001 has been explained to me.⁵

It is believed that requiring a visa applicant to sign the foregoing statement and explaining the penalty provisions of the law will afford adequate safeguards against the making of false statements in nonimmigrant visa applications. Experience has demonstrated that persons who are attempting to effect a fraudulent entry into the United States have little hesitancy in swearing to statements which are not true. On the other hand, many sincere and conscientious persons are offended by the requirement that they take an oath to the truth of the statements contained in their visa applications, particularly in view of the fact that foreign countries generally do not require an oath of American citizens or others desiring to proceed temporarily to those countries. While the oath has been eliminated in connection with nonimmigrant visa applications, the Department is continuing to emphasize the importance and dignity of the oath in connection with immigrant visa applications.

Revalidation and Transfer of Visas

The provisions of 41.125 and 41.126 relating to the revalidation and transfer of visas are of considerable interest to anyone concerned with the problems of aliens who enter the United States as nonimmigrants for fairly extended periods of time, such as students and exchange visitors, and who desire to make trips to nearby countries and return. There are still some countries which issue single-entry visas valid for only a limited period of time to American citizens proceeding to those countries as students or for other cultural pur-

⁵ 18 USC 1001 reads as follows :

"Whoever, in any matter within the jurisdiction of any department or agency of the United States knowingly and willfully falsifies, conceals or covers up by any trick, scheme, or device a material fact, or makes any false, fictitious or fraudulent statements or representations, or makes or uses any false writing or document knowing the same to contain any false, fictitious or fraudulent statement or entry, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both."

poses. We must, therefore, reciprocate with the issuance of visas similarly limited. Interestingly enough, these countries are, in many instances, ones which send a large contingent of students and exchangees to the United States; for example, Brazil, Ecuador, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Peru, and the United Arab Republic.

Canada, Mexico, and other nearby countries will not admit an alien who is in the United States in a nonimmigrant status unless that alien has in his possession a document valid for reentry into the United States. An alien who has a single-entry visa, or whose visa has expired, or whose passport has expired and must be surrendered to the appropriate authorities of his own government for issuance of a new passport is not in a position to meet this requirement. Under prior regulations the visa could not be revalidated or transferred unless the alien was abroad and within the jurisdiction of the consular office to which he applied for a revalidation or transfer of his visa.

Under the new regulations consular officers may in their discretion waive the personal appearance of an applicant for revalidation or transfer of a nonimmigrant visa and the alien need not be within the consular district at the time of such application. Therefore an alien in the United States with a nonimmigrant visa limited by reciprocity may mail his passport containing the visa—or a new passport with a statement from the consular authorities of his own government to the effect that his passport containing a valid U.S. visa has been taken up by those authorities and replaced with a new passport—to the consular office which issued his original visa and request a revalidation or transfer. If the consular officer is satisfied that the alien is maintaining nonimmigrant status in the United States and is otherwise qualified, he may revalidate or transfer the visa and return it by mail to the alien in the United States. It is believed that this procedure will prove to be a satisfactory solution to what has previously constituted an insuperable obstacle to the travel of many foreign students and exchange visitors to nearby countries.

Review of Visa Refusals

Applicants for visas are afforded ample protection under the new regulations against arbitrary or unjustified refusal. The provisions of section

41.130(c) continue a procedure which has been the regular practice of the Department but which has never been stated so fully in regulations. The Department has in the past, at the request of an interested person, called upon consular officers to submit reports in cases in which there is any indication that a visa may have been refused erroneously. The Department may not, of course, direct a consular officer to issue a visa in any case, but it can give the consular officer the benefit of its advisory opinion, and, if an error in interpretation of law has been made, the Department's ruling is binding.

Section 41.90 provides that a visa is to be refused only upon a ground specifically set out in the law or regulations issued thereunder and further provides that consideration is to be given to any evidence submitted indicating that the ground for a prior refusal of a nonimmigrant visa may no longer exist. Thus there is no room for arbitrary visa refusals or for the exercise of whim or fancy.

The provisions of section 41.130(b), although reflecting longstanding practice, have now for the first time been put in regulatory form. Under this section the Department or the principal consular officer at a post may request review of a case and final action by a consular officer other than the one who originally considered the application.

Other protections afforded to visa applicants in the new regulations are contained in sections 41.91(c)(2) and 41.111(a).

Under the provisions of section 221(g)(2) of the act a visa must be refused (1) if the alien's application fails to comply with the provisions of the act; that is, if the applicant fails to furnish the information required to be included in the application by the act or regulations; (2) if the application contains a false or incorrect statement which does not constitute a ground of ineligibility under section 212(a)(9) or (19) of the act; (3) if the application is not supported by the documents required by the act or regulations; (4) if the applicant refuses to be fingerprinted when fingerprinting is required; or (5) if the application otherwise fails to meet the specific requirements of the act for reasons for which the applicant is responsible.

Section 41.91(c)(2) points out that these grounds of refusal do not constitute a bar to the reconsideration of the application upon compli-

ance with statutory or regulatory requirements or to the consideration of a subsequent application submitted by the same applicant. Section 41.111(a), which gives the consular officer authority to require such documents as he may consider necessary to establish the alien's eligibility to receive a nonimmigrant visa, also provides that all documents submitted and any other evidence adduced by the alien is to be given consideration by the consular officer, including briefs submitted by attorneys or other representatives. The latter provision was inserted at the specific request of an attorney who felt that sufficient attention had not been given to arguments which he had submitted in behalf of a client. Consular officers must, of course, be governed by what they consider to be the applicant's intention as expressed in his own statements and actions, but they will give consideration to supporting statements made by attorneys or other representatives of the visa applicant.

In the new regulations effective January 1 the Department of State has evidenced its interest not only in expediting and facilitating nonimmigrant travel to the United States but in insuring that every applicant who is legally eligible to receive a nonimmigrant visa will receive that visa. The Foreign Service officers who represent the United States abroad are well equipped to carry out these objectives. They not only are trained in the basic economic and political structure of the country to which they are assigned but also are thoroughly acquainted with the customs and characteristics of the people with whom they are dealing. Experience with nationals of many foreign countries enables Foreign Service officers to develop an understanding of these people which is of invaluable assistance in making the determinations required in the issuance of nonimmigrant visas. Through the Foreign Service Institute Visa Training Course and the Correspondence Course in visa work they are constantly improving their knowledge and understanding of the immigration laws and regulations. Further, the Visa Office has adopted a systematic plan for continuing review and improvement of the regulations themselves and the instructions distributed to the field for the guidance of consular officers in the administration of the immigration laws.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings ¹

Adjourned During December 1959

ITU Administrative Radio Conference	Geneva	Aug. 17-Dec. 22
U.N. General Assembly: 14th Session	New York	Sept. 15-Dec. 12
ITU Plenipotentiary Conference	Geneva	Oct. 14-Dec. 22
Conference on Antarctica	Washington	Oct. 15-Dec. 1
U.N. ECE Committee on Agricultural Problems: 11th Session.	Geneva	Nov. 30-Dec. 4
U.N. Seminar on Evaluation and Utilization of Population Census Results.	Santiago	Nov. 30-Dec. 18
ICAO Facilitation Division: 5th Session	Rome	Dec. 1-19
U.N. ECAFE Seminar on Management of Public Industrial Enterprises.	New Delhi	Dec. 1-11
U.N. Trusteeship Council: 10th Special Session	New York	Dec. 2 and 14
1st FAO International Meeting on Date Production and Processing.	Tripoli	Dec. 5-10
U.N. ECE Housing Committee: 19th Session (and Working Parties).	Geneva	Dec. 7-11
FAO Plant Protection Committee for Southeast Asia and Pacific Region: 3d Meeting.	New Delhi	Dec. 7-12
International Criminal Police Organization: 28th General Assembly.	Paris	Dec. 8-10
U.N. Special Fund: 3d Session of Governing Council	New York	Dec. 8-10
Caribbean Commission: 29th Meeting	Cayenne, French Guiana	Dec. 9-16
UNICEF Executive Board and Program Committee	New York	Dec. 11 (1 day)
South Pacific Commission: Study Group on Filariasis and Elephantiasis.	Nouméa, New Caledonia	Dec. 12-24
U.N. Economic and Social Council: 28th Session (resumed) .	New York	Dec. 14-15
U.N. ECE Coal Trade Subcommittee: 44th Session	Geneva	Dec. 14-15
U.N. ECE Coal Committee: 48th Session	Geneva	Dec. 14-15
U.N. ECE Inland Transport Committee: 19th Session	Geneva	Dec. 14-18
FAO International Rice Commission: Working Party on Rice Production and Protection.	Peradeniya, Ceylon	Dec. 14-19
FAO International Rice Commission: Working Party on Rice Soil, Water, and Fertilizer Practices.	Peradeniya, Ceylon	Dec. 14-20
U.N. ECAFE Railway Subcommittee: 6th Session; and Working Party of Railway Mechanical Engineers.	Lahore	Dec. 14-22
NATO Council: 24th Ministerial Meeting	Paris	Dec. 15-17, 22
U.N. ECE Experts on Concentration of Workings and Mechanization in Coal Mines.	Geneva	Dec. 15-18
Meeting of Heads of Government (France, Germany, United Kingdom, United States).	Paris	Dec. 19-21

In Session as of December 31, 1959

Political Discussions on Suspension of Nuclear Tests	Geneva	Oct. 31, 1958-
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Scheduled January 1 Through March 31, 1960

U.N. ECAFE Industry and Natural Resources Committee: Seminar on Aerial Survey Methods and Equipment.	Bangkok	Jan. 4-
U.N. ECAFE Intraregional Trade Promotion Talks	Bangkok	Jan. 5-
ICEM Executive Committee: 14th Special Session	Geneva	Jan. 5-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Dec. 17, 1959. Asterisks indicate tentative places or dates. Following is a list of abbreviations; CENTO, Central Treaty Organization; CCITT, Comité consultatif international télégraphique et téléphonique; ECAFE, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; ECE, Economic Commission for Europe; ECOSOC, Economic and Social Council; FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency; IBE, International Bureau of Education; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ICEM, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; ILO, International Labor Organization; IMCO, Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization; SEATO, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; U.N., United Nations; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; UNICEF, United Nations Children's Fund; WHO, World Health Organization.

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings—Continued

Scheduled January 1 Through March 31, 1960—Continued

GATT Group of Experts on Temporary Admission of Professional Equipment.	Geneva	Jan. 11-
U.N. Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation: 7th Session.	New York	Jan. 11-
U.N. ECOSOC Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities: 12th Session.	New York	Jan. 11-
IAEA Board of Governors	Vienna	Jan. 12-
WHO Executive Board: 25th Session	Geneva	Jan. 12-
U.N. ECE Steel Committee and Working Parties	Geneva	Jan. 12-
GATT Panel on Antidumping Duties	Geneva	Jan. 18-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Trade: 3d Session	Bangkok	Jan. 18-
U.N. ECE Working Group on Industrial Statistics	Geneva	Jan. 18-
UNESCO Meeting on Development of Information Media in Southeast Asia.	Bangkok	Jan. 18-
U.N. ECE <i>Ad Hoc</i> Working Party on Gas Problems	Geneva	Jan. 20-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 12th Session.	Bangkok	Jan. 23-
North Pacific Fur Seal Commission: 3d Meeting	Moscow	Jan. 25-
SEATO Preparatory Conference for Heads of Universities Seminar.	Bangkok	Jan. 25-
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Jan. 25-
International Lead and Zinc Study Group: 1st Meeting	Geneva	Jan. 25*-
U.N. Trusteeship Council: 25th Session	New York	Jan. 25-
U.N. Economic Commission for Africa: 2d Session	Tangier	Jan. 25-
3d ICAO African-Indian Ocean Regional Air Navigation Meeting.	Rome	Jan. 26-
U.N. ECE Electric Power Committee	Geneva	Jan. 27-
CENTO Scientific Council	Tehran	Jan. 30-
FAO Asia-Pacific Forestry Commission: 5th Session	New Delhi	Feb. 8-
ILO Meeting of Experts on Employment Objectives in Economic Planning.	Geneva	Feb. 9-
IBE Executive Board	Geneva	Feb. 15-
Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara.	Tananarive, Madagascar	Feb. 15-
GATT Panel on Subsidies and State Trading	Geneva	Feb. 15-
U.N. Commission on Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources: 2d Session.	New York	Feb. 16-
ILO Governing Body: 144th Session	Geneva	Feb. 17-
U.N. Economic Commission for the Far East: 16th Session	Karachi	Feb. 17-
FAO Group of Experts on Rice Grading and Standardization: 5th Session.	Saigon	Feb. 19-
IMCO <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Rules of Procedure	London	Feb. 20-
FAO Consultative Subcommittee on the Economic Aspects of Rice: 4th Session.	Saigon	Feb. 22-
Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission: Annual Meeting	San José	Feb. 23-
ICAO Special Meeting on European-Mediterranean Rules of the Air and Air Traffic Control Communications.	Paris	Feb. 25-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights: 16th Session	Geneva	Feb. 29-
FAO Government Experts on Use of Designations, Definitions, and Standards for Milk and Milk Products.	Rome	February
IMCO Council: 3d Session	London	March 2-
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences: 5th Meeting of the Technical Advisory Council.	Lima	March 7-
UNICEF Executive Board and Program Committee	New York	March 7-
U.N. ECAFE Conference of Asian Statisticians: 3d Session	Bangkok	March 8-
GATT Committee III on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	March 14-
5th ICAO North Atlantic Ocean Stations Conference	The Hague	March 17-
2d U.N. Conference on Law of the Sea	Geneva	March 17-
ILO Committee of Experts on Application of Conventions and Recommendations: 30th Session.	Geneva	March 21-
ITU CCITT Working Party 43 (Data Transmission)	Geneva	March 21-
U.N. ECAFE Working Party on Small-Scale Industries and Handicraft Marketing/Canning and Bottling of Fruit and Food in Cooperation with FAO.	Singapore	March 21-
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	March 28-
UNESCO Executive Board: 56th Session	Paris	March 28-
UNESCO Meeting of Administrators on Technical and Vocational Education in Africa.	Accra, Ghana	March 28-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Status of Women: 14th Session.	Buenos Aires	March 28-
GATT Renegotiation of Wool-Fabric Agreements	Geneva	March or April

U.N. Agrees To Take No Decision on Hungarian Credentials

Following are two statements made by Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, on the credentials of the Hungarian delegation to the United Nations.

STATEMENT IN CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 9

U.S. delegation press release 3339

Mr. Chairman, since the 1956 revolution of the Hungarian people every General Assembly session has refused to accept the credentials submitted by representatives of the present regime in Hungary. By taking no decision on their credentials, the General Assembly has placed the Hungarian representatives in a provisional status. They are thus on notice that the Assembly intends to continue to watch the situation in Hungary closely.

Since the present regime continues its defiance of all efforts of the United Nations designed to bring about an amelioration of conditions in Hungary, the United States believes that this Assembly also should refuse to accept the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

I therefore move, Mr. Chairman, that this committee take no action on the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary.

The United States believes that the Soviet Union and the present Hungarian regime give us no alternative but to adhere to this procedure. For that reason, Mr. Chairman, the United States moves that the Credentials Committee take no decision on the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

STATEMENT IN PLENARY, DECEMBER 10

U.S. delegation press release 3343

The United States supports the report of the Credentials Committee.¹ This committee has again recommended that the General Assembly

¹ U.N. doc. A/4346.

take no decision on the credentials submitted on behalf of the Hungarian delegation.

This recommendation goes back to the 1956 revolution, when the first and second emergency special sessions of the General Assembly decided to place the representatives of the present Hungarian authorities in a provisional status by taking no decision on their credentials. In view of the continuing occupation of Hungary by foreign armed forces and the unremitting repression of the Hungarian people, all subsequent sessions of the General Assembly have likewise refused to accept the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

Last year the General Assembly again condemned the defiance of United Nations resolutions on Hungary and declared that it would continue to be seized of the situation in Hungary.² Sir Leslie Munro was appointed as the United Nations Special Representative for the purpose of reporting on the implementation of the General Assembly's resolutions. In his report submitted on November 25, 1959,³ Sir Leslie Munro said:

In the course of the past year, no evidence has been forthcoming of any basic change in the Hungarian situation. . . .

The Soviet Union is continuing its armed intervention in Hungary. The present Hungarian authorities are still persecuting the participants in the 1956 national uprising. The Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities continue to defy the resolutions of the General Assembly.

In the light of these facts the Assembly has just voted to renew Sir Leslie Munro's mandate.⁴

The United States believes that in the light of these facts the General Assembly is now obliged to accept the recommendation of the Credentials Committee and, in doing so, to refuse to accept the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.⁵

² For statements by Ambassador Lodge and text of resolution, see BULLETIN of Jan. 12, 1959, p. 55.

³ U.N. doc. A/4304.

⁴ BULLETIN of Dec. 28, 1959, p. 942.

⁵ The General Assembly in plenary session on Dec. 10 approved the report of the Credentials Committee by a vote of 72 to 1, with 1 abstention.

U.N. Reaffirms Principles on Unification of Korea

*Statement by Walter S. Robertson
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

Once again, as for 12 years past, this committee holds in its hands one of the most solemn responsibilities ever entrusted to the United Nations, the hope of unity, freedom, and a just peace for the 31 million people of Korea.

This is a stubborn problem. The Korean people, now as always, ardently desire that their country should be restored to its historic unity and independence. Year after year the United Nations, by large and repeated majorities, has expressed the same unwavering desire on the part of the community of nations. Yet, through 3 tragic years of Communist aggression and war and then through 6 years of fruitless negotiation, the problem has remained.

The root of the problem is simple. The Communist authorities who have fastened an alien tyranny on north Korea refuse to relax their grip and refuse to consider unification of the country except on conditions which would once again lay all of Korea open to Communist military attack. In pursuit of this policy they even deny the United Nations' right to concern itself with this matter.

We may be forgiven for wondering what the authors of this injustice are thinking. Perhaps they are hoping that the free nations will forget about Korea. Perhaps they hope, by the mere passage of time, the outlines of this problem will become fuzzy in our eyes and the United Nations will begin to suffer from a sort of moral deafness in which "might" and "right" sound like the same word. They might then hope to overwhelm the Korean people and conquer all of Korea without the community of nations daring to intervene. Such a situation should give every small, free nation in the world reason to fear for its life.

But, if that is really the hope of the Communist leaders, they should stop deceiving themselves. The United Nations has stood by Korea for 12 years, and it is not going to give up now. The great majority of nations represented in this room are not held together by the iron discipline of an ideology but are held together by something far more profound: our allegiance to the United Nations Charter and to the world of decency for which it stands.

History of Korean Question

Now let us recall briefly the facts of the Korean question and especially the developments since the General Assembly last considered it a year ago.

On December 1, 1943, at Cairo, President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Prime Minister Churchill declared that Korea should become free and independent. This pledge was reaffirmed by the same three powers at Potsdam on July 26, 1945. The Soviet Union, upon its entry into the war against Japan, subscribed to the Potsdam declaration and reaffirmed this pledge at Moscow on December 27, 1945. At that time, in fact, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union went a step further and agreed that a provisional Korean democratic government should be set up for all Korea, with a view to the reestablishment of Korea as an independent state.

When this Moscow agreement was reached the Communists were already seeking to make permanent the division of Korea which had been intended purely for the purpose of accepting the surrender of Japanese troops in Korea. In September 1945, by agreement among the Allied Powers, the surrender of Japanese troops in Korea was accepted by United States military forces

¹Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Nov. 23 (U.S. delegation press release 3309).

south of the 38th parallel and by Soviet forces north of the 38th parallel. Immediately after the surrender the American Military Command in Korea approached the Soviet Command in order to develop a joint policy for the administration of the whole country. The Soviet authorities refused to cooperate. Instead they set up their own occupation zone north of the 38th parallel. Thus the Korean nation was cut in two.

Immediately and repeatedly the United States sought to persuade the Soviet Union to honor its agreement and end the arbitrary division of Korea. At the conference of the Foreign Ministers in Moscow in December 1945, the Soviet Union agreed to set up, with the United States, a Joint Commission in Korea to work out the long-range political and economic problems, including the establishment of a provisional democratic structure for all of Korea. This Commission held 24 meetings, beginning in March 1946, and accomplished nothing.

A joint conference was also set up to deal with immediate and pressing problems. It first met in January 1946. In it the United States proposed a series of measures, including the unification of key public utilities and uniform fiscal policies. The Soviet authorities rejected these proposals. Limited agreements were reached on exchange of mail, radio frequencies, and other minor fields, but even these proved impossible to carry out. The joint conference soon disbanded.

Despite these frustrations the United States, in the spirit of the charter, refused to give up trying for a negotiated solution. Secretary of State George C. Marshall took the matter up directly with Foreign Minister Molotov. As a result, the Joint Commission reassembled, but the deadlock continued.

Later our Acting Secretary of State, Robert A. Lovett, called for a four-power conference to consider the implementation of the Moscow agreement. Again the Soviet Union refused.

Korean Question Submitted to U.N.

Thus it became clear that bilateral talks could accomplish nothing further. At that point the United States, in accordance with the charter, submitted the Korean question to the United Nations.

The General Assembly considered the matter at its second session in 1947. On November 14 it decided to establish the United Nations Tempo-

rory Commission on Korea. It recommended that elections be held on the basis of adult suffrage and secret ballot in all of Korea.

The nine-nation United Nations Commission went to Korea. The Soviet authorities in the north refused to permit it to carry on its functions. The Commission then proceeded to hold elections in the southern part of Korea. These elections, held on May 10, 1948, covered an area inhabited by approximately two-thirds of the Korean population. On August 23 a democratic constitution was promulgated in the Republic of Korea.

The General Assembly, in its resolution of December 12, 1948, certified that the government thus formed in Korea was "based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of Korea" and added that "this is the only such Government in Korea."

In September 1948 the Soviet authorities established a puppet regime in the northern part of Korea. I say "puppet" advisedly, because by its very origin this regime had not a shred of independence.

The key leaders in the so-called "Democratic People's Republic of Korea" were Soviet citizens of Korean ancestry. They or their parents were Koreans who migrated into Soviet Asia during the period of Japanese control over Korea. The Soviet occupation authorities brought into north Korea, in 1945 and 1946, a number of these Soviet-Koreans. These men became the backbone of the new north Korean puppet regime. They were installed, usually as vice ministers, in every ministry, in the Communist Party apparatus, and in key positions in the armed forces. Among them were the present "Premier," who goes by the name of a legendary Korean patriot of long ago, Kim Il Sung. About 1930 he migrated into Soviet territory and became a Soviet army officer. Also prominent among the Soviet-Koreans were Ho Ka I, who became the vice chairman of the powerful Communist "Korean Labor Party" and who had once been a Communist Party official in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan; and another was General Nam Il, a one-time Soviet army officer who became notorious as the chief Korean negotiator at Panmunjom.

Such were the men who, under Soviet orders, founded the regime which calls itself the "Democratic People's Republic of Korea"—and who still run it today.

In June 1950 after the United States forces had been withdrawn from Korea, this same north Korean regime launched an armed attack against the Republic of Korea. For this act it was branded as an aggressor by the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. During the Korean hostilities this regime violated established principles governing the treatment of prisoners of war and carried out atrocities against military personnel of the United Nations forces and against Korean civilians. It has defied the United Nations and has demonstrated through its actions its contempt of the charter. No wonder, Mr. Chairman, that this regime in north Korea has not achieved recognition by a single government of the world outside the Communist bloc.

Armistice Agreement and Geneva Conference

After 3 years of war and 2 years of negotiation, the Korean fighting ended with the Armistice Agreement of July 1953.

Throughout the 6 years since that agreement was signed, the Communists have violated it grossly and continuously. They completely frustrated the supervisory machinery by making inspection impossible in north Korea. They strengthened their fortifications and brought in modern weapons prohibited by the Armistice Agreement. And they heartlessly refused to account for thousands of Korean and United Nations personnel missing in action.

I pause at this point, Mr. Chairman, to renew this appeal to the Communist authorities—an appeal which our representatives at Panmunjom have made many times:

The United Nations Command long ago gave you the names of 2,047 military personnel of the United Nations Command who are still missing and not accounted for. Of these names, 451 are those of Americans. We know from your own propaganda that some of these individuals at one time were alive and in your hands as prisoners of war. Under the Korean Armistice Agreement you are obliged to account for all of these men and to repatriate any who are still alive. In the name of simple humanity to the families of these men, the United States again appeals to you to honor your obligation.

Mr. Chairman, the Korean Armistice Agreement also included a recommendation for a political conference to be held within 90 days. By Au-

gust 1953 the General Assembly had completed its arrangements to participate in this conference, but it was not until 9 months later that the Communists, after having remilitarized north Korea in defiance of the Armistice Agreement, sat down with the United Nations members at Geneva in April 1954.

The United Nations members in that Geneva conference made every effort to obtain agreement which would lead to the establishment of a unified, democratic, and independent Korea. They enunciated two fundamental principles which must provide the basis of a Korean settlement consistent with the objectives of the United Nations.² These principles are:

1. The United Nations, under its Charter, is fully and rightfully empowered to take collective action to repel aggression, to restore peace and security, and to extend its good offices to seeking a peaceful settlement in Korea.

2. In order to establish a unified, independent and democratic Korea, genuinely free elections should be held under United Nations supervision, for representatives in the national assembly, in which representation shall be in direct proportion to the indigenous population in Korea.

The Communist participants refused to agree to any arrangements which would guarantee that elections for reunification would be carried out in genuine freedom. Their proposals would have provided the Communist side with an absolute veto over the conduct of the elections. They proposed an all-Korean election commission on which they demanded that north Korea, with its population of 9 million, should be given the same number of members as south Korea, whose population is 22 million. They also demanded that all decisions in the commission be made on the basis of mutual agreement—in other words, they wanted the veto power.

Further, the Communists denied the competence of the United Nations to deal with the Korean question. Thus they sought to undermine the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and prevention of aggression.

The United Nations representatives at Geneva refused to compromise the principles for which their countries had fought on the battlefields of Korea. Faced with a rigid Communist position frustrating all prospects for honorable agreement,

² For text of a 16-nation declaration issued at Geneva on June 15, 1954, see BULLETIN of June 28, 1954, p. 973.

they accepted the fact that the conference had failed.

In the 4 years that followed the General Assembly repeatedly urged, by overwhelming votes, that negotiations be resumed on the basis of established United Nations principles, but the Communist side remained inflexible.

Latest Exchange of Communications

Then, in February 1958, a new exchange of statements and communications began. I shall review it in some detail because it shows the lengths to which the states participating in the United Nations Command have gone in their search for progress on the Korean question.

1. The exchange began on February 5, 1958, with a statement by the north Korean regime advancing certain proposals for the reunification of Korea. These proposals were transmitted to the governments which took part in the U.N. Command in Korea. The Chinese Communists endorsed them in a statement 2 days later. The proposals were two: that all foreign forces should first be withdrawn from Korea and that thereafter elections should be held under "the supervision of a neutral nations organization"—a phrase which I shall discuss later in this statement.

2. Two weeks later the Communists announced that the so-called Chinese People's Volunteers would be withdrawn from north Korea by the end of 1958 and called on the governments of the United Nations Command to withdraw their forces from south Korea.

3. The 16 member states which represent the United Nations in these negotiations replied³ to these statements by welcoming the announced intention of the Chinese Communists finally to withdraw their forces, as they had been called upon to do year after year by resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly. We requested a clarification of the Communist views on the principles of free elections. We asked specifically whether these principles provided for supervision of elections by the United Nations and whether representation in the National Assembly would be proportionate to the indigenous population in all parts of Korea. Our reply was intended to afford the Communists an opportunity to show whether they had any serious intention of moving ahead on the question of Korean reunification.

4. In their reply of May 6,⁴ the Chinese Communists again brushed aside the question of the principles on which elections should be held. They restated their position that the withdrawal of United Nations forces from south Korea was a prerequisite to any steps leading to the reunification of Korea.

5. The United Nations was frankly disappointed by this Chinese Communist reply. It seemed to leave little room for hope. However, on July 2 we sent another communication⁵ to the Chinese Communist regime, in which we again welcomed the announcement that the Chinese Communist troops were to be withdrawn from north Korea. We expressed our disappointment that the Chinese Communists' announcement of May 6 had not answered our question about the principles under which the elections would be held. We pointed out that further withdrawal of United Nations forces without any previous arrangement for the proper settlement of the Korean question would not be calculated to lead to the reduction of tension in the Far East and, indeed, such action would remove one necessary guarantee which exists against further aggression in Korea. We emphasized that we wished to see a genuine settlement of the Korean question in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. We concluded by stating that the governments participating in the United Nations Command were prepared to withdraw United Nations forces when the conditions for the lasting settlement laid down by the General Assembly had been fulfilled.

6. On November 10 a Chinese Communist communique again called for the withdrawal of United Nations troops from south Korea. They again stated that after withdrawal of all foreign forces all-Korea free elections could be held under the supervision of a "neutral nations organization." And again they did not elaborate.

7. The United Nations members replied⁶ to this note by transmitting the General Assembly resolution of 14 November 1958, which had been adopted by a vote of 54 to 9. As the committee will recall, this resolution urged the Communist authorities to accept United Nations objectives and to agree to genuinely free elections under the principles endorsed by the General Assembly.

³ U.N. doc. A/3821.

⁴ For text, see BULLETIN of July 28, 1958, p. 153.

⁵ For text of note, see *ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1958, p. 1004.

⁶ For text of note, see *ibid.*, May 5, 1958, p. 735.

8. Finally, on March 4, 1959, the Chinese Communists restated the demands for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and argued that "the United Nations has been reduced to a belligerent in the Korean war and lost all competence and moral authority to deal fairly with the Korean question. Therefore, any resolution on the Korean question is unilaterally null and void."

On that note of defiance the Chinese Communists ended this lengthy exchange of communications.

Main Communist Demands Examined

Mr. Chairman, from this whole record it is clear that the Communists have no present desire to move forward to the settlement of the Korean problem on any terms short of surrender by the United Nations.

If we examine their main demands in detail, we can see that this is true. They have insisted upon three things.

First, they insist that the United Nations Command should withdraw its troops from Korea before there can be any agreement on the terms or methods of unification.

Second, they insist that "the United Nations has been reduced to a belligerent in the Korean war and lost all competence and moral authority to deal fairly with the Korean question."

Third, they propose that all-Korean elections, after the United Nations troops have been withdrawn from Korea, should be held under the supervision of a "neutral nations organization."

Let me take up these three points in turn.

Demand for Withdrawal of U.N. Troops

1. To withdraw the protection of United Nations troops from the Republic of Korea, before the Korean question has been solved in accordance with United Nations principles, would leave Korea once again exposed to the threat of renewed Communist aggression. None of us will forget what happened within months after the United States withdrew from Korea in 1949. Even though the Soviet Union had announced that its forces too had been withdrawn, this statement could not be verified through the barrier of secrecy surrounding north Korea. In any case it is known that before their announced withdrawal the Soviet forces had trained north Korean forces amounting to between 50,000 and 60,000 troops

and that, between then and the aggression of June 1950, these same Korean forces, heavily armed, had grown to between 150,000 and 180,000 men. And we know also that senior Soviet officers were with the Korean armed forces in the guise of "advisers" at the time the aggression was launched.

Meanwhile the United States forces had left the mainland—some of them to Japan and most of them across the 11,000 miles of the Pacific to the continental United States. When the aggression began and the United Nations answered the call to help the Republic of Korea, despite all we could do the aggressors were able to overrun most of the peninsula, inflicting untold havoc and suffering on the civilian population, before the United Nations counteroffensive could be organized.

Today again the north Korean armed forces are large and heavily armed—this time in gross violation of the Armistice Agreement. Today, as always, they have the advantage of a Communist hinterland just beyond the Yalu River, across which supplies and reinforcements can be sent to support a new aggression. The United States has not forgotten the words of Chou En-lai, the Chinese Communist Premier, at the time his "volunteers" were allegedly withdrawn from north Korea last year, when he pledged to his Communist comrades in north Korea that this withdrawal did not mean that the Chinese people "have forsaken their international duty to the Korean people." These words, coming from a regime which has repeatedly refused to forswear the use of force as an instrument of its foreign policy, carry ominous military implications.

Already, since the armistice, United Nations troops in Korea have been greatly reduced. They include two United States divisions, a Turkish brigade, a Thai company, and small liaison groups from other countries. As the Communists have been told many times, the United Nations members are prepared to withdraw their remaining forces from Korea when conditions for a lasting settlement have been fulfilled. A withdrawal under present conditions could lead to only one solution of the Korean question—Communist conquest.

Question of U.N. Competence

2. I now come to the second Communist contention—that the United Nations is a mere "belligerent" in Korea and has thus "lost all competence and moral authority to deal fairly with the Korean question."

Even for the Chinese Communists, this statement is a masterpiece of effrontery. It is as if a policeman who had come to quell a riot should be told by the chief rioter, "You have no authority here—you're just another rioter."

If this contention were to be accepted, we would have to give up all ideas of justice in the affairs of nations. We would have to admit that the hundreds of thousands of deaths and wounds borne by United Nations soldiers in Korea, including large numbers of soldiers of my own country, had been suffered for the sake of an illusion.

The only possible rejoinder to such an outrageous statement is to reassert the principle repeatedly endorsed by the General Assembly:

The United Nations, under its Charter, is fully and rightfully empowered to take collective action to repel aggression, to restore peace and security, and to extend its good offices to seeking a peaceful settlement in Korea.

"Neutral Nations Supervision" of Elections

3. Finally we come to the third Communist proposal—all-Korean elections to take place at some time after the protection of United Nations troops had been removed and to be held under the supervision of a "neutral nations organization."

If what the Communists want is genuinely neutral supervision—in other words, impartial supervision—that impartiality could easily be found among the 82 members of the United Nations, who have arranged for supervision of more than one election. But the Communists arbitrarily rule out the United Nations and call for supervision by so-called "neutral nations."

When the Communists chose this phrase they must have thought the United Nations had a very short memory. We have already had experience of "neutral nations supervision" in Korea, which, I should point out, in fact consisted of two genuine neutrals and two Communist members. In actual operation the Communist members have been anything but neutral. As a consequence the Commission has been unable to fill the role intended by the Armistice Agreement.

It is this past experience which is our only guide in interpreting the phrase "neutral nations" in the new Communist proposals. It is hard to avoid the conclusion, in pondering this stubborn Communist resistance to free elections, that the authorities in control of north Korea are afraid to let the people in north Korea express their true feelings in an honest vote.

After the most careful examination of these three Communist proposals, the United Nations has been unable to find anything in them which suggests a concession or a willingness to reach a reasonable settlement. The proposals are not concessions at all; they are simply one-sided demands.

U.S. Sponsors Resolution Embodying U.N. Principles

In such circumstances, Mr. Chairman, the United States believes that the wise course for the United Nations is to stand fast on the principles which we have supported from the beginning and which we know to be right:

First, the right—and, in fact, the duty—of the United Nations to seek a just settlement of the Korean question in harmony with the principles of the charter and to extend its good offices for that purpose;

Second, the requirement of genuinely free elections throughout Korea, to be held under United Nations supervision, and the election of a national assembly in which representation shall be directly proportionate to the indigenous population in all parts of Korea.

These principles are once again embodied in a draft resolution which will be submitted to this committee.⁷ The United States is sponsoring this draft, together with other members. We urge its adoption as the wisest course open to the General Assembly at this time.

The Cause of a Free and United Korea

Mr. Chairman, I conclude. When an injustice is long continued and when the perpetrator of the injustice is stubborn, those who have upheld justice may be tempted to grow weary of the struggle. They may also attribute to the offender far more control over the forces of history than he actually possesses. And naturally that is what the offender hopes will happen.

Yet in fact the cause of a free and united Korea is a lively cause. The Republic of Korea is a going concern. The devastation of war is largely repaired. As the latest report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabili-

⁷ U.N. doc. A/C.1/L.245; adopted in Committee I on Nov. 27 by a vote of 49 to 9, with 19 abstentions.

Resolution on the Korean Question¹

The General Assembly,

Having received the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea,

Reaffirming its resolutions 112 (II) of 14 November 1947, 195 (III) of 12 December 1948, 293 (IV) of 21 October 1949, 376 (V) of 7 October 1950, S11 (IX) of 11 December 1954, 910 A (X) of 29 November 1955, 1010 (XI) of 11 January 1957, 1180 (XII) of 29 November 1957 and 1264 (XIII) of 14 November 1958,

Noting that, despite the exchange of correspondence between the communist authorities concerned and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on behalf of the Governments of countries which have contributed forces to the United Nations Command in Korea, in which these Governments expressed their sincere desire to see a lasting settlement of the Korean question in accordance with United Nations resolutions and their willingness to explore any measures designed to bring about reunification on this basis, the communist authorities continue to refuse to co-operate with the United Nations in bringing about the peaceful and democratic solution of the Korean problem,

Regretting that the communist authorities continue to deny the competence and authority of the United Nations to deal with the Korean question, claiming that any resolution on this question adopted by the United Nations is null and void,

Noting further that the United Nations forces which were sent to Korea in accordance with reso-

lutions of the United Nations have for the greater part already been withdrawn, and that the Governments concerned are prepared to withdraw their remaining forces from Korea when the conditions for a lasting settlement laid down by the General Assembly have been fulfilled,

1. *Reaffirms* that the objectives of the United Nations in Korea are to bring about, by peaceful means, the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area;

2. *Calls upon* the communist authorities concerned to accept these established United Nations objectives in order to achieve a settlement in Korea based on the fundamental principles for unification set forth by the nations participating on behalf of the United Nations in the Korean Political Conference held at Geneva in 1954, and reaffirmed by the General Assembly, and to agree at an early date on the holding of genuinely free elections in accordance with the principles endorsed by the Assembly;

3. *Requests* the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to continue its work in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to place the Korean question on the provisional agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly.

¹ U.N. doc. A/RES/1455(XIV) (A/C.1/L.245); adopted in plenary session on Dec. 9 by a vote of 54 to 9, with 17 abstentions.

tation of Korea⁸ clearly shows, its economy is expanding and improving in spite of the handicaps of the division of the country. It has had political controversies, but its citizens have also a civil and religious freedom which does not exist in north Korea. The morale and courage of the people in the Republic of Korea continue high. The support of the United Nations, including the forces of the United Nations Command which still stand guard, remains firm and unwavering. The recognition of 40 states of the free world, membership in 9 United Nations specialized agencies, and the support of the vast majority for the Republic of Korea's membership in the United Nations itself, show how this young nation has established itself in the family of nations.

⁸ U.N. doc. A/1187/Corr. 1.

We cannot tell what stresses exist behind the screen of Communist secrecy in north Korea. It is perfectly obvious that the people in that part of the country, under Communist rule, are far worse off than in the south and that they yearn for freedom.

I do not for a moment suggest that the working of these forces will quickly make the Communists change their stand. Their strength and their rigidity are obvious. But I do suggest that the long-range prospects of the Republic of Korea are good. Let us of the United Nations do nothing to dim those prospects. Let us not become tired of true principles merely because the problem before us is not ripe for a solution. The time will come, as it has come in many other cases of justice long deferred in many parts of the world. What is essential is that the supporters of justice shall keep faith with their principles.

Never was this fidelity to principle more necessary for the United Nations than in the case of Korea, in which the United Nations has had an active responsibility from the beginning. If we remain true to the charter in our stewardship of the Korean question, we will find that in this case, too, there is no more powerful force working in the minds of men than the desire for a future of freedom and justice.

Let us keep that future open for the Korean nation.

Development Toward Independence in the Trust Territories

*Statement by Clement J. Zablocki
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

The President of the 13th session of the General Assembly very aptly labeled the deliberations over which he had presided as "the African session." As members recall, the 13th session continued over into the spring of 1959 and reached important decisions on the Cameroons under French and United Kingdom administrations. With this in mind, it would seem to my delegation that the 14th session could appropriately be called the "second African session." Certainly most of our thoughts, words, and efforts this year have been directed to the second largest continent, which is developing so rapidly and from which the forebears of so many distinguished American citizens have originated.

Mr. Chairman, the report of the Trusteeship Council,² which we have before us, is a truly historic document. For the very last time we meet here to discuss a report which includes Cameroun under French administration, Togoland under French administration, and Somaliland under Italian administration. Next year representatives of these countries will be sitting among us, contributing to our discussion of developments in Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi, the only remaining trust territories in Africa other than the British Cameroons. My delegation has already congratulated representatives of the three trust

territories, as well as those of the Administering Authorities, on the attainment of the objectives of the international trusteeship system, and my Government is looking forward to reaffirming our sentiments in a more formal manner on the dates when Cameroun, Togo, and Somalia join the ranks of free and independent nations.

Independence of Africa

I would like at this time to point out again that the progressive development toward independence or self-government in Africa is one which the American people applaud wholeheartedly. As a people we have always been uneasy when the freedom of others has been entrusted to us, if only because of our own history and traditions. We have, therefore, consequently attempted to bring the territories for which we have been responsible as quickly as possible to full self-government. The American people are, I believe, peculiarly fitted to understand the aspirations for freedom of other peoples. The history of the United States is in a very real sense the story of the contribution of successive minority groups, who came here to escape tyranny or poverty, spent at times a difficult period of adjustment, and finally emerged as fully equal and valued members of our society.

Mr. Chairman, we believe the issue of self-government in Africa is, in the main, one which does not divide the peoples of the West. There is division on methods and timing but not on objectives. We believe the record of progress, reflected in the composition and attitude of this committee, speaks for itself.

Moreover, sir, I doubt that the central issue of independence of dependent territories divides this committee as deeply as might be thought by a casual observer. Some believe progress toward independence cannot be too rapid; others that haste has its inherent dangers. And yet it is surprising how often, on essentials, this committee adopts resolutions by overwhelming majorities.

Of course we must add somewhat woefully that we have made haste slowly in the committee this year. Nevertheless we continue to hope that this situation will soon be remedied in a series of productive night sessions.

I would now like to turn to specific trust territories.

¹ Made in Committee IV (Trusteeship) on Nov. 11 (U.S. delegation press release 3286).

² U.N. doc. A/4100.

Cameroun

In less than 53 days, Mr. Chairman, Cameroun under French administration will become fully independent. We hope this happy occasion will be the signal for full national reconciliation. However, it is difficult in the extreme to bring together a government, the custodian of civil order, and an external opposition determined to use force to achieve its objectives. My delegation believes that the framework of present laws in Cameroun permits any citizen of good faith to return and seek elective office. We think the course of the elections held on April 12, which resulted in the election, among others, of Mr. [Theodore] Mayi-Matip, is fair and reasonable proof of this proposition. It is our most earnest hope that resort to violence shall cease and that all elements of the population will see the enormous advantage of working together for the good of their country.

Mr. Mayi-Matip is with us today. We would have been only too happy to welcome here as well the Prime Minister of Cameroun, Mr. [Amadou] Ahidjo. However, it is, of course, obvious that the Prime Minister must give precedence to his country's preparations for independence. In any event Mr. Ahidjo could not have had more able and effective spokesmen than the distinguished delegate of France, Mr. [Jacques] Koscziusko-Morizet, and the eminent poet, statesman, and parliamentarian [Leopold Sedar Senghor] who is President of the Assembly of Mali. We would like to thank Mr. Koscziusko-Morizet and Mr. Senghor for their extremely valuable contributions to this debate.

Togoland

My delegation also welcomed the contribution of Mr. Paulin Freitas, Minister of State for Interior, Information, and the Press of the Republic of Togo. The information he brings us is welcome, particularly with regard to recent political developments. On the other hand we regret that applications for assistance made under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance have not been satisfied more rapidly, and we will support his suggestion that the committee lend its moral authority to reinforce these requests of the Government of Togoland.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure that many delegates have felt keenly the absence here, for the first time

in many years, of Prime Minister Sylvanus Olympio. I hope Mr. Paulin Freitas will take back with him a sense of the deep affection we all have for his country and for its distinguished Prime Minister.

Somaliland

Fortunately imminent independence for Somaliland has not deprived us of old friends. We are pleased to see among us, as members of the Italian delegation, the Minister of National Economy, Haji Farrah, and his colleagues from Somalia. My delegation was very much interested in the informative statement delivered by the distinguished delegate of Italy, my good friend Mr. [Girolamo] Vitelli, Vice President of the Trusteeship Council.

We all realize, Mr. Chairman, that Somalia will enter independent life with formidable problems. Despite this, we are confident that one of the two most serious problems, that of economic aid, has been solved, as the statement by the Italian delegate made clear, by offers already made by Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States. My delegation has also noted with satisfaction that the Government of the United Arab Republic, through its representative on the Trusteeship Council, offered to continue granting scholarships to Somalia after independence and to supply doctors and other experts.

The other basic problem facing Somalia constitutes a separate item on our agenda, and I will therefore not comment on it in any detail at this time. In brief, it is highly desirable that the trust territory—and indeed a trust territory with a very special status—should achieve independence with its frontiers clearly defined.

The problem of the unsettled frontier becomes all the more acute as the result of the desire of the inhabitants of the territory, as expressed by a resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly of Somalia on August 25, 1959,³ to achieve independence earlier than foreseen by the trusteeship agreement. We hope the General Assembly will raise no objection to the realization of this desire through an appropriate resolution.⁴

³ For text, see U.N. doc. A/4262.

⁴ For text of a resolution concerning plans for proclamation of Somalia's independence on July 1, 1960, which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on Dec. 5, see U.N. doc. A/4320 (draft resolution X).

Tanganyika

Mr. Chairman, we have listened with great interest to the information supplied to the committee by the distinguished delegate of the United Kingdom. We hope the committee will take the occasion afforded by the present debate to congratulate the Administering Authority for its achievements during the past year. For its part, my delegation would like to reiterate the words of the U.S. Representative to the Trusteeship Council,⁵ who said on February 6, 1959, that the United States

... has high hopes that the final chapters in the dependent life of Tanganyika will be as successful as they have been in other territories which have been so successfully administered by the British Government.

Developments which have taken place since the Trusteeship Council discussed Tanganyika have only added to these hopes. We have already applauded the statement in October 1958 by Governor Sir Richard Turnbull that, when self-government is attained, the legislative and executive sides of the government are likely to be predominantly African. We believe the surest guarantee of the rights and interests of the "minority communities" is the good will of the majority and the realization by all groups that self-interest dictates the closest continued cooperation. The constitution of a Council of Ministers on July 1, 1959, with elected unofficials⁶ is certainly a step which can only increase mutual confidence and good will. Similarly the results of the two-stage elections ending in February of this year have also contributed to the great spirit of cooperation which appears to exist in the territory.

Mr. Chairman, I have already mentioned the profound and happy impact on developments in Tanganyika of Governor Sir Richard Turnbull; I would like to add a word of praise for the other partner in this fruitful dialog. The Tanganyika African National Union is one of the largest and most effective political organizations in Africa: it is also one of the most realistic and ably led political groups on the continent. The leader of TANU, Mr. Julius Nyerere, who is well known in the United Nations, has shown statesmanship of a

⁵ For a statement by Mason Sears, see BULLETIN of Mar. 9, 1959, p. 351.

⁶ The term "unofficial" refers to council members who may be appointed or elected, primarily to represent indigenous populations.

high order, which augurs well for the future of his country.

Ruanda-Urundi

It had been the intention of my delegation to comment in some detail on developments in the other remaining African trust territory, Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration. In view of the fact that an important policy pronouncement is expected shortly from the Belgian Government, my delegation will not comment now but may return to this subject at a later date.

Questions of policy aside, my delegation would like to pay tribute to the lucid and sympathetic analysis of conditions in the territory given us yesterday by the distinguished delegate of Belgium, Governor [A.] Claeys Bouuaert. Few men know the territory as well as he does or have a more liberal approach to its problems. We all understand that what he called the "ethnocosocial structure" of Ruanda-Urundi is likely to complicate development in all fields. My Government believes that the Administering Authority is doing its best to facilitate a smooth transition from a quasi-feudal to a modern social order, but we know that difficulties are bound to arise. We hope that everyone concerned, starting with the peoples of the territory and including the members of this committee, will do nothing to exacerbate existing and possible future difficulties.

Pacific Territories

Turning to the trust territories in the Pacific area which come under the supervision of the General Assembly, I wish merely to comment on our pleasure at hearing the statement made a few days ago by the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Walter Nash. Our deliberations were graced by his presence, and the information he has given us is heartening.

We concur wholeheartedly with the Prime Minister's statement that Western Samoa "has made amazing progress since 1945." If that progress has on occasion appeared somewhat unbalanced, in that primary stress was given political rather than economic and educational development, we were pleased to learn that efforts are now being made to accelerate progress in the other two fields. The progress achieved has made it possible finally to establish a tentative timetable for the termination of trusteeship.

Postindependence Aid to Trust Territories

Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to comment in any greater detail on the report of the Trusteeship Council. My Government participates fully in the work of the Council, and we have already commented fully on developments in each of the trust territories.

Before concluding, I would like to state briefly our views on the statement made before this committee on Thursday [November 5] by the distinguished President of the Trusteeship Council, Ambassador [Max II.] Dorsinville of Haiti. No one in recent years has contributed more to the work of the Council or of this committee. Ambassador Dorsinville informally proposed the creation of a "small committee" to study, together with the United Nations Secretariat and the secretariats of the specialized agencies, means of bringing assistance, if they request it, to the former trust territories. The results of this study would be communicated to the 15th session of the General Assembly.

I am sure that no one will misunderstand the meaning of this proposal. Trust territories, when they achieve independence, are in exactly the same juridical category as any other sovereign state. As we understand the distinguished delegate of Haiti, however, the United Nations will continue to have a special interest and even *moral* responsibility to assist former trust territories if they should request such assistance. We believe this view is sound; developments in the trust territories certainly have been profoundly influenced by recommendations of the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. The United Nations therefore is in some degree responsible for the conditions under which trust territories achieve independence.

Our difficulties with this proposal are of another order entirely. If a study group is to report to the 15th session, almost a full, crucial year will have passed before the needs of several of the trust territories can be dealt with. We would prefer to see effective action taken as rapidly as possible. My delegation would support a resolution inviting the Secretary-General to appoint high-ranking economic experts to assist the newly independent states, formerly trust territories, if they so desire, to plan and coordinate their development programs. We realize that the Secretary-General is already empowered to do this. However, a resolu-

tion to this effect would be a concrete expression of the Assembly's desires in this matter, which would facilitate the Secretary-General's task in a field where demands for assistance needs far outweigh the means available.⁷

At the same time we believe that existing facilities of the United Nations might be more fully utilized by the emerging trust territories. We would hope that the emerging trust territories might take advantage of United Nations facilities at the earliest opportunity, so that when these countries attain independence they will have readily available to them on a continuing basis the counsel of experienced specialists already on the spot.

Mr. Chairman, that is what I have to say at this stage of the debate. As long as all the Administering Authorities have not spoken and petitioners continue to be heard, my delegation desires to reserve the right to speak again on some of these specific subjects, if it should find it necessary.

The Responsibility of Aiding the World's Refugees

*Statement by James G. Fulton
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹*

This is a pleasant and a heartwarming occasion. Here are the peoples of the world accepting responsibility for something that is on the world's conscience. The refugees are looking today to see what we are doing about it. I would say that, from my point of view, it is a very hopeful occasion. As I look around and see the nations that are here, I want to compliment the people who have representatives of their governments present on this pleasant occasion and to compliment the ones that are increasing their contributions, because it is a hopeful sign.

I believe that we should have the world a good

⁷ For text of a resolution sponsored by the United States on assistance to territories emerging from a trust status and newly independent states, see U.N. doc. A/4320 (draft resolution VII). The resolution was unanimously adopted in plenary session on Dec. 5.

¹ Made at the U.N. Pledging Conference for Extra-Budgetary Funds on Dec. 10 (U.S. delegation press release 3342).

world not only for the settled peoples of the world, no matter where they are, but for these unsettled people. These refugee families should be able to have the same progress, security, and hope as the rest of us.

I have always been interested in refugees personally. As a Member of the United States Congress, I was—in the 80th Congress, some time ago—the chairman of the Subcommittee for Refugees of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I think it is always interesting to hear people who have had personal experience. After World War II on several occasions during several years, I have been in more than a hundred refugee camps of all types, sizes, and descriptions. And I am one of that great body of the American people that have opened their homes and have sponsored refugees. As a matter of fact I have a refugee who works with me here this morning, a fine young person who is ambitious. They are the kind of people that live up to what we want in the world.

I would say to you they are a resource of the world that we should not overlook. They are not only a human resource, but they are an industrial and a people's resource. For example, in the United States of America I am very glad to report to you that the refugee population, the new United States citizens taken from this group, are our most law-abiding group of citizens. Secondly, they are the healthiest group of our citizens, and, I might say, they are certainly an active group.

Today we have the opportunity to show by deeds—by money contributions from each of our peoples—the concern felt by all peoples of conscience and good will for these refugees.

This is World Refugee Year. It is therefore fitting that each country here represented make a real effort to help. Our United States people welcome this help and welcome the chance to join with all of you in helping to provide it.

I am reminded of a Polish proverb that has always had a great influence on me, and that is the old proverb that says about a village that, if everybody will sweep his own doorstep, the whole town will be clean.

If we all do our share on this, we will be able to have a clean world, a clean town, and clean refugee camps, because the refugees will have been provided homes. We must provide permanent homes for the refugees who are homeless through no fault of their own. We must make special ef-

forts to work toward permanent solutions of these problems, and we must intensify our programs of international assistance to meet immediate needs.

U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

I turn now to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees.

It is with pleasure that I am able to announce on behalf of the United States Government a pledge of \$23 million on behalf of the American people to UNRWA for the fiscal year period ending on June 30, 1960. This pledge is for the relief and rehabilitation programs which have now been combined in one budget. Payments against this pledge will as heretofore be made to an extent not to exceed 70 percent of the total government contributions to UNRWA. I believe we American people are doing our share in this regard.

In past years the United States has provided 70 percent of UNRWA's governmental contributions. This proportion of contribution by the United States must be considered for the present, and it must be for present purposes rather than a permanent fixed arrangement. We feel that it should not be considered a commitment on future proportions because those will be made in the good judgment of our Government and our people. The United States believes that with the renewed life of UNRWA for another 3 years,² it is timely to suggest that a substantially increased portion of the costs for the continuation of the agency's support to Palestine refugees should be borne in the future by other members of the United Nations.

We hope that more peoples can through the governments of member states give more in proportion to their resources. We member states must search our own consciences in the knowledge that a million human beings are in very real need.

In planning for the years immediately ahead I would like to underscore a vital consideration. The food, shelter, and medical needs of the Palestine refugees have first call on the funds available to the Agency. After these needs are satisfied, whatever funds may be left are allocated to vocational training and scholarship programs as well as self-support projects of various types. These are the very programs that give hope for a pro-

² See p. 31.

ductive future to the refugees, particularly to the majority of the refugees who are children and ambitious young people. Due to lack of funds these programs have been moving in starts and suspensions. They have been drastically reduced and at times practically abandoned. With the Palestine refugee population increasing by over 30,000 each year, as births outnumber deaths, the funds to continue and expand these forward-looking programs become more and more essential. Thus greater contributions are needed, and the United States urges all member states to join in contributing generously to this worthy cause.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

I would like to turn to the program of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The United States has been deeply gratified to observe the constructive and energetic measures which the High Commissioner has adopted in carrying out his programs of aid to the refugees under his care. His tireless efforts and the high goals he has set have intensified the interest and activities of many governments and peoples and of many voluntary organizations in this important year for world refugees. We should not overlook the voluntary organizations of people and groups in many of our countries.

I am pleased to announce a United States pledge of \$1,100,000 toward the High Commissioner's regular program for 1960. This sum will be made available, as in the past, to the extent it represents no more than 33½ percent of the total contributions made by governments to that program.

In addition the United States has allocated \$1,070,000 to special projects which the High Commissioner has undertaken or plans to undertake this year in connection with World Refugee Year, which I would like to speak about in a little more detail.

World Refugee Year

I would like to stress that the United States Government is intensely interested in assuring the success of the World Refugee Year. President Eisenhower has issued a special proclamation³ to the American people calling for a far-reaching effort on the part of organizations and citizens

to achieve its purposes. The United States has pledged special contributions of \$4 million toward the purposes of the World Refugee Year over and above its regular yearly contributions of some \$40 million to various refugee programs. These additional contributions are being administered either through the High Commissioner's Office, as I have already indicated, or through other governmental channels, or through voluntary agencies with long experience in the administration of refugee and assistance programs.

I should point out to you that not all people of the United States are well to do and that these contributions are coming from our taxpayers big and little, large and small, and many of them are very hard-working people, so that it comes out of their family budgets.

To mention a few examples of programs that have been helped by the United States Government this year as part of the World Refugee Year:

—\$600,000 has been made available to the High Commissioner as an additional contribution for the camp-clearance program.

—\$100,000 for refugees of Greek ethnic origin.

—\$600,000 has been made available to assist the rehabilitation of European refugees living outside of camps in Europe, to be administered through voluntary agencies.

—A sum of \$800,000 has been contributed for European refugees arriving in Hong Kong from the mainland of China. \$730,000 of this is to be administered by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and \$70,000 by the High Commissioner.

—Another \$800,000 has been allocated for Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Macau, to be administered by the Hong Kong colonial government and by established voluntary agencies.

—Another contribution of \$300,000 has been made available to the High Commissioner for the relief of Algerian refugees in Tunis and Morocco. This cash sum is in addition to contributions of agricultural commodities for emergency relief for Algerian refugees, amounting in value, over a 2-year period, to \$7 million.

Recent legislation passed by the United States Congress,⁴ of which I am a member, has provided

³ For text, see BULLETIN of June 15, 1959, p. 875.

⁴ For an article on "Immigration Legislation, 1959" by Frank L. Auerbach, see *ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1959, p. 600.

for the entry into the United States of some 61,000 persons on a nonquota basis, and from 4,000 to 12,000 visas are expected to be issued to relatives of persons previously admitted under earlier refugee legislation. The United States Congress has extended legislation whereby refugees suffering from tuberculosis may join close relatives in the United States, as well as legislation allowing for the admission of orphans and adopted children. These are measures which will directly benefit some of the most unfortunate cases among the refugees. I am particularly pleased to hear representatives this morning speak of their expanded efforts and how they are taking care of some of the most unfortunate cases.

The programs of nongovernmental organizations in the World Refugee Year within the United States have also gone forward vigorously. The fine United States Committee for Refugees, formed just a year ago, has brought together prominent civic-minded citizens from all sections of American life in this worthy effort.⁵ The committee is working in close coordination with the many American voluntary agencies traditionally successful and active in rendering heart-warming refugee assistance. These programs over the years have made immeasurable contributions in terms of effort and resources in the cause of refugees. A target goal of \$20 million has been established for contributions from our United States private citizens over and above the sums normally being contributed.

Activities on behalf of refugees undertaken during the World Refugee Year are a cause of great satisfaction to us, and we want to share those with the other peoples whose representatives are here today. These activities should not result in undue optimism or complacency. We know the World Refugee Year cannot solve all refugee problems. Its major potential, though, is in reducing human suffering and increasing human hope, and these are certain goals that can be achieved. Its greatest value lies in the fact that the World Refugee Year is a symbol of the concerted desire and will of peoples of friendly nations to continue and to intensify their efforts to help the millions of refugees throughout the world who are now patiently waiting with their families for permanent homes. These families are suffer-

⁵ For background, see *ibid.*, May 18, 1959, p. 709, and June 15, 1959, p. 872.

ing from loss of ordinary opportunities for a constructive life and even for existence on decent levels.

Our combined efforts of the nations will go far to solve their basic human problems. However, the best efforts of all of us are essential if we are to begin to meet these pressing human needs. We in our United States delegation—and may I on behalf of the American people—ask you to join with us in helping make this a good and understanding world, with security and progress for the refugees, too.

U.N. Votes To Continue Assistance to Palestine Refugees

Following are two statements made in the Special Political Committee by Virgil M. Hancher, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, during debate on the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), together with the text of a resolution adopted in plenary session on December 9.

STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 20

U.S. delegation press release 3300

I have asked for the floor today to make a few general remarks in the hope that they will contribute in a positive way to the further development of this debate. In doing so, I wish to reserve the right to intervene again at a later stage.

Before turning to the item on our agenda, Mr. Chairman, I would like to express on behalf of the United States Government our profound shock and regret at the tragic death of Mr. Leslie Carver [Acting Director of UNRWA]. His unstinted devotion to the cause of the United Nations constituted service of the highest order. He will be sorely missed.

The debate which has been initiated in this committee on the Palestine refugee problem, a debate which has been going on for 11 years, now provides each member with an unusual opportunity—indeed, an awesome challenge—to contribute to the best possible decision with respect to the future welfare of the one million Arab refugees. The lot of these individuals, about half of whom are children or adolescents, and their future should be

uppermost in our minds as the debate proceeds.

Over the last decade this problem has been examined and reexamined. A number of those examinations have tended more to generate or recharge emotions than to stimulate reasoned responses. In the interest of the refugees themselves, and in the interests of stability and progress in the Near East, it is important that we—all of us—face the facts of this grave situation in a constructive spirit. The United States delegation is impressed with the relatively moderate tone of most of the statements we have heard thus far in the committee.

UNRWA's mandate is due to expire on June 30 of next year. At the same time we are faced with a relentless increase—more than 30,000 annually—in the number of refugees. An inescapable corollary is that the already very heavy costs and responsibilities will continue to increase if some progress is not made promptly on the fundamental elements of the problems.

No Real Progress Yet Made

We have before us two reports. At the request of the last General Assembly the Secretary-General has prepared a report entitled "Proposals for the Continuation of United Nations Assistance for the Palestine Refugees."¹ We all owe him a debt of gratitude for the effort and imagination which have gone into that report. Certainly the Secretary-General's report merits our careful study. While we cannot subscribe to all of the recommendations it contains, we do believe that there are several, such as rectification of the relief rolls, which, if implemented, would be appropriate and would promote the interest of the refugees.

We have also given careful consideration to the annual report of the Director of the agency² concerning the operations and activities of UNRWA during the past year and setting forth the anticipated budgetary requirements for the duration of the mandate, as well as for the care of the refugees during the remainder of 1960.

On the basis of these reports and a review of the history of this issue, we can see the clear outlines of the problem as it exists today. And it is with deep regret that we must conclude that no real progress has been made toward a fundamental

solution of the refugee problem. I think everyone here will agree with this conclusion. My delegation believes that the cause of the refugees themselves is best served by looking ahead. We recognize fully that this is an extremely complex problem and a solution is not easy. We do not pretend to have a pat answer. However, assuming that all concerned endeavor to approach this problem rationally and with a degree of receptivity to constructive ideas, progress can be made.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency, for lack of funds and other reasons, has unfortunately been able really to perform only the "relief" part of its mandate. This year's report of the Director, like those of his predecessors, states that there has been little or no progress in the extremely important "works" aspects of the Agency's responsibilities.

When the U.N. agreed to extend the life of the agency 5 years ago,³ it was expected that some progress would be made during the ensuing period in rehabilitating the refugees and helping them to become self-supporting. The United States at that time made clear its expectation that progress would be achieved on large-scale projects designed to benefit the refugees and the countries concerned. We have noted with regret that such expectations have not been realized. Only a few programs have been implemented. I am referring particularly to the vocational training programs. These programs have proved eminently successful, but unfortunately only a very limited number of refugees have benefited from them.

In the past the United States has earnestly tried to help the parties principally concerned to find a satisfactory solution. In August of 1955 the late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, proposed that the refugees be enabled to resume a life of dignity and self-respect through repatriation or resettlement.⁴ He pledged that the United States would support some form of international loan which would facilitate Israel's payment of compensation to those refugees choosing resettlement and that the United States would contribute to a realization of development projects. President Eisenhower in 1957 reaffirmed

¹ For U.S. statements and text of resolution, see BULLETIN of Jan. 3, 1955, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1955, p. 378.

¹ U.N. doc. A/4121 and Corr. 1.

² U.N. doc. A/4213.

these proposals.⁵ This interest of the United States Government and of its citizens in the care and in the future well-being and happiness of the Palestine refugees remains undiminished.

The United States is fully aware that the Palestine refugee problem is unlikely to be solved by the time UNRWA's mandate expires. We are fully aware that international support for these refugees undoubtedly must continue after June 30, 1960.

U.S. Urges Constructive Action

Having said these things, I should like to say also that action limited to the mere extension of UNRWA's mandate is not, in our judgment, a satisfactory way to serve the long-term interests of the refugees. There should be something more than this. Surely it is not unreasonable to hope that other constructive steps may also be taken.

We must not allow ourselves to despair of hope for progress. We must not consign a million persons to indefinite subsistence living, almost devoid of possibilities for taking useful and self-supporting roles in society. My Government believes that the present is, perhaps, a unique opportunity for clear reaffirmation, on the part of governments most directly concerned and all other states motivated by peaceful and humane intentions, that something constructive can and will be done about this problem. We would hope that friendly candor and wise imagination would play the dominant roles in this discussion.

We trust that from this committee's deliberations will come realistic suggestions as to how progress toward the ultimate resolution of this refugee problem can be insured. We welcome the constructive spirit with which delegations such as Ceylon and India have approached this debate. We shall continue to give sympathetic consideration to any suggestion, whether related to the PCC [Palestine Conciliation Commission], a new commission, or any other possibility, which might help move us toward a resolution of the problem. We also welcome the timely reminder by the distinguished delegate of India that the General Assembly has consistently held to the principle that the Palestine refugees be given a choice of repatriation or compensation.

⁵ For text of President Eisenhower's message to Congress on the Middle East, see *ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1957, p. 83.

The United States, as one of the major contributors to the relief of the Palestine refugees thus far, certainly would welcome consideration of sincere and constructive proposals from any quarter. We favor fuller examination and amplification of various proposals which have already been made, especially of the indications of growing willingness to make new attempts to solve some of the divisive questions of the Near East. We are hopeful that still more specific recommendations will be heard in the course of the debate. The United States will always do its part in any United Nations effort which has as its goal a brighter future for the Palestine refugees.

STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 7

U.S. delegation press release 3335

As you are aware, discussions have been taking place outside the committee during the past week on a resolution dealing with Palestine refugees. I am pleased to say that the revised resolution which has been tabled by the distinguished representatives of Pakistan and Indonesia⁶ has the full support of the United States. While it lacks certain provisions that my delegation would like to have seen included, this resolution adequately reflects those progressive elements on which we believe general agreement could be reached at this juncture.

I will comment only briefly on the details of the text. However, I do wish to point out that it represents a compromise and, as such, a delicate balance which we trust will not be upset by the discussions here today.

We believe that the extension of the Agency's mandate for 3 years is realistic. The United States is particularly pleased that this resolution calls for appropriate action with regard to the pressing need for a rectification of the relief rolls.

It is the sincere hope and intention of the United States, as a member of the PCC, that in its further efforts the Commission will seek the just and peaceful implementation of paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 (III) and will find that the states principally concerned are willing to face the problem in a spirit of accommodation. It should not be overlooked that the PCC already has done much constructive work in identifying and evalu-

⁶ U.N. doc. A/SPC/L. 38/Rev. 1.

ating the properties left by some of the Palestine refugees.

We are hopeful that the good wishes of all member states will go to the PCC in its further search for realistic and constructive forward steps.

In concluding these brief remarks let me observe that the general tenor of this debate has indicated the great desire of the majority of United Nations members to do something positive, to do something promptly, about this problem. The United States is convinced that something can be done. We must not allow ourselves to fall into an attitude of listless resignation. It is therefore our hope that during the coming months members will actively assist, in every appropriate way, in the search for a just and peaceful solution. My delegation also fervently hopes that member states will underline the support, so widely voiced here, for the continuation of UNRWA by substantially increased pledges of financial support for the Agency.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION ⁷

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949, 393 (V) of 2 December 1950, 513 (VI) of 26 January 1952, 614 (VII) of 6 November 1952, 720 (VIII) of 27 November 1953, 818 (IX) of 4 December 1954, 916 (X) of 3 December 1955, 1018 (XI) of 28 February 1957, 1191 (XII) of 12 December 1957, and 1315 (XIII) of 12 December 1958,

Noting the annual report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, in particular the expiration of the Agency's mandate on 30 June 1960,

Noting the recommendation of the Secretary-General and the Director of the Agency for the continuation of the Agency,

Noting with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees, as provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) has not been effected, and that no substantial progress has been made in the programme endorsed in paragraph 2 of resolution 513 (VI) for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation or resettlement and that, therefore, the situation of the refugees continues to be a matter of serious concern,

Having reviewed the budget and noting with concern that contributions from Member States are not sufficient,

Recalling that the Agency, as a subsidiary organ of the United Nations, enjoys the benefits of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations,

1. Decides to extend the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the

Near East for a period of three years with a review at the end of two years;

2. Requests the Governments concerned to co-operate with the Agency in efforts to rectify the situation described in paragraphs 17 and 18 of the Director's report;

3. Requests the Director of the Agency to arrange with the host Governments the best means of giving effect to the proposals contained in paragraph 47 of his report;

4. Requests the Palestine Conciliation Commission to make further efforts to secure the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III);

5. Directs attention to the precarious financial position of the Agency and urges Governments to consider to what extent they can contribute or increase their contributions so that the Agency can carry out its programmes;

6. Directs the Agency to continue its programme of relief for the refugees, and, in so far as is financially possible expand its programme of self-support and vocational training;

7. Expresses its thanks to the Director and the staff of the Agency for their continued faithful efforts to carry out the mandate of the Agency, and to the specialized agencies and the many private organizations for their valuable and continuing work in assisting the refugees.

United Nations Proclaims Declaration of Rights of Child

Following is a statement made in Committee III (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) on September 28 by Charles W. Anderson, Jr., U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, together with the text of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child proclaimed in plenary session on November 20.

STATEMENT BY MR. ANDERSON

U.S. delegation press release 3230

The question of the Draft Declaration of the Rights of the Child has already been considered in the United Nations for many years—by the Social Commission, the Economic and Social Council, and the Commission on Human Rights. There has finally emerged the draft declaration which the 28th session of the Economic and Social Council has transmitted for our consideration.¹

The drafting of this declaration has taken a good deal of time and has, as Ambassador López [Salvador P. López, Philippines] pointed out at our last meeting [September 25], already involved the efforts of 28 nations. I am hopeful that it will

⁷ A/RES/1156(XIV) (A/SPC/L.38/Rev. 1); adopted in plenary session on Dec. 9 by a vote of 80-0-1 (Israel).

¹ U.N. doc. E/3229, chapter VII, par. 197.

be possible for this committee to complete consideration of the declaration at this session.

In my view the declaration does not raise such problems as to make the goal of its early completion unattainable. The statements which were made last Friday underline the basic agreement which exists among us on this point. And certainly we are all agreed on the importance of the declaration itself. It seems to me, therefore, that the Third Committee, in having the opportunity to complete the declaration this year, can make a tremendous contribution to the betterment of the world's children. Moreover, to complete the declaration at this session can only reflect great credit upon the Third Committee itself and upon the General Assembly as a whole.

The Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, adopted by the League of Nations in 1924, was the first collective expression by the world community of its concern for children. It was to bring this declaration up to date that the Social Commission of the United Nations undertook its reexamination in 1947. The 1924 declaration was short and concise. These are qualities which we feel might be maintained. The draft declaration which has been transmitted to us by the Economic and Social Council contains all the basic elements relating to the well-being of children. It has not, however, succeeded in retaining the qualities of brevity and conciseness which we would like to see. A declaration should contain principles only, and these principles should be set forth in simple, clear language which can be easily understood by everyone. These principles should not be obscured by a detailed elaboration of the application of each principle.

Madam Chairman, my delegation can in fact accept the Draft Declaration of the Rights of the Child in the form it has been transmitted to us. We shall, nevertheless, give careful consideration to those proposals made by other delegations with a view to arriving at as clear and concise an expression as possible of the principles now embodied in that declaration. My distinguished colleague from the United Kingdom, Lady Petrie, alluded last Friday to the statement made before the 28th session of the Council by Miss Moser of the International Union for Child Welfare. Miss Moser, you will recall, said that the draft declaration now before us is six times longer than the 1924 Geneva declaration. She went on to say that the value of

the 1924 declaration lay in its directness, brevity, and acceptability. In associating ourselves with the views expressed by the United Kingdom delegate and Miss Moser, we remain confident that it will be possible for this committee to arrive at a text which will both universally commend itself for the thoughts which it embodies and for the clarity with which these thoughts are expressed.

Eleven years ago the General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That declaration took a long time in drafting and was not adopted without a good deal of debate. At that time there were those, Madam Chairman, who deprecated the value of that declaration on the basis that, since it was no more than a declaration and therefore had no legally binding force on member states, it would not be of any practical use. The short history of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has proven these views to be mistaken. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, although of course not binding in law on states members, has had an influence exceeding perhaps even the highest expectations of those who were its most ardent advocates. The declaration has served both as an example and as a goal. But, more than that, it has also been incorporated in the constitutions of several countries represented in this chamber. It has served as a model for national legislation. It has even been cited in court decisions. In sum, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been a very powerful influence in advancing human rights in many countries.

Madam Chairman, there can be no question as to the contribution such a declaration as the Draft Declaration of the Rights of the Child can make. First, adopting it, we can reaffirm the fundamental conviction of all of us that mankind owes the child the best it can give. Second, having seen the moral impact on the world which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has had, we can reasonably hope that the draft declaration can reinforce some of the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. And finally, in time to come, like the Universal Declaration, the Draft Declaration of the Rights of the Child will serve as a model for national legislation and as a guide for action to be taken on a national and local level with respect to the well-being of children.

You can depend on the full cooperation of my

delegation, Madam Chairman, in reaching language which will be acceptable to all, concise, meaningful, and of which we can all be proud.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION²

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Preamble

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Whereas the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth,

Whereas the need for such special safeguards has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the statutes of specialized agencies and international organizations concerned with the welfare of children,

Whereas mankind owes to the child the best it has to give,

Now therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Declaration of the Rights of the Child to the end that he may have a happy childhood and enjoy for his own good and for the good of society the rights and freedoms herein set forth, and calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals, and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities and national Governments to recognize these rights and strive for their observance by legislative and other measures progressively taken in accordance with the following principles:

Principle 1

The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. Every child, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2

The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally,

morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose, the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3

The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

Principle 4

The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end, special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate prenatal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

Principle 5

The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.

Principle 6

The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and, in any case, in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and to those without adequate means of support. Payment of State and other assistance towards the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

Principle 7

The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him, on a basis of equal opportunity, to develop his abilities, his individual judgement, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.

The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavour to promote the enjoyment of this right.

Principle 8

The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

Principle 9

The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form.

² U.N. doc. A/RES/1386 (XIV), adopted unanimously in plenary session on Nov. 20.

The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

Principle 10

The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood, and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

Letter Dated 3 December 1959 From the Permanent Representative of Pakistan Addressed to the President of the Security Council Concerning Kashmir. S/4242. December 3, 1959. 2 pp.

General Assembly

United Nations International School. Report by the Secretary-General. A/4293. November 21, 1959. 14 pp.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960. Revised estimates resulting from General Assembly resolution 1376 (XIV) of 17 November 1959 on the annual progress report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation for 1959. Twenty-ninth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4295. November 23, 1959. 3 pp.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960. Major maintenance and capital improvement programme at Headquarters. Thirtieth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4296. November 23, 1959. 3 pp.

Proposed Amendments to Certain Provisions of the Pension Scheme Regulations of the International Court of Justice. Report of the Fifth Committee. A/4297. November 24, 1959. 4 pp.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960. Section 17. Social activities. Thirty-first report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4300. November 24, 1959. 21 pp.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960. Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Organizational changes and review of internal procedures relating to the technical assistance programme. Thirty-second report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4302. November 25, 1959. 7 pp.

Question of Hungary. Report of the United Nations Special Representative. A/4304. November 25, 1959. 15 pp.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

United Nations Emergency Force. Manner of financing the Force; report of the Secretary-General on consultations with governments of member states. Corrigen- dum. A 4176/Corr. 2. November 25, 1959. 1 p.

Construction of the United Nations Building in Santiago, Chile. Report of the Fifth Committee. A/4306. November 30, 1959. 4 pp.

The Korean Question: Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Report of the First Committee. A/4307. November 30, 1959. 5 pp.

Supplementary Estimates for the Financial Year 1959 (Part II). Thirty-fourth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4308. November 30, 1959. 3 pp.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960. Revised estimates in respect of the fourteenth session of the Commission on the Status of Women, to be held at Buenos Aires. Thirty-fifth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4310. December 1, 1959. 2 pp.

Reservations to Multilateral Conventions: the Convention on Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Report of the Sixth Committee. A/4311. December 1, 1959. 13 pp.

Economic Development of Under-developed Countries. Report by the Secretary-General on measures taken by the governments of member states to further the economic development of underdeveloped countries in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1316 (XIII). Additional replies from governments—France. A/4220/Add.3. December 1, 1959. 22 pp.

Report of the Trusteeship Council: Offers by Member States of Study and Training Facilities for Inhabitants of Trust Territories—Report of the Trusteeship Council. Report of the Fourth Committee. A/4320. December 3, 1959. 45 pp.

Question of the Frontier Between the Trust Territory of Somaliland Under Italian Administration and Ethiopia. Report of the Ethiopian Government on the progress of the negotiations between the Governments of Ethiopia and Italy, with the assistance of the independent person concerning the terms of reference for arbitration as provided in General Assembly resolution 1345 (XIII) of 13 December 1958. A/4323. Dec. 3, 1959. 44 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Automotive Traffic

Convention on road traffic, with annexes. Done at Geneva September 19, 1949. Entered into force March 26, 1952. TIAS 2487.

Notification by United Kingdom of application (subject to a declaration) to: Malta, November 23, 1959.

Finance

Agreement establishing the Inter-American Development

Bank, with annexes. Done at Washington April 8, 1959.¹
Signed and acceptances deposited: Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Paraguay, December 16, 1959; Chile, December 17, 1959.

Property

Convention for the protection of industrial property. Signed at London June 2, 1934. Entered into force August 1, 1938. 53 Stat. 1748.
Adherence effective: Iran, December 16, 1959.

BILATERAL

Belgium

Agreement amending annex B of the mutual defense assistance agreement of January 27, 1950 (TIAS 2010). Effected by exchange of notes at Brussels October 27 and December 1, 1959. Entered into force December 1, 1959.

Turkey

Agreement for the establishment of a facility for repairing and rebuilding M-12 range finders in Turkey. Effected by exchange of notes at Ankara November 30, 1959. Entered into force November 30, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Resident Consuls Assigned to Lusaka and Blantyre

Press release 860 dated December 16

The Department of State announced on December 16 that resident consuls will be assigned to Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, and to Blantyre, Nyasaland. In each case the resident consul will be a member of the staff of the consulate general at Salisbury. The resident consuls will be available to perform notarial and other consular services. The resident consul at Lusaka is expected to arrive there in January 1960; the office of the resident consul at Blantyre is to be opened in February 1960.

Designations

Richard Hallock Davis as Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, effective December 11. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 863 dated December 16.)

Frank K. Hefner as Deputy Director, Office of International Financial and Development Affairs, effective December 13.

Charles H. Russell as Director, U.S. Operations Mission, Paraguay, effective December 15. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 857 dated December 15.)

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

The Republic of China. Pub. 6844. Far Eastern Series 81. 63 pp. 25¢.

This pamphlet is a description of the present territorial base of free China, its history, and its resources. It is an account of the progress made by the Republic of China since 1949 and its prospects for the future.

Mutual Security in Action—Viet-Nam. Pub. 6896. Far Eastern Series 83. 14 pp. 10¢.

A fact sheet discussing the country, government, economy, and the role of U.S. assistance.

Mutual Security in Action—Jordan. Pub. 6897. Near and Middle Eastern Series 44. 10 pp. 10¢.

A fact sheet discussing the country, government, and the U.S. military and economic assistance programs.

Mutual Security in Action—Turkey. Pub. 6898. Near and Middle Eastern Series 45. 16 pp. 10¢.

A fact sheet discussing the country, government, economy, and U.S. military and economic assistance.

Mutual Security in Action—the Philippines. Pub. 6908. Far Eastern Series 84. 12 pp. 10¢.

A fact sheet discussing the country, government, economy, and the role of U.S. assistance.

Mutual Security in Action—India. Pub. 6910. Near and Middle Eastern Series 46. 20 pp. 10¢.

A fact sheet discussing the country and its people, government, economy, and U.S. assistance.

Mutual Security in Action—Spain. Pub. 6913. European and British Commonwealth Series 58. 14 pp. 10¢.

A fact sheet discussing the country, history, government, economy, and the role of U.S. assistance.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4311. 5 pp. 5¢. Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil, amending agreement of December 31, 1956, as corrected and amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington September 2, 1959. Entered into force September 2, 1959.

Surplus Property—Sale of Excess Military Property in Taiwan. TIAS 4312. 11 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and China. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taipei July 22, 1959. Entered into force July 22, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4313. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and France, amending agreement of June 19, 1956, as amended—Signed at Washington July 22, 1959. Entered into force September 22, 1959.

¹ Not in force.

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855	12/15	Note on anti-U.S. exhibit at Prague.
†856	12/15	U.S.-India joint communique.
*857	12/15	Russell designated USOM director, Paraguay (biographic details).
†858	12/15	U.S.-Iran joint communique.
859	12/15	Dillon: Lafayette Gold Medal Award dinner.
860	12/16	Resident consuls assigned to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
861	12/16	Note to U.S.S.R. on German draft radio legislation.
†862	12/16	U.S.-Greece joint communique.
*863	12/16	Davis designated Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs (biographic details).
†864	12/17	U.S.-Tunisia joint communique.
865	12/18	North Atlantic Council communique.
†867	12/19	Dillon: IBRD announcement of visits to India and Pakistan.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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Bulletin

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January 11, 1960

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLII, No. 1072 • PUBLICATION 6928

January 11, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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Western Heads of State and Government Meet at Paris

Following are texts of two communiques issued at Paris on December 21 at the close of the meeting of the Heads of State and Government of France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which was held at Paris and Rambouillet December 19-21, together with the text of a letter from President Eisenhower to Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, proposing an East-West summit meeting.

SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE ON ECONOMIC SITUATION

Press release 866 dated December 21

The Heads of State and Government have discussed the important changes that have taken place in the international economic situation. Recognizing the great economic progress of Western Europe, they have agreed that virtually all of the industrialized part of the free world is now in a position to devote its energies in increased measure to new and important tasks of cooperative endeavor with the object of: (A) Furthering the development of the less developed countries, and (B) pursuing trade policies directed to the sound use of economic resources and the maintenance of harmonious international relations, thus contributing to growth and stability in the world economy and to a general improvement in the standard of living. In their view these cooperative principles should also govern the discussions on commercial problems arising from the existence of European economic regional organizations, which are or will be constituted within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, such as the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association. Their relations both with other countries and with each other should be discussed in this spirit.

The Heads of State and Government, recog-

nizing that the method of furthering these principles requires intensive study, have agreed to call an informal meeting to be held in Paris in the near future. They suggest that the members and participants of the Executive Committee of the OEEC [Organization for European Economic Cooperation] and the governments whose nationals are members of the Steering Board for Trade of the OEEC should be represented at this meeting.

It is proposed that an objective of such a group should be to consider the need for and methods of continuing consultations dealing with the above-mentioned problems.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

Press release 869 dated December 21

The President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany met in Paris and at Rambouillet on the 19th, 20th and 21st of December, 1959 and exchanged views on various subjects of common interest.

In the course of these meetings consideration was given to the views expressed by the member governments of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization at the meeting of the Council held in Paris from the 15th to the 17th of December.¹

Among the subjects discussed were East-West relations, disarmament and problems relating to Germany including Berlin. On the last point the Heads of State and Government reaffirmed the principles set forth in the Four Power communique of December 14, 1958,² and in the declaration

¹ For text of a NATO communique of Dec. 17, see BULLETIN of JAN. 4, 1959, p. 3.

² For text, see *ibid.*, Dec. 29, 1958, p. 1011.

of the North Atlantic Council of December 16th, 1958 on Berlin.³

The Heads of State and Government agreed on the desirability of a Four Power conference with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The purpose of this conference would be to consider a number of questions of mutual concern. President Eisenhower, General de Gaulle and Mr. Macmillan have sent letters to Mr. Khrushchev proposing such a meeting beginning on the 27th of April in Paris. These letters were delivered in Moscow this morning. The texts are being immediately released. The Heads of State and Government have agreed on the procedures to be followed in preparation for the proposed meeting and have issued the necessary directives to this end.

The North Atlantic Council will be informed of the results of the present conversations at the Ministerial meeting which will take place on the 22nd of December, and the Council will be regularly consulted during the course of the preparatory work.

The Heads of State and Government express the hope that the proposed conference will contribute to the strengthening of peace with justice.

LETTER TO MR. KHRUSHCHEV ON EAST-WEST MEETING

DECEMBER 21, 1959

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As you are aware I have just met with President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan. Among the subjects we discussed was the possibility of our having a meeting with you to consider international questions of mutual concern.

We agreed that it would be desirable for the four Heads of State or Government to meet together from time to time in each other's countries to discuss the main problems affecting the attainment of peace and stability in the world. I therefore wish now to express my readiness to meet with you, President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan at the earliest feasible time. In view of the engagements of all of us, as they are known to me, we had thought that the opening date for

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1959, p. 4.

the proposed conference could be April 27 and that Paris would be the most appropriate place for the first meeting.

I very much hope that this proposal is acceptable to you.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

NATO Foreign Ministers Conclude Meeting at Paris

Following is the text of a communique issued at Paris on December 22 at the close of the final session of the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council.¹

Press release 871 dated December 22

The North Atlantic Council completed its Ministerial Session on December 22.

The Council heard an account by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, speaking on behalf of the Governments of the United States, France, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, of the conclusions reached by the Heads of State and of Government during their discussions in Paris from the 19th to the 21st of December in regard to East-West relations. During the detailed discussions which followed, the Council recognized that the views expressed by the four Governments fully reflected those which had been expounded by its members on December 15th. The Council gives its full support to the position adopted by the four Governments.

The Council takes note of the arrangements proposed to the Soviet Government for the opening of negotiations in Paris in April. It agrees with the arrangements made to secure full consultation with all member Governments during the preparation of these negotiations and undertakes to play a constructive part in ensuring their success. It instructed the Permanent Council to ensure that member Governments are informed and consulted, and to make the necessary arrangements to that end.

The Council heard a report from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, on behalf of the five

¹ For text of a communique issued at the close of the first part of the Ministerial Meeting, see BULLETIN of Jan. 4, 1960, p. 3.

Western members of the Committee of Ten on Disarmament (Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States), regarding the decisions taken by them. It agrees with the five Governments that March 15th should be proposed for the meeting of this Committee. It approves the arrangements made in regard to prior consultations, and instructs the Permanent Council, calling as it desires upon the NATO military authorities, to consider what further assistance it can give to the consideration of plans for controlled disarmament.

While welcoming the new prospects of negotiations and agreement, the Council thinks it necessary to reaffirm the principles which it set out in its statement on Berlin on the 16th of December, 1958,² and to emphasize once again that the Alliance must remain vigilant and strong. The Council shares the hope of the Heads of State and of Government that the forthcoming conference will contribute to the strengthening of peace with justice.

R. L. Dennison Appointed Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic

Following is the text of an announcement by the North Atlantic Council which was released by the White House on December 23.

The North Atlantic Council appointed Admiral Robert L. Dennison, United States Navy, as Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, to succeed Admiral Jerauld Wright. The Council had been informed of the contents of a letter¹ from the President of the United States of America to the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Chairman of the Permanent Council, in which the President asked the member governments to agree to release Admiral Wright, who had requested retirement from the United States Navy on March 1, 1960.

The Council agreed with great regret to release Admiral Wright from his assignment as Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, a position which he had held since being appointed by the Council on April 12, 1954. They expressed to Admiral

² For text, see *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1959, p. 4.

¹ Not printed.

Wright, in the name of the governments represented on the Council, lasting gratitude for the distinguished service rendered by him.

The Council requested the President of the United States of America to nominate an officer of the United States Navy for appointment by the Council as Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, to succeed Admiral Wright. This request was transmitted to the President of the United States, who informed the Council of his nomination of Admiral Dennison for consideration by the Council as successor to Admiral Wright.

At its meeting the Council adopted a resolution appointing Admiral Dennison as Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, as successor to Admiral Wright, with the same powers and functions. The appointment is to become effective February 29, 1960.

Admiral Dennison is currently serving as Commander in Chief, United States Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, a position he has held since March 31, 1959. He previously served as Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans and Policy) and commanded the United States First Fleet.

Western Foreign Ministers Propose Disarmament Meeting in March

Following is the text of a communique issued at Paris on December 21 by the foreign ministers of Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Press release 886 dated December 30

The Foreign Ministers of Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States met in Paris on December 21. These five countries are members of the 10-nation Disarmament Committee, the formation of which was referred to in the communique issued on September 7, 1959,¹ by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The five Foreign Ministers agreed that they would suggest to the other states members of the

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

10-nation Disarmament Committee that the Committee should begin its work on or about March 15, 1960, at the agreed location, Geneva, subject to the agreement of the Swiss Government.² They agreed to inform the Secretary General of the United Nations of this proposal.

It was further agreed that the representatives of

their governments should plan to convene at Washington in January to prepare for the meeting of the 10-nation Disarmament Committee. In the course of their deliberations they will take into account the views of the North Atlantic Council which will be kept fully informed of the progress of their work.

President Eisenhower Completes Visits to 11 Countries in Europe, Middle East, South Asia, and Africa

President Eisenhower returned to Washington on December 22 from a 3 weeks' trip to Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa. At Paris the President attended a meeting of the Western Heads of State and Government December 19-21.¹

For texts of communiques released following President Eisenhower's visits to Italy, Turkey, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, see Bulletin of December 28, 1959, page 931. Following are texts of addresses he made in India, Iran, and Greece, together with joint communiques issued at the close of his visits in each of these countries and in Tunisia, Spain, and Morocco.

ADDRESS TO INDIAN PARLIAMENT, NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

White House (New Delhi), press release dated December 10 (as delivered text)

It is with a sense of high distinction that I accepted the invitation to address you. I deem this a great personal honor and a bright symbol of the genuine friendship between the peoples you and I represent.

I bring to this nation of 400 million assurance from my own people that they feel that the welfare of America is bound up with the welfare of India. America shares with India the deep desire to live in freedom, human dignity, and peace with justice.

A new and great opportunity for that sort of life has been opened up to all men by the startling

achievements of men of science during recent decades. The issue placed squarely before us today is the purpose for which we use science.

Before us we see long years of what can be a new era—mankind in each year reaping a richer harvest from the fields of earth, gaining a more sure mastery of elemental power for human benefit, sharing an expanding commerce in goods and in knowledge and wisdom, dwelling together in peace.

But history portrays a world too often tragically divided by misgiving and mistrust and quarrel. Time and again governments have abused the fields of earth by staining them with blood and scarring them with the weapons of war. They have used a scientific mastery over nature to win a dominance over others—even made commerce an instrument of exploitation.

The most heartening, hopeful phenomenon in the world today is that people have experienced a great awakening. They see the evils of the past as crimes against the moral law, injuring the offender as well as the victim. They recognize that only under the rule of moral law can all of us realize our deepest and noblest aspirations.

One blunt question I put to you and to all—everyone, everywhere—who, like myself, share responsibility assigned to us by our people: Must we continue to live with prejudices, practices, and policies that will condemn our children and our children's children to live helplessly in the pattern of the past—awaiting possibly a time of war-borne obliteration?

We all fervently pray not. Indeed, there can be no statesmanship in any person of responsibility who does not concur in this worldwide prayer.

² For the appointment of Fredrick M. Eaton as chairman of the U.S. delegation, see *ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1959, p. 902.

¹ See p. 43.

Over most of the earth men and women are determined that the conference table shall replace the propaganda mill; international exchange of knowledge shall succeed the international trade in threats and accusations; and the fertile works of peace shall supplant the frenzied race in armaments of war.

Moving Into a Better Era

Our hope is that we are moving into a better era. For my part, I shall do all I can, as one human working with other humans, to push toward peace, toward freedom, toward dignity and a worthy future for every man and woman and child in the world.

If we—and especially all those occupying positions of responsibility—give all that is within us to this cause, the generations that follow us will call us blessed. Should we shirk the task or pursue the ways of war—now become ways to annihilation and race suicide—there may be no generations to follow us.

I come here representing a nation that wants not an acre of another people's land; that seeks no control of another people's government; that pursues no program of expansion in commerce or politics or power of any sort at another people's expense. It is a nation ready to cooperate toward achievement of mankind's deep, eternal aspirations for peace and freedom.

And I come here as a friend of India, speaking for 180 million friends of India. In fulfilling a desire of many years I pay, in person, America's tribute to the Indian people, to their culture, to their progress, and to their strength among the independent nations.

All humanity is in debt to this land. But we Americans have, with you, a special community of interest. You and we from our first days have sought, by national policy, the expansion of democracy. You and we, peopled by many strains and races speaking many tongues, worshipping in many ways, have each achieved national strength out of diversity. And you and we never boast that ours is the only way. We are conscious of our weaknesses and our failings. We both seek the improvement and betterment of all our citizens by assuring that the state will serve, not master, its own people or any other people. Above all, our basic goals are the same.

Ten years ago your distinguished Prime Min-

ister [Jawaharlal Nehru], when I was his host at Columbia University in New York, said:

Political subjection, racial inequality, economic misery—these are the evils we have to remove if we would assure peace.

Our Republic, since its founding, has been committed to a relentless, ceaseless fight against those same three evils: political subjection, racial inequality, economic misery. Not always has America enjoyed instant success in a particular attack on them. By no means has victory been won over them, and indeed complete victory can never be won so long as human nature is not transformed. But in my country, through almost 200 years, our most revered leaders have been those who have exhorted us to give of our lives and our fortunes to the vanquishment of these evils. And in this effort for the good of all our people we shall not tire nor cease.

Ten years have passed since Mr. Nehru spoke his words. The pessimist might say that not only do the three evils still infest the world—entrenched and manifold—but that they will never lose their virulence. And the future, he might conclude, will be a repetition of the past—the world stumbling from crisis in one place to crisis in another, given no respite from anxiety and tension, forever fearful that inevitably some aggression will blaze into global war.

Thus might the pessimist speak. And were we to examine only the record of failure and frustration, we all would be compelled to agree with him.

We Americans have known anxiety and suffering and tragedy, even in the decade just past. Tens of thousands of our families paid a heavy price that the United Nations and the rule of law might be sustained in the Republic of Korea. In millions of our homes there has been, in each, the vacant chair of absent men, a son who, performing his duty, gave some of the years of his youth that successful aggression might not come to pass. The news from near and distant places that has reached us in America through these 10 years has been marked by a long series of harsh alarms.

These alarms invariably had their source in the aggressive intentions of an alien philosophy backed by great military strength. Faced with this fact, we in America have felt it necessary to make clear our own determination to resist aggression through the provision of adequate armed

forces. These forces serve us and those of our friends and allies who, like us, have perceived the danger. But they so serve for defensive purposes only. In producing this strength we believe we have made a necessary contribution to a stable peace, for the present and for the future as well.

Historically and by instinct the United States has always repudiated and still repudiates the settlement by force of international issues and quarrels. Though we will do our best to provide for free-world security, we continue to urge the reduction of armaments on the basis of effective reciprocal verification.

And contrasting with some of our disappointments of the past decade and the negative purposes of security establishments, Americans have participated also in triumphant works of world progress, political, technical, and material. We believe these works support the concept of the dignity and freedom of man. These hearten America that the years ahead will be marked by like and greater works. And America watches with friendly concern the valiant efforts of other nations for a better life, particularly those who have newly achieved their independence.

Tribute to Indian People

Ten years ago India had just achieved independence, wealthy in courage and determination but beset with problems of a scale and depth and numbers scarcely paralleled in modern history. Not even the most optimistic of onlookers would then have predicted the success you have enjoyed.

Today India speaks to the other nations of the world with greatness of conviction and is heard with greatness of respect. The near conclusion of her second 5-year program is proof that the difficulty of a problem is only the measure of its challenge to men and women of determined will. India is a triumph that offsets the world's failures of the past decade, a triumph that, as men read our history a century from now, may offset them all.

India has paced and spurred and inspired men on other continents. Let anyone take a map of the earth and place on it a flag wherever political subjection has ended, racial prejudice been reduced, economic misery at least partially relieved during the past 10 years. He will find evidence in the cluster of these flags that the 10 years past

may well have been the 10 most fruitful years in the age-old fight against the three evils.

Because of these 10 years, today our feet are set on the road leading to a better life for all men.

What blocks us that we do not move forward instantly into an era of plenty and peace?

The answer is obvious: We have not yet solved the problem of fear among the nations. The consequence is that not one government can exploit the resources of its own territory solely for the good of its people.

Governments are burdened with sterile expenditures, preoccupied with attainment of a defensive military posture that grows less meaningful against today's weapons carriers.

Much of the world is trapped in the same vicious circle. Weakness in arms often invites aggression or subversion or externally manipulated revolutions. Fear inspired in others by the increasing military strength of one nation spurs them to concentrate still more of their resources on weapons and warlike measures. The arms race becomes more universal. Doubt as to the true purpose of these weapons intensifies tension. Peoples are robbed of opportunity for their own peaceful development. The hunger for a peace of justice and good will inevitably becomes more intense.

Search for Disarmament

Controlled, universal disarmament is the imperative of our time. The demand for it by the hundreds of millions whose chief concern is the long future of themselves and their children will, I hope, become so universal and so insistent that no man, no government anywhere, can withstand it.

My Nation is committed to a ceaseless search for ways through which genuine disarmament can be reached. And my Government, even as I said more than 6 years ago, in April of 1953,² still "is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction."

But armaments of themselves do not cause wars; wars are caused by men.

And men are influenced by a fixation on the past, the dead past, with all its abuses of power, its misuses of responsibility, all its futile convictions that force can solve any problem.

² BULLETIN of Apr. 27, 1953, p. 599.

In the name of humanity, can we not join in a 5-year or a 50-year plan against mistrust and misgiving and fixations on the wrongs of the past? Can we not apply ourselves to the removal or reduction of the causes of tension that exist in the world? All these are the creations of governments, cherished and nourished by governments. The peoples of the world would never feel them if they were given freedom from propaganda and pressure.

Permit me to cite two simple examples from my own experience. As President of the United States, I welcomed into our Union last year a new sovereign State—Hawaii—peopled by all the races of the earth, men and women of that new State having their ancestral homes in Asia and Africa and Europe, the two Americas, the islands of the earth. Those peoples are of every creed and color, yet they live together in neighborly friendliness, in mutual trust, and each can achieve his own good by helping achieve the good of all.

Hawaii cries insistently to a divided world that all our differences of race and origin are less than the grand and indestructible unity of our common brotherhood. The world should take time to listen with attentive ear to Hawaii.

As president of Columbia University, every year we welcomed to its campus [young people] from every continent, from almost every nation that flew a flag—and some tribes and colonies not yet free. In particular there still lives in my memory, because of their eagerness and enthusiasm for learning, the presence of hundreds of young people from India and China and Japan and the other Asian countries that studied among us, detached from any mutual prejudice or any fixation over past wrongs—indeed, these vices are not easily discernible among the young of any people.

These two simple things from my own experience convince me that much of the world's fear, suspicion, prejudices, can be obliterated. Men and women everywhere need only to lift up their eyes to the heights that can be achieved together and, ignoring what has been, push together for what can be.

Not one wrong of years ago that still rankles, not one problem that confronts us today, not one transitory profit that might be taken from another's weakness, should distract us from the pursuit of a goal that dwarfs every problem and wrong of the past.

We have the strength and the means and the knowledge. May God inspire us to strive for the worldwide will and the wisdom that are now our first needs.

In this great crusade, from the history of your own nation, I know India will ever be a leader.

REMARKS AT AGRICULTURE FAIR, NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 11

White House (New Delhi) press release dated December 11 (as delivered text)

I am signally honored by the invitation to join President [Rajendra] Prasad at the opening of the World Agriculture Fair—the first such fair as this ever held. And it is entirely right that it be held here in India. For this nation recognizes in agriculture the fundamental occupation of man and the chief assurance of better living for its citizens.

My own country was quick to accept when invited to participate in this historic event. And today I am particularly honored that India's Chief of State will be with me when, in a few minutes, I officially open the United States exhibit at the fair. Indeed, the occasion of this fair gave me the very finest reason I could think of to make this the time of the visit to India that I had long determined upon.

At this American exhibit all visitors can see how we Americans have managed the soil of our land so that our people might live well for themselves and have enough food left over to help others. Our way is not necessarily the best, even for us, but here we depict in the American exhibit American agriculture as it is. We do have a natural pride in what we have accomplished by a creative union of human spirit, fertile earth, and inventive science. But, beyond this, we see in modern agriculture a most effective instrument for a better life among all men. "Mela USA" points up its use for that high purpose.

On the personal side, I visit this fair with keen interest. As a boy and young man I grew up in the heart of the American farmland. A long-held ambition during my professional years—not always too well concealed—has been to return to the farm. And I plan to be a farmer—when my present form of occupation comes to a close. So, I have a keen interest in spending a bit of time at this fair, where so many nations present their achievements in methods and techniques and ways of agriculture. I shall see here much that is new to me. Many of these things are probably im-

provements on what I have seen or done in the past, and I hope I am still not too old to learn.

For a moment I hope you will indulge me as I suggest some thoughts on how food can help all of us achieve better lives in a world of justice and peace.

Today we have the scientific capacity to abolish from the world at least this one evil; we can eliminate the hunger that emaciates the bodies of children, that scars the souls of their parents, that stirs the passions of those who toil endlessly and earn only scraps.

Men, right now, possess the knowledge and the resources for a successful worldwide war against hunger—the sort of war that dignifies and exalts human beings. The different exhibits in this whole fair are clear proof of that statement.

Theme of American Exhibit

The call to that genuinely noble war is enunciated in the theme of the American exhibit: “Food—Family—Friendship—Freedom.”

Into these four words are compressed the daily needs, the high purposes, the deep feelings, the ageless aspirations that unite Indians and Americans under one banner—the banner of human dignity.

Here are four words that are mightier than arms and bombs, mightier than machines and money, mightier than any empire that ruled the past or threatens the future.

Here are four words that can lift the souls of men to a high plane of mutual effort, sustained effort, the most rewarding effort that can be proposed to mankind.

First—*Food*—that our bodies may be fit for every task and duty and service; our minds free from the fear of hunger; our eyes, undimmed by the tragedies of famine, searching out new horizons; our aspirations not frustrated by failure of crop or catastrophe of weather.

Family—that in our homes there may be decent living and bright hope, children no longer doomed to misery in peace and sudden death in war, their elders no longer broken by want and sorrow beyond their control to mend or cure.

Friendship—that among all the peoples of earth the darkness of ignorance and fear and distrust will dissolve in the light of knowledge and understanding. The time has come when we

must all live together for our mutual betterment or we shall all suffer harsh, possibly the final, penalty.

Freedom—that on all continents and islands of the earth every man and woman of good will and good life may make the proudest of human boasts: “I am free, slave to no tyranny imposed by other men, by the accident of birth, by the whims of circumstance.”

Presenting the Role of Agriculture

The American exhibit at this fair presents the role we feel agriculture can play in furtherance of a healthy, fruitful, peaceful world where the families of all nations can live in freedom from fear of famine and war.

In no wise whatsoever is the American exhibit an attempt to portray our agriculture as superior to any other. Through centuries of living with the soil and streams, the environment and climate of their own lands, people have learned adjustments and adaptations peculiarly suited to their own circumstances.

What we do present here are ways in which American farmers multiplied their productivity, the fertility of their fields, the vigor and the value of their livestock.

In this exhibit visitors will see the techniques, the changes in old methods, the applications of new discoveries that have best served America's particular requirements. Modified to fit your needs and your circumstances, it is our hope that they might be of value to you.

Of course, they cannot work miracles overnight, in any land. But, with each harvest, they may help to bring every people using them closer to a dependable self-sufficiency.

Food for Peace

Early this year, I set in motion a new program “to explore anew with other surplus-producing nations all practical means of utilizing the various agricultural surpluses of each in the interest of reinforcing peace and the well-being of friendly peoples throughout the world—in short, using food for peace.”³

³ For text of President Eisenhower's special message to Congress on agriculture, see H. Doc. 59, 86th Cong., 1st sess.; for an address on food for peace by Don Paarlberg, Special Assistant to the President, see BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1959, p. 672.

In keeping with this program my Government and the Government of India have been working together. Whatever strengthens India, my people are convinced, strengthens us, a sister republic dedicated to peace. This great nation of 400 million people, rich in culture and history, courageous in the resolve to be free and strong, is a mighty influence for an enduring and just peace in the world. And this is true of every nation so courageous, so determined, so inspired as is India.

With them we shall continue to cooperate to achieve a world free from the pangs of hunger, in which families live full and prosperous lives, where friendship among nations replaces fear and suspicion, and where men are free in the pursuit of happiness.

Thank you for the great honor you have done me by inviting me here.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

Press release 856 dated December 15

At the invitation of the Government of India, the President of the United States of America paid a visit to India, lasting from December 9 to 14. President Eisenhower received on his arrival in New Delhi a warm and cordial welcome, marked by popular enthusiasm and good will. Throughout his stay and wherever he went, these friendly manifestations of good will were repeated by millions of Delhi citizens and others who had come to Delhi to join in this welcome.

During his strenuous four-day visit, President Eisenhower fulfilled a number of public engagements. He addressed members of the Indian Parliament, received an honorary doctorate of laws from the University of Delhi, participated in the inauguration of the World Agriculture Fair, attended a civic reception on behalf of the city of Delhi and visited rural areas near Agra. In thus fulfilling a desire of many years, the President was deeply touched by the warmth of the welcome extended to him by the people of India, by the generous hospitality of the Government and the excellence of the arrangements made for him.

The President was impressed by the vitality of India's democratic institutions, of Parliament, press and university, and by India's strength of spirit combined with practical idealism. He saw

how India, like the United States, has created national strength out of diversity, neither country boasting that theirs is the only way. He confirmed the bond of shared ideals between India and the United States, their identity of objectives, and their common quest for just and lasting peace.

President Eisenhower met the President of India, the Prime Minister and other members of the Government of India. He and the Prime Minister had intimate talks in which they reviewed the world situation and exchanged views on matters of mutual interest. Among other things, the President told the Prime Minister that he was happy to report to him that all the leaders of the countries he had visited during his recent journey had expressed to him the hope that problems involving one form or another of conflict of interest or views could be solved by peaceful methods of conciliation. He said that this was true in Italy, Turkey, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The President found this heartening and in harmony with his own thinking. He did not wish in any way to minimize the importance of or the inherent difficulties involved in some of the problems. The spirit he found was good and forward-looking.

The Prime Minister expressed gratification and pleasure at President Eisenhower's visit to India, and thanked him for the warmth and generosity of the sentiments he had expressed. He assured the President of the wholehearted support of India in his unremitting efforts in the cause of world peace. India herself is dedicated to a policy of peace and has been steadfast in her conviction that differences between nations should be resolved peacefully by the method of negotiation and settlement and not by resort to force. She has consistently pursued this policy in relation to problems of this nature affecting her and other countries. The Prime Minister gave President Eisenhower a review of the major aspects of some of these problems and of recent developments in regard to them. The Prime Minister also referred to the great effort that India was making, through her five-year plans, to develop the country, both in regard to agriculture and industry, so as to raise the living standards of the people as rapidly as possible. To this great task, involving the future of 400 million people, India was devoting herself with all her strength and will.

The President and Prime Minister expressed their deep satisfaction at the friendly and cordial

relations existing between their two countries, and their firm belief that their common ideals and objectives and their quest for peace will ensure the maintenance and development of the strong ties of friendship between the two countries. President Eisenhower's visit to India has afforded the welcome opportunity of a meeting between the Presidents of the two countries, and for the renewal of the friendship between him and the Prime Minister of India. He was happy to meet other members of the Government, as well as men and women, young and old, in city and village, Parliament and university, and to bring to them, personally, assurance of the genuine friendship of the people of the United States for the people of India and their sincere and continuing interest in India's welfare. To the people of India, this visit, which had been long hoped for, has given the opportunity for the demonstration of the sincere friendship, good will and sympathy which they feel for the people of the United States.

ADDRESS TO IRANIAN PARLIAMENT, TEHRAN, DECEMBER 14

White House (Tehran) press release dated December 14 (as delivered text)

The honor you do me with this reception in your handsome new Senate building is a clear indication of the high mutual regard which the Iranian and American peoples have for each other.

Personally, I am deeply touched by your welcome.

We know that people, by meeting together, even if for a limited time, can strengthen their mutual understanding. To increase this mutual understanding has been one of the purposes of my trip to Iran, as it has been to the other countries in which I have stopped along the way.

My conversation this morning with His Imperial Majesty, this convocation, my knowledge of the state of relations between our two countries—and indeed, the cordial warmth of the reception that I received upon the streets of your beautiful city—have all been heartening assurances that our two countries stand side by side. This visit reinforces my conviction that we stand together. We see eye to eye when it comes to the fundamentals which govern the relations between men and between nations.

The message I bring you from America is this: We want to work with you for peace and friendship, in freedom. I emphasize freedom, because without it there can be neither true peace nor lasting friendship among peoples.

Consequently, Americans are dedicated to the improvement of the international climate in which we live. Though militarily we in America devote huge sums to make certain of the security of ourselves and to assist our allies, we do not forget that—in the long term—military strength alone will not bring about peace with justice. The spiritual and economic health of the free world must be likewise strengthened.

Basic Aspirations of Humanity

All of us realize that while we must, at whatever cost, make freedom secure from any aggression, we could still lose freedom should we fail to cooperate in progress toward achieving the basic aspirations of humanity. The world struggle in which we are engaged is many sided. In one aspect it is ideological, political, and military; in others it is both spiritual and economic.

As I well know, you, and the people of Iran, are not standing on the sidelines in this struggle.

Without flinching, you have borne the force of a powerful propaganda assault, at the same time that you have been working at improving the living standards in your nation.

The people of Iran continue to demonstrate that quality of fortitude which has characterized the long annals of your history as a nation. I know I speak for the American people when I say we are proud to count so valiant a nation as our partner.

Your ideals, expressed in the wise and mature literature of your people, are a source of enrichment to the culture of the world. By true cooperation with your friends—and among these America considers herself one—we can proceed together toward success in the struggle for peace and prosperity.

Through trust in one another, we can have trust in the fruitful outcome of our efforts together to build a brighter future.

This future—the world we will hand on to our children and to our grandchildren—must occupy our thinking and our planning and our working. The broad outline of our goal is, I think, clear to everyone—to achieve a just peace in freedom.

But peace will be without real meaning—it may even be unattainable—until the peoples of the world have finally overcome the natural enemies of humanity—hunger, privation, and disease. The American people have engaged considerable resources in this work. I am proud of the many dedicated American men and women who have gone out into the world with the single hope that they can ease the pain and want of others.

Some of them are at work in Iran, and I have heard that the people of Iran have found these efforts beneficial.

Of course, their work is effective only because the Government of Iran has sturdily shouldered its responsibilities for the development of the country. There are reports of significant accomplishments throughout the length and breadth of your land.

Achieving an Agreement on Disarmament

America rejoices with you that this is so. On the long and difficult climb on the road to true peace, the whole world must some day agree that suspicion and hate should be laid aside in the common interest.

Here, I think, is our central problem. I know that you, too, and all men of good will, are devoting thought and energy to the practical and realistic steps to this great objective.

One such practical step is, of course, an enforceable agreement on disarmament, or, to be more exact, arms reduction. To achieve this, the governments of the world have chosen a primary instrument, the United Nations.

It could seem that, as the realities of the awful alternative to peace become clearer to all, significant progress in the safeguarded reduction of the arms burden can be made. To such a realistic beginning, there is no feasible alternative for the world.

In the meantime, we cannot abandon our mutual effort to build barriers, such as the peaceful barrier of our Central Treaty Organization, against the persistent dangers of aggression and subversion. This organization, CENTO, has no ulterior or concealed purpose: it exists only to provide security.

Such an effort erects a shield of freedom for our honor and for our lives. With such a shield, we preserve the cherished values of our societies.

To be sure, the people of Iran need no reminder

of these simple facts. Only yesterday you celebrated the anniversary of the day on which justice triumphed over force in Azerbaijan. The full weight of world public opinion, as represented in the United Nations, supported you in those difficult times. It will always support the rights of any people threatened by external aggression.

Impulse Toward Rule of Law

Justice—the rule of law—among nations has not yet been effectively established. But in almost every nation in the world there is a great awakening to the need for such a development. Certainly this is true among the free nations. Because there is such an awakening, the act of any government contrary to the rights of mankind is quickly resented and keenly sensed by people everywhere.

This is the wellspring of our hope. This is why we are right to believe as we do—despite centuries of human turmoil and conflict—that true peace can and will one day be realized.

The impulse toward justice, toward the recognition of the worth and dignity of each and every human being, will not be denied. This is the main-spring of the movement toward freedom and peace.

Now, may I offer my heartfelt thanks for the opportunity you have given me to speak to you, and through you, the representatives of the people of Iran, to your entire nation.

You have conferred upon me an honor which I shall always remember.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, TEHRAN, DECEMBER 14

Press release 858 dated December 15

President Eisenhower visited Iran on December 14, 1959. The President and his party were welcomed warmly by the Iranian people. The feelings of the Iranian people shown during this significant visit demonstrated again the strength of the ties between the Governments and people of Iran and the United States.

The visit attested to the confidence of both countries that their cooperation is of benefit both to themselves and to the world.

During the visit talks were held at the palace of His Imperial Majesty [Mohammad Reza Pahlavi] between the two leaders, assisted by Prime Minister [Manuelchhr] Eqlal, Foreign Minister

[Abbas] Aram, Ambassador [Robert] Murphy and Ambassador [Edward T.] Wailes.

The President addressed a joint session of the Iranian Parliament. His Imperial Majesty and the President discussed the CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] alliance and both emphasized the importance of CENTO in preserving stability and security in the area.

They reiterated the determination of their Governments to support CENTO and further recognized the usefulness of their bilateral agreement⁴ while, of course, continuing to participate in the action of the United Nations for the furtherance of world peace. Both leaders emphasized their adherence to the goals of peace and freedom.

In the course of their talks the world situation was reviewed. Both leaders expressed their belief in the principles of negotiation as a means of finding just and peaceful solutions to problems which arise between nations.

It was agreed that disarmament with adequate controls should be sought in the interest of lasting peace.

His Imperial Majesty and the President also exchanged views on various problems, especially those relating to the Middle East. The President recognized the significant contribution Iran is making to the stability of this important world area.

His Imperial Majesty outlined the economic and social progress achieved in Iran and expressed appreciation for the help given by the American people.

The President congratulated His Imperial Majesty on the service which Iran is rendering the free world, and for his vigorous effort to sustain stability and to further economic development.

The President noted that such programs undertaken by Iran have the objective of creating a more bountiful life for the Iranian people.

President Eisenhower also expressed interest in the steps His Imperial Majesty is taking to promote social progress. The President said that the United States intends to continue to assist Iran in the mutual interest of both nations.

The President took the opportunity to express the admiration of the people of the United States for the brave stand of the Iranian people and Government in the face of outside pressure.

ADDRESS TO GREEK PARLIAMENT, ATHENS, DECEMBER 15

White House (Athens) press release dated December 15 (as delivered text)

I am greatly honored that I have been invited to speak before this distinguished Parliament. Greatness and grandeur are all about us—greatness and grandeur of ideas and ideals that were born and first enunciated nearby, of men forever memorable who walked and lived here, of a people whose valor and vitality and wisdom are written large on the human record.

Your present Government and its leaders, your distinguished Prime Minister, are producing a record of achievement that makes them worthy successors to their illustrious predecessors.

I represent in this place 180 million men and women who with you of Greece share the golden legacy of culture and civilization bequeathed by your forebears to the Western World. We Americans, with you Greeks, are fellow heirs to the glory of Greece.

In this city of Athens more than a score of centuries ago, democracy—in its principles and in its practices—first won the hearts and minds of men. This house of free representative government symbolizes the vigor of modern democracy in its ancient birthplace, demonstrates that the will of men to be free is imperishable.

In our common dedication to the ideals of democracy our two countries—America and Greece—feel a basic kinship. An American can feel as much at home here as in Washington or Abilene, my own village, or Brooklyn, just as Greeks quickly find themselves at home in those three places in America.

Salute to Greek People

To this Parliament I come with a message of admiration and respect from the American people to the Greek people, and for the light of inspiration that shone out, in our own day, to all the free world from this land and its islands.

You have proved yourselves fearless in defense of your independence, tireless in your attack on the evils of hardship and privation, ready for sacrifice that your children might enjoy a brighter day. And, beset with hardship and difficulty at home, you joined in cooperation with the other countries of the Atlantic Alliance for mutual de-

⁴ BULLETIN of Mar. 23, 1959, p. 416.

fense and security. Your expeditionary force to Korea, by its valor and heroism, helped sustain the rule of law and the United Nations in that divided nation.

The American people and, I am sure, all the free peoples of the world salute you, valiant and worthy heirs to the Greek traditions.

Peace and Friendship in Freedom

And now, briefly, permit me to speak on a cause close to my heart—close, I hope, to the hearts of all who believe in the brotherhood, the dignity, the divine origin and destiny of man as a child of God, created in His image. The cause is: Peace and friendship in freedom.

The Greek and American peoples share a common and deep devotion to peace. We share further the conviction that we must sustain the conditions under which the goal of peace may be pursued effectively.

We must be strong militarily, economically—but above all, spiritually. By developing and preserving such strength—by forever repudiating the use of aggressive force—we shall win the sort of peace we want, with friendship in freedom.

I mean peace that is creative, dynamic, fostering a world climate that will relieve men and their governments of the intolerable burden of armaments, liberate them from the haunting fear of global war and universal death.

I mean friendship that is spontaneous and warm, welling up from a deep conviction that all of us are more concerned with the bettering of our circumstances, giving our children wider opportunity and brighter promise, than in destroying each other.

I mean freedom in which, under the rule of law, every human will have the right and a fair chance to live his own life, to choose his own path, to work out his own destiny, that nations will be free from misgivings and mistrust, able to develop their resources for the good of their people.

To this cause of peace and friendship in freedom, Greeks are contributing all their hearts and minds and energies. Joined with the free men of the world, they can help mankind at long last to enjoy the fullness of life envisioned by the sages of ancient Greece.

Honorable Members of Parliament, I want to assure you again of the very deep sense of distinc-

tion that I feel in the invitation to address you. I feel that here I am with men who, like myself and all other Americans, love peace and freedom and want to work with you for it.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, ATHENS, DECEMBER 15

Press release 862 dated December 16

On the occasion of his official visit to Greece on the 14th and 15th of December, the President of the United States, Mr. Dwight Eisenhower, concluded talks with the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Constantine Caramanlis. Present at the talks were the American Ambassador, Mr. Ellis O. Briggs, and the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Robert Murphy, and on the Greek side the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Panayotis Kanellopoulos, and the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Constantine Tsatsos.

The President expressed his warm appreciation of the hospitality extended by Their Majesties, King Paul and Queen Frederika, and of all the Greek people.

The talks covered a wide range of general and specific topics of common interest to both countries. Both countries affirmed their faith in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their staunch support of the objectives of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which, based on the solidarity of its members, aim at the firm establishment of security and peace with justice. The relaxation of world tensions was discussed in this spirit.

The Greek Prime Minister expressed his deep appreciation for the great endeavor for peace undertaken by President Eisenhower. Both agreed that the consolidation of world peace must be pursued in such a way as to guarantee the independence of all nations and the freedom of the individual.

Historic instances in which both countries stood side by side in hard struggles were recalled. In this context the importance of Greece in the common defense effort was recognized.

Opinions were exchanged concerning those parts of the world of particular interest to Greece. Careful account was taken of her special position in the Balkans. The general situation in this area, as well as in the Eastern Mediterranean, was examined. It was agreed that the two Govern-

ments should exchange views on matters of mutual concern involving these areas.

The Greek Prime Minister expressed the gratitude of the Greek people for the enduring interest and help being extended by the American people. He also explained to the President the problems the country faces in seeking to raise the standard of living of the Greek people, and maintaining the obligations and responsibilities of its position in the defense structure of the free world.

President Eisenhower, recognizing the special economic and social conditions of Greece, expressed his admiration for the improvement being accomplished by the country, and reaffirmed the interest of the American people in the security and economic development of Greece generally.

It was recognized that improvement in the standard of living in the economically less-developed countries constitutes a vital element in the consolidation of international peace.

The conversations were held in an atmosphere of deep sincerity and warm cordiality, such as have traditionally characterized the relations of the two countries, and which were so happily confirmed by the visit to Greece of the President of the United States.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, TUNIS, DECEMBER 17

Press release 864 dated December 17

President Eisenhower and President [Habib] Bourguiba, accompanied by their advisers, met at La Marsa on December 17.

The two Presidents reviewed in general terms the international situation in a spirit of frankness and cordiality. Their discussions centered on the necessity to continue the progress which is now being made towards strengthening of peace and the reduction of the causes of international tension.

In this connection, they examined the situation created by the difficulties in Algeria. They agreed that the fact that a solution has not yet been achieved is a cause of grave concern.

They agreed that the achievement of self-determination by African and Asian people is one of the most important events of our times. They welcomed the opportunity offered for the evolution of new relationships and the improvement of old ones based on a common attachment to fundamental principles of human rights and dignity.

President Eisenhower and President Bourguiba

expressed their conviction that the efforts by nations to consolidate the peace necessitate increased support from the more industrialized nations for countries in the course of developing their economies.

The conversations between the two Presidents revealed a wide area of understanding of the problems raised.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, MADRID, DECEMBER 22

Press release 876 dated December 28

The President of the United States and the Chief of the Spanish State [General Francisco Franco] this morning concluded a series of conversations in which they were joined by other officials of both governments.

The President reviewed the purposes which had led him to undertake his goodwill tour and the results which he hoped would be achieved. He gave the Chief of State a review of his trip, including the Western Summit Conference. The talks, which covered a wide variety of other international matters of interest to both countries, were conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding.

The President and the Chief of State discussed the President's planned visit to the Soviet Union next year and confirmed their views as expressed in their exchange of letters of last August⁵ that such consultations to improve the climate of relationships would be beneficial, although a firm defense posture should be maintained.

Gratifying progress was noted in the implementation of the Economic and Defense Agreements signed by the United States and Spain on September 26, 1953. These agreements are based on a recognition of the necessity for efforts on the part of both countries to achieve the common goal of world peace and stability.

During these conversations Spain's admission to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation was mentioned with satisfaction, and the President expressed his good wishes for the success of the Spanish economic stabilization program.

The conversations served as another indication of the friendly ties between the Spanish and

⁵ For texts, see *ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1959, p. 404.

American peoples and strengthened the bonds of cooperation that exist between the two countries.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, CASABLANCA, DECEMBER 22

Press release S7S dated December 28

The meeting between the President and His Majesty [Mohammed V, King of Morocco] took place on December 22, 1959, at Casablanca, and lasted from 1500 to 1700 and took place in an atmosphere of cordiality which is characteristic of the relations which arise from the traditional friendship which has never ceased to exist between the United States of America since the proclamation of their independence and their recognition by the Kingdom of Morocco.

In the course of this interview the two Chiefs of State first of all examined the world situation and the problems which arise therefrom.

They rejoice in the relaxation of international tensions and while reaffirming their faith in the great values of the freedom of peoples and the dignity of men, they feel that any initiative of a nature to lead to the consolidation of peace and ensure international cooperation, should be encouraged.

His Majesty drew President Eisenhower's attention to the multiple bonds which unite Morocco and other Arab countries and make it sensitive to everything which affects them.

His Majesty emphasized the vital importance to Morocco of the end of the war in Algeria, in view of the profound repercussions which this has on the national life of Morocco and its international relations.

The two Chiefs of State noted with great satisfaction the positive character of the political evolution of the Algerian problem, and rejoice in the progress accomplished towards a peaceful solution of this problem through the acceptance by the interested parties of the principle of self-determination and recourse to consultation.

His Majesty the King of Morocco and the President of the United States have welcomed the opportunity provided by the President's brief visit to Morocco to renew their warm personal friendship and, with the time available, review

questions of interest to them. Their exchange of views strengthened their already deep confidence in the possibilities of fruitful cooperation between nations such as Morocco and the United States, sharing common goals of peace and justice among men and guided by the same basic principles of national conduct. This was specifically revealed in their discussions of the withdrawal of United States forces from Morocco, and they were greatly encouraged by the progress that has been made since His Majesty's visit to Washington in 1957.

Preliminary preparations for the departure of United States forces from Morocco will begin in the immediate future, and it is agreed between His Majesty the King of Morocco and the President of the United States of America, that United States forces will be withdrawn by the end of 1963. In this connection, immediate steps will be taken to release the airfield at Ben Slimane (Boulhaut). This will be achieved not later than March 31, 1960.

Netherlands Eases Controls on U.S. Imports

The Department of Commerce and the Department of State (press release 873) released the following joint statement on December 24.

Import restrictions will be removed from 12 more items by the Netherlands Government on January 1, according to the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, U.S. Department of Commerce.

This is the latest in a series of actions which have abolished discriminatory treatment of U.S. goods and liberalized an overwhelming majority of Dutch imports. Although the products to be decontrolled in January have been subject to import quotas, the quotas appear to have been administered in such a way that the flow of U.S. exports to the Netherlands was not impaired.

The commodities affected include seed rye and certain types of rice, fats, sugars, acids, soaps, coopers' wares, and glassware. The commodities concerned in this action will be reported in detail in the *Foreign Commerce Weekly* dated December 28.

Opportunities for International Cooperation in Space Exploration

by *T. Keith Glennan*

*Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration*¹

It is an honor to speak from this platform tonight. I am particularly grateful for the opportunity to bring to the members of this distinguished audience a brief discussion of our national space program. As citizens, you should be aware of the problems and promises that challenge the Nation in the field of space exploration. As members and friends of the World Affairs Council, you will be interested, I am sure, in the possibilities for useful and effective international cooperation that reside in this new area of scientific activity.

As one of my colleagues has put it, when one considers the vast distances of the solar system—93 million miles to the sun; 26 million miles to Venus, the nearest planet; 3,680 million miles to Pluto—and when one catalogs the problems to be solved and the new knowledge that is needed in almost every branch of science and technology from magnetohydrodynamics to cosmology, from materials to biology and psychology, the magnitude of the task before us becomes apparent. It is a task that challenges the peoples of the earth as a whole. There is room for cooperation of men of many skills and of nations large and small.

In this context of viewing space research as an instrument for the development of meaningful cooperation between nations, let me first describe the program of the United States. I will then tell you what I know of the program of the Soviet Union. Finally, I shall discuss the manner in which international cooperation is beginning to develop. In doing this I shall borrow liberally from reports and papers presented at international

meetings which have been held in the last several months.

Interest of Man in Outer Space

The interest of man in outer space began long ago among uncivilized peoples to whom the face of the sky was clock and almanac; the celestial bodies, objects of worship. Exploration was at first by visual observation, later aided by armillary spheres and quadrants, and still later by more precise measuring instruments, telescopes, and spectroscopes. The information obtained was that borne by the light that was transmitted from the distant celestial object through the atmosphere to the observing instrument on the ground. In recent years the light waves have been supplemented by radio waves as carriers of information from the stars and planets.

Men of many nations have contributed through the centuries to the exploration of space by the methods of astronomy. The history of advances in astronomical knowledge and technique includes the records of Chinese, Babylonians, Greeks, Arabians, and of nearly every nation of the modern world. International cooperation was early recognized as essential and beneficial; the countless number of the stars and the vastness of space present mankind with a truly global task.

The picture of the universe obtained by the astronomers early stirred the imagination of men to speculate about the existence of life elsewhere in the universe, about means of communication with distant stars, and, in the last centuries, about the possibility of the travel of man to the moon and planets. Some sought to apply the science and engineering of their day to describe the

¹Address made before the World Affairs Council at Pasadena, Calif., on Dec. 7. For statements made in the U.N. General Assembly by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge regarding the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, see p. 61.

vehicles to be used. For example, Jules Verne published in 1865 in *From the Earth to the Moon* a description of a gun-launched projectile carrying passengers to orbit the moon. Today we have taken the first steps to bring this inspired vision to reality. The exploration of space by unmanned vehicles carrying scientific apparatus began on October 4, 1957; exploration by man will follow in due course.

Now that date—October 4, 1957—did something more than mark the successful launching of a satellite into an orbit around the earth by the Soviet Union. It brought this Nation to its feet in a sort of bewilderment. How had this come about? Our leadership in science and technology, our genius for applying new knowledge gained through research to the solution of the problems of mankind—these were being challenged, and in a most dramatic way. Initial reactions of skepticism began to give way to a sober realization that space research was more than a scientific activity. In the hands of a determined and able competitor, it was a mighty instrument for propaganda and a symbol of international prestige.

Establishment of NASA

In mid-1958 the National Aeronautics and Space Act² was signed into law and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration was established. The act begins with a declaration of policy and purpose which reads thusly:

The Congress hereby declares that it is the policy of the United States that activities in space should be devoted to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind.

It also declares that,

The aeronautical and space activities of the United States shall be conducted so as to contribute materially to (among other objectives) cooperation by the United States with other nations and groups of nations in work done pursuant to this Act and in the peaceful application of the results thereof.

I think I will not take the time tonight to describe the growth of NASA to you. We do have in operation several large research centers, three of which are located in California. One of these is well known to this audience—the Jet Propulsion Laboratory operated by Cal Tech under contract to NASA. The Congress being willing, we will add to our research center roster

² Public Law 85-568.

in mid-March the Huntsville, Alabama, group under the direction of Dr. Werner von Braun. By June 30, 1960, we will employ more than 15,000 people in the Government-operated centers alone. The Propulsion Laboratory complement of able people adds another 2,400 to that total. Our budget last year totaled \$335 million, and this year the Congress appropriated \$501 million for our use. We are in the middle of budgetary discussions for the 1961 fiscal year, and I can say only that our resources for the next fiscal year will be larger by a significant amount.

U.S. Space Activity Objectives

Now as to our program—and here I must compress a 2-hour discussion into a 5-minute summary—let me say that it includes research in most of the areas of the physical sciences and in certain of the areas of the life sciences. One of the principal objectives of current space activity is the study of the space environment by the undertaking of scientific experiments using sounding rockets, manmade earth satellites, manmade planets, and deep-space probes. In the United States we have used the term “space science” as a shorthand expression for experiments in physics, chemistry, bioscience, astronomy, astrophysics, and geophysics. All of these space-science experiments will employ instruments transported into the upper atmosphere and outer space.

The NASA objectives include the investigation of the uses of earth satellites to perform more efficiently and effectively some tasks which are now carried out by the other means and to perform other tasks which cannot be done at all with present means. The applications which seem most promising at present are those directed toward weather observation, analysis, and forecasting on a global scale; the improvement of long-distance radio communication; the study of the size and shape of the earth and of the distribution of land masses and water; and all-weather global navigation. It is believed that such applications brought to successful fruition will improve the well-being of mankind everywhere.

NASA program objectives, presumably like those of other countries, include, too, the orderly development of means for the manned exploration of space. En route to the long-range objective of manned exploration of the solar system are the

temporary ballistic flights of man into space and return (already accomplished with animals); manned flight for one or a few circuits in the simplest vehicle in an orbit well below the level of the Great Radiation Belt; manned flight in advanced maneuverable vehicles, in larger satellites carrying several men, in permanent manned orbiting space laboratories; manned flight to the vicinity of the moon and return to earth; and manned landing on the moon and return.

NASA's present project in this field, Project Mercury, has been repeatedly described in the international public and technical press. Its successful completion requires the cooperation of several countries in permitting the installation and assisting in the operation of portable tracking radars, communication stations, and telemetry receiving stations at suitable points along the intended course. Negotiations currently under way promise that this cooperation will be forthcoming generously.

Even the first steps in the manned exploration of space are very expensive, as may be inferred from the presently estimated cost of Project Mercury of \$250 million or more. The resources required for the advanced missions I have mentioned may well demand a worldwide collaboration. Thus this activity may serve to give a true measure of man's response to the challenge to discover and explore the new frontier of our day.

Rocket and Vehicle Development

In order that the programs just discussed can be carried out at an ever-increasing level of complexity and scientific significance, it has been obvious that launching vehicles and space propulsion systems must be provided. An early task of NASA, then, was the planning of a program of rocket and vehicle development in cooperation with the Department of Defense. Such a program must provide for the flying of all the desired missions with a minimum number of new rockets and new vehicles. As in other countries, our present launching vehicles are assembled from rockets developed in the ballistic missile program and available smaller rockets. For the increased thrust that we so much require for future missions, two new developments have been started in the United States. The first of these is being developed by Dr. von Braun and his people—the Saturn vehicle—a cluster of eight existing rocket

engines to give a capability of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds of thrust. The second is a single-chamber rocket engine of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds' thrust under development by the Rocketdyne Division of North American Aviation. It is expected that this engine can be clustered to give 6 million pounds' thrust or more.

In addition to these first-stage booster rockets, several upper-stage rockets are under development, including some using high-energy fuels. In addition nuclear rockets are under development by the AEC [Atomic Energy Commission] and NASA along with the general application of nuclear energy for auxiliary power in space vehicles.

Of particular interest to other countries may be the launching-vehicle system under development by NASA and known as the Scout. This is a four-stage, solid-propellant, satellite-launching vehicle that will carry 150 to 200 pounds into an orbit 300 miles above the earth's surface. It will be more economical than existing vehicles; hopefully it will cost no more than \$600,000 per firing. We expect to use this vehicle, if its development is a success, in early international cooperative programs.

Now there is no point in launching a satellite or an experiment toward the moon or the planets if we have no means of tracking the space experiment and acquiring from it the information collected by the various sensors carried aloft. Thus we have had to build a network of tracking and data acquisition stations that today covers most of the globe. Fortunately we inherited some stations from the activities carried on under the International Geophysical Year program and thus were able to launch a good many useful experiments during the past year without waiting for the construction of the stations necessary to complete the network.

The Russian Program

Now, what of the Russian program? I suspect that most of you know more about it than you do of our own. From information given us by a variety of sources—some of them Russian—it appears that they have assigned their top scientists and engineers to this new field. They possess rockets that are estimated to be twice as powerful as our largest—the Atlas intercontinental ballistic missile. They have launched three successful satellites and three deep-space probes. One of

these now orbits the sun, another landed on the moon, and the third photographed the far side of the moon as it went into an orbit that initially linked the moon and the earth. Nothing has been said by the Russians about their failures, whereas our failures, as well as our successes, are prominently displayed for all the world to see. But it does seem that their space-vehicle system is highly reliable, suggesting that they have fired it much more frequently than any of the variety of systems we have been forced to use thus far.

As to scientific results to date, it is the opinion of knowledgeable scientists that we have done as well or better than the Russians. They have been able to couple spectacular technological accomplishments with useful scientific experiments, whereas our more modest technological efforts—because of our lack of reliable launching vehicles of high thrust—have turned up really significant amounts of new and important scientific information.

More important to the Soviet Union than their scientific achievements, however, has been the fact that they have been successful in making their spectacular space accomplishments appear to many nations as a valid measure of their sophistication in all branches of science and technology. More recently they have been active and successful in creating the impression that their achievements in space research and exploration are a valid measure of the strength of their Communist system as compared to our democratic way of life. All in all, the Soviet Union has made and is making hay while the sun shines on their satellites and lunar probes.

International Cooperation

Now let me turn to the matter of international cooperation as we see it today. You will recall my reading that section of the space act governing our activities that encourages us to develop programs of international cooperation. An Office of International Programs was established by NASA in November 1958. Exploratory talks were conducted with the scientists of other nations, and a pattern for cooperation was established with the blessing of the scientific community. We are now quite completely occupied with discussions with a dozen groups from as many countries interested in associating themselves with the United States program.

It might be well for me to describe to you some of the activities which may form the basis for international cooperation and which arise from the global nature of research in space. The desirable types of activity, it seems to me, are exchanges of scientific and technical information and data, exchanges of scientists, coordinated programs of observation and experimentation, and cooperative programs of space exploration.

Exchange of information in its usual form consists of the exchange of publications and the holding of international scientific meetings. In the space activities initiated during the IGY it was found desirable to exchange information on the planning of experiments, to give prompt notice of launchings, early information on orbits, and such other data as would permit participation of others in observations of scientific value. It is the desire of the United States to progress toward the complete reestablishment of these procedures.

It has been remarked earlier that space science is not a new scientific discipline but comprises the use of new tools of experimentation by trained scientists in physics, geophysics, astronomy, and similar established fields. The exchange of scientists between countries permits a more rapid transfer of the new techniques than can be accomplished by publications or presentation of papers. NASA has established a few fellowships available to scientists of other countries and has provided research opportunities to a few guest scientists. Exchange of scientists in addition to providing training in new techniques may also be used for substantive participation of senior scientists in cooperative programs.

It is obviously desirable that national programs in the space field be coordinated to avoid undesired duplication and to provide the enhanced increase in knowledge that comes from coordinated efforts. This coordination was well done under CSAGI [Comité spécial de l'année géophysique internationale], the nongovernmental international committee for the IGY,² and we look forward to the early establishment on a more permanent basis of the Committee on Space Research to continue coordination of basic scientific research in the space field. There is need for coordination in program planning and in the execution of cer-

² For an article on "The International Geophysical Year in Retrospect" by Wallace W. Atwood, Jr., see BULLETIN of May 11, 1959, p. 682.

tain programs. Activities in the tracking of satellites and in the reception of telemetered data, in research on the upper atmosphere and ionosphere by means of sounding rockets launched simultaneously in various parts of the world, in investigation of the ionosphere by observation of radio signals from satellites, and in laboratory and theoretical research in areas supporting space activities are examples of program areas in which international coordination would be most productive.

Joint Exploration of Space

The ultimate step in international cooperation is joint participation in a single program, with participation of scientists of two or more countries in the design of experiments and in the preparation of payloads for rockets, satellites, and space probes. As I have said, discussions are under way between NASA scientists and their colleagues from other countries with the view of beginning activities of this type.

As a matter of fact, the international character of cooperative space activities in which we are engaged is already broad. Our radio and optical tracking network is composed of stations located in, and often operated by scientists and technicians of, Argentina, Australia, Chile, Ecuador, India, Iran, Peru, Spain, and South Africa. Other cooperating stations are situated in England, West Germany, and Japan. The new Project Mercury tracking stations will expand this list to include additional countries to the south and in Africa, along the planned orbit of the manned capsule.

Beyond this, tentative arrangements for substantial programs of joint exploration of our spatial environment have already been made with the United Kingdom and Canada. Additional cooperative programs have been proposed by a number of Pacific and European national space committees. These are substantive proposals, in which each nation will make its own scientific and technical contribution in a truly joint effort toward mutually agreed objectives. The preparation and execution of these programs will not be accomplished in a few weeks or even months, but the achievement of their objectives, with the attendant scientific interchange, will enrich all.

As an evidence of our interest in international cooperation, we would be most happy to offer the services of our tracking network in support of

the scientists of the Soviet Union when and if that nation undertakes a manned space-flight program. Data could be acquired and transmitted in its raw state to the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. A precedent for this sort of thing has been established in the IGY operation when the United States supplied to the Soviet scientists, as of July 1959, some 46 tape recordings of Sputnik I, II, and III. Should special recording or data read-out equipment be required, I am sure that we would be happy to provide them or to utilize equipment furnished by the Soviet scientists. In such a cooperative venture we could help them to keep in continuous or essentially continuous contact with their astronaut.

Efforts Toward Common Understanding

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been my lot to be associated with exciting new ventures throughout most of my life. As I look back over the years, it seems that I have been happiest and have worked most diligently when the activity in which I was engaged had a vital role to play in the affairs of men. Thus my association with the Atomic Energy Commission was important to me because I was convinced, early in that association, that our nuclear weapons strength was the one most powerful deterrent to the initiation of a shooting war by another great power. Now I find myself in this exciting, difficult, and important field of space research. To me, one of its greatest appeals is the opportunity it offers for the development of a sound program of international cooperation in the science and technology necessary to the exploration of outer space.

After all, science is truly an international language. And space is an all-pervasive arena with plenty of challenge for anyone who possesses the curiosity and energy to attempt the solution of its mysteries.

To explore space to gain knowledge of the physical universe in which man lives; to explore space as a demonstration of his mastery of advanced technology; to open space to his own travel to satisfy his desire to see and experience for himself; to explore applications of space technology to improve worldwide communications and weather forecasting—all of these aims reflect as in a mirror the desires of men everywhere.

Out of the efforts of the dedicated and inspired men of all nations may yet come that common

understanding and mutual trust that will break the lockstep of suspicion and distrust that divides the world into separate camps today. Whatever the outcome, we cannot fail to make the effort.

U.S. Welcomes Bankers' Study Trip to India and Pakistan

STATEMENT BY ACTING SECRETARY DILLON

Press release 867 dated December 19

I was delighted to hear the announcement today [December 19] by Mr. Eugene R. Black, President of the World Bank, that Mr. Hermann J. Abs of Germany, Sir Oliver Franks of the United Kingdom, and Mr. Joseph M. Dodge of the United States had accepted his suggestion that they join in paying a visit to India and Pakistan early next year to become acquainted with the economic conditions and programs there. The United States Government greatly welcomes this initiative. The idea of employing visits such as this to achieve broader understanding in the West of the economic position and problems of India and Pakistan was contained in a resolution approved by the United States Senate on September 10, last, which was sponsored by Senators John F. Kennedy and John Sherman Cooper.¹ Similar resolutions were sponsored in the House of Representatives by Chester Bowles, James G. Fulton, and Chester E. Mellow. I am sure that the viewpoints Mr. Dodge will hear and the insight he will derive from his trip will make an important contribution to discussions in this country regarding the problems of India and Pakistan.

JOINT STATEMENT BY SENATORS KENNEDY AND COOPER²

We are delighted by the initiative taken by the World Bank to carry through the concept of the Senate Resolution, which calls for a study by powerful western countries of the economic problems and needs of India and Pakistan.

Higher living standards and economic growth of

under-developed countries are in the best interest of the United States, but are also necessary for the growth of democratic values in the World.

This assistance cannot be provided wholly by the United States, and should be a joint venture by all industrialized free countries.

We hope this Mission may provide a pattern for other countries seeking economic growth.

WORLD BANK ANNOUNCEMENT

Eugene R. Black, President of the World Bank, announced on December 19 that he had suggested to Sir Oliver Franks, chairman of Lloyds Bank Ltd. of London, England, Dr. Hermann Abs, chairman of the Deutsche Bank of Frankfurt, Germany, and Joseph M. Dodge, chairman of the Detroit Bank and Trust Co. of Detroit, Mich., that they visit India and Pakistan to study economic conditions there and to acquaint themselves with the current and planned development programs in the two countries. Mr. Black said that he was convinced of the need for wider understanding in the industrially developed countries of the problems confronting the less developed areas of the world and expressed the belief that visits such as this by prominent members of the business and financial communities of the industrial countries could make an important contribution to that end. Sir Oliver Franks, Dr. Abs, and Mr. Dodge have accepted Mr. Black's suggestion and are planning to make the trip during next February and March.

Mr. Black's suggestion was made after consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan, who have welcomed the idea and will give the members of the group every opportunity to learn about the major issues involved in the economic development of their countries. The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany have also been kept fully informed.

¹ Senators Kennedy and Cooper coauthored S. Con. Res. 11, To Invite Friendly and Democratic Nations To Consult With Countries of South Asia.

² Released simultaneously with World Bank announcement of Dec. 19.

U.N. Sets Up New Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space; Decides To Convene International Scientific Conference

Following is a statement made in Committee I (Political and Security) on December 10 by Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, together with the text of a resolution adopted in plenary session on December 12.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR LODGE

U.S. delegation press release 3345

Two years ago the first manmade earth satellite was placed in orbit. A succession of satellites has followed. These have advanced man's scientific knowledge and demonstrated new techniques for communications and meteorology. Some space probes have escaped beyond orbits around the earth. Notably, the Soviet Union has reached the moon, and some probes have coursed far beyond. Animals have penetrated outer space as passengers aboard space vehicles and returned safely; man will doubtless follow soon.

The events of the past 2 years are starting to make clear the promise and the problems confronting man as he ventures into outer space. These beginnings challenge man's political and technological inventiveness. It is a prime task of governments and of the United Nations to see to it that political progress keeps pace with scientific change. Unless this is done the world runs the serious risk of relying on political institutions and arrangements that are outmoded and inadequate.

The Rationale of International Cooperation

In surveying what has happened so far in man's activities relating to outer space and in planning for the future we ought to inquire very candidly into the reasons for international cooperation in outer space and into the purposes which the United

Nations can serve in this connection. I believe there are several important reasons and purposes for cooperation through the United Nations.

First, outer space is not the concern of one nation or of only a few. It is of interest to all. Fairness demands that there be an equitable sharing of benefits that may be derived from all operations in this new realm and of the burdens in carrying them on as well. Outer space cannot be anyone's private preserve. The idea of partnership in outer space has secured acceptance by member states of the United Nations, without regard to their differing social and political philosophies. United Nations discussion during the last 2 years has emphasized the principle of openness and availability of outer space. International cooperation through the United Nations is surely an appropriate means for putting this principle into practice.

Secondly, cooperation among countries will inevitably be necessary for accomplishing many desirable projects in outer space. For example, if such projects require worldwide tracking or telemetering equipment or launching sites in certain geographical locations, or if their cost is too high for any one nation to bear, they will be literally impossible without international cooperation. For still other space activities, such as radio and television satellites, even though international cooperation may not be absolutely necessary, it will be required for maximum efficiency and usefulness. In general, joint enterprises in outer space will prove more effective than the efforts of any single nation, since each nation can contribute what it has in abundance or does best at any given time. Already other countries have their contributions to make and will develop greater capabilities in the future. If the knowledge of the more advanced nations is diffused, the abilities of all nations can

be developed more quickly and brought into play. Through organized international cooperation the contributions and capabilities of each country can be made most effective.

There is a very practical reason for international cooperation in outer space. Without it, the manifold activities being progressively undertaken would begin to conflict and to frustrate each other. For example, the radio spectrum for space communications could become overcrowded and hopelessly confused.

There is still another reason to which we should pay the most serious attention. The cloud of an infinitely devastating nuclear war hangs over all nations. Men have learned how to accomplish worldwide destruction. Will they be able to forbear from aggressive use of force, bringing all-out nuclear war in its train? The United Nations and its machinery were expressly designed to prevent such a catastrophe. Governments continue to seek means for bringing unlimited competition in armaments under control and for instituting effective measures of disarmament. Working together on the challenges of outer space can provide governments with experience in regulating space activities that may prove valuable in the area of disarmament as well.

In sum, international cooperation in the exploration of outer space offers an avenue along which nations may approach mutual understanding and peace. Working *together* on the great challenges of explorations beyond the confines of earth can create a new perspective in which national boundaries and national rivalries recede in importance. Common efforts in the conquest of space can forge a community of interest. Where community of interest is strong enough, there is unity of spirit and harmony in action. A new opportunity now presents itself for the operation of these forces. We should give it generous scope.

Report of the Ad Hoc Committee

The General Assembly now has before it the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space,¹ which was established at the

¹ U.N. doc. A/4141; for a statement by Mr. Lodge on the draft report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, see BULETIN of July 27, 1959, p. 138; for statements by U.S. representatives to the *Ad Hoc* Committee, see *ibid.*, June 15, 1959, p. 883, and June 29, 1959, p. 972.

13th session.² That Committee, under the able chairmanship of Ambassador [Koto] Matsudaira, has done valuable work. The United States fully endorses the Committee's careful and constructive report contained in document A 4111. I should like now to outline some suggestions as to the next steps to be taken by the United Nations in following up the Committee's work.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee, in the conclusions to that part of its report written in response to paragraph 1(b) of Resolution 1348 (XIII), proposed the establishment of a General Assembly committee, composed of representatives of member states, to perform three kinds of functions. These are the following: (1) study of practical and feasible measures for facilitating international cooperation, including those indicated by the *Ad Hoc* Committee in its report under paragraph 1(b) of last year's resolution; (2) consideration of means, as appropriate, for studying and resolving legal problems which may arise in carrying out programs for the exploration of outer space; (3) review, as appropriate, of the subject matter entrusted by the Assembly to the *Ad Hoc* Committee in Resolution 1348 (XIII).

Steps To Be Taken by U.N.: The Draft Resolution

Now, Mr. Chairman, today, along with a group of other cooperating states, we have submitted a draft resolution,³ which will soon be on the table, designed to set up a committee. The members of that committee would be: Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., U.K., and U.S. The purpose of this committee would be as follows:

(a) to review, as appropriate, the area of international cooperation and study practical and feasible means for giving effect to programs in the peaceful uses of outer space which could appropriately be undertaken under United Nations auspices; and

(b) to study the nature of legal problems which may arise from exploration of outer space.

As indicated by the *Ad Hoc* Committee in the

² For background and text of resolution, see *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1959, p. 24.

³ U.N. doc. A/C.1/L.247.

concluding paragraph of its report, we think it is clearly appropriate for the specialized agencies of the United Nations to continue to pursue lines of endeavor within their competence in regard to outer-space activities. We think those agencies will naturally wish to include in their reports to the United Nations information on their activities in connection with outer space. It may be that the General Assembly, from time to time, will wish to address requests or recommendations to one or more of these agencies for specific undertakings in the outer-space field.

I should like now to comment briefly on the composition of the proposed United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. Last year, despite earnest efforts, we were not able to reach unanimous agreement in the General Assembly on the membership of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Subsequently, some members of that Committee declined to participate in its deliberations. That was regrettable.

We have sought this year to find a composition which would command agreement on all sides. Through many weeks of patient negotiations the United States has sought this objective. Agreement with the Soviet Union has at length been reached. I hope that the fruits of this agreement will justify the work and the concessions involved in reaching it. The United States delegation trusts that the agreement is a favorable augury for international cooperation through the United Nations.

Promoting International Scientific Cooperation

What substantive activities should the new Committee first consider? Without wishing to attempt a definitive listing of activities, the United States would like to outline its views on steps in two broad areas which were mentioned by the *Ad Hoc* Committee and in which early concentration of effort should prove constructive. The first of these areas is that of international scientific and technical cooperation. The second is that of appropriate regulation of man's activities in outer space.

An International Conference of Scientists

With respect to facilitating international scientific cooperation, no more appropriate initial step could be taken than to review and exchange experience with respect to the outer-space activities

conducted to date. The Soviet Union's proposal that an international conference to this end be held under the auspices of the United Nations offers a promising starting point. The United States has welcomed this proposal⁴ as a sign of the Soviet Union's willingness to share with the rest of the world the data resulting from its achievement in outer space.

An international conference would be in keeping with the emphasis placed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the desirability of openness in the conduct of outer-space activities. The conference would serve as a valuable meeting ground for scientists actively engaged in outer-space activities and others actively interested in the results of these activities. It would usefully supplement exchanges already initiated by the international scientific community, in particular the activities of the Committee on Space Research of the International Council of Scientific Unions, which has for some time been planning a space-science symposium to be held in January 1960.

To be meaningful, of course, such a space conference must go beyond mere repetition of the limited exchanges already had or scheduled within the scientific community. Thus the United States believes that the scope of the proposed conference should include not only space sciences, so well covered by exchanges in scientific forums, but also engineering and technological aspects, propulsion, vehicles, guidance problems, and many other subjects of interest to nations which have not yet begun their own space programs.

The new Committee, then, should, the United States thinks, give early attention to arrangements for convening an international conference of members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies.

Members of this committee will note that the draft resolution submitted by the cosponsoring delegations does not contain any provision specifying who will participate in the scientific conference. That matter of participation is covered in an amendment⁵ which will be submitted by the delegation of Belgium. That amendment would insert, at the appropriate place, the words: "of

⁴ For a statement by Mr. Lodge, see BULLETIN of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 651.

⁵ U.N. doc. A/C.1/L.248. The amendment was approved in Committee I on Dec. 12.

interested Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies." The amended paragraph would read as follows:

Decides to convene in 1960 or 1961, under the auspices of the United Nations, an international scientific conference of interested Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies for the exchange of experience in the peaceful uses of outer space.

The United States supports this amendment, and we trust this Committee will incorporate it in the resolution by a decisive majority, in accordance with the United Nations precedents on the calling of international conferences. This is the language which is, one might say, standard practice.

There are other possibilities for international scientific cooperation which can profitably be explored by the new United Nations Committee.

World Data Centers

The establishment and operation of world data centers during the International Geophysical Year gave organization and unity to the scientific world in its quest for knowledge about the universe. This development constituted an important political phenomenon. The world data centers have continued to process and disseminate information obtained from space activities since the conclusion of the International Geophysical Year. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's report calls attention to the need for extending the number and scope of such centers. We think the new Committee could usefully study this question, consulting with the appropriate mechanisms of the scientific community, and provide recommendations on support of an expanded system for collection and distribution of data. It is to be hoped that participating countries will agree to the prompt and automatic transmission to the world data centers of all scientific information obtained by spacecraft and related data necessary for scientific understanding.

Launchings Under International Auspices

The *Ad Hoc* Committee pointed out that instrumentation of a scientific payload as a cooperative endeavor would provide a means of bringing more deeply into space research and engineering those scientists who would not otherwise have the opportunity of performing experiments in space. Several projects of this type are already under way among the world's scientists, and we believe that it would be fruitful for the new Committee

to give thought to the potentialities of this promising and growing form of cooperation. The United States, for its part, is always prepared to discuss the possibility of making available equipment and facilities for launchings of this character.

Weather and Communications Satellites

The United States would like to see international cooperation in space activities carried beyond the activities of pure research to facilitate the conduct of international programs calling for joint effort in areas of practical application of space science. The value of improved weather forecasting and of the creation of additional and more effective channels for worldwide communication is evident. Another beneficial field of application is navigational satellites. We should like to see a careful international study made of the best plans for adapting these various possibilities of the new sciences to practical application for the benefit of all peoples.

Study of Appropriate International Regulation

The international community should also at this time, we believe, give attention to the consideration of appropriate steps to regulate man's activities in outer space. I do not mean by this to suggest that now is the time to attempt any general codification of space law. As stated in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report, a comprehensive code is neither practicable nor necessary in the present stage of knowledge and development of space activities.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee stated, in paragraph 9 of its report under part 1(d) of the 1958 resolution, that the law has begun to recognize or develop a rule that outer space is, on conditions of equality, freely available for exploration and use by all in accordance with existing or future international law or agreements. The United States supports this view. A concept of freedom of space, however, does not mean that we can overlook the many practical problems arising from the operation of space vehicles which were pointed out by both the scientific and legal experts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Therefore it seems clear that the new Committee should turn its attention to possible practical measures for dealing with practical problems.

Identification of Orbital Objects

We believe that the new United Nations Committee should study means for providing an appropriate system of identification for all objects placed in orbit around the earth. The new Committee could also usefully consider means that might be adopted either for the removal of spent satellites from orbit or at least the termination of their radio transmissions when their usefulness is ended.

Celestial Bodies

Only this autumn an unmanned space probe to the moon was made. It is not too early to start thinking now about the regime which ought to be applied to international relations with respect to celestial bodies. In this regard the United States believes that man's entry into outer space is a concerted undertaking of earth as a whole and that scientific progress should proceed in harmony among the nations.

Other Topics

Our mentioning these selected topics is not to suggest that other legal problems identified in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report should be neglected. Quite the contrary. In some cases, as with the allocation of radio frequencies, it is our hope and expectation that the work of an existing agency—in this case the International Telecommunication Union—will proceed to a satisfactory conclusion. In other cases, as with the problem of liability for injury or damage caused by space vehicles or the problem of reentry and landing of space vehicles, the new United Nations Committee may wish to give early attention to specific procedures or means for starting to cope with these matters.

Relationship to Disarmament

The United States, along with other countries, has long recognized the potential use of outer space for hostile purposes. Nearly 3 years ago we proposed⁶ a study of means to assure the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only. I wish to repeat that the United States remains ready to study the outer-space sector separately and does not insist that it be treated as part of a more inclusive program for disarmament.

We recognize the vital importance of progress in disarmament negotiations. It is for that reason

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1957, p. 225.

that we have undertaken, along with a group of other countries, to enter into renewed discussions in the near future.⁷ Hopeful as we are of reaching significant agreements on disarmament, which can lead in the end to a safer and happier world, we realize from experience that the making and carrying out of effectual agreements to disarm are painstaking and time-consuming. We do not wish to see international cooperation on the peaceful uses of outer space delayed because of this fact.

Conclusion

Mr. Chairman, let me conclude by saying that the nations of the world look into the future, and, as they look into the reaches of space, they confront an unprecedented opportunity. The fate of human activities in space and indeed the fate of the peoples of the earth lie in the hands of the community of nations. The occasion is new. The challenge is unprecedented. Let us rise to the occasion.⁸

TEXT OF RESOLUTION⁹

A

The General Assembly,

Recognizing the common interest of mankind as a whole in furthering the peaceful use of outer space,

Believing that the exploration and use of outer space should be only for the betterment of mankind and to the benefit of States irrespective of the stage of their economic or scientific development,

Desiring to avoid the extension of present national rivalries into this new field,

Recognizing the great importance of international co-operation in the exploration and exploitation of outer space for peaceful purposes,

Noting the continuing programmes of scientific co-operation in the exploration of outer space being undertaken by the international scientific community,

Believing also that the United Nations should promote international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space,

1. *Establishes* a Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, consisting of Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Poland, Romania, Sweden, the Union of

⁷ See p. 45.

⁸ For an address on "Opportunities for International Cooperation in Space Exploration" by T. Keith Glennan, see p. 58.

⁹ U.N. doc. A/RES/1472(XIV) (A/C.1/L.247, as amended); adopted unanimously in plenary session on Dec. 12.

Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, whose members will serve for the years 1960 and 1961, and requests the Committee:

(a) To review, as appropriate, the area of international co-operation, and to study practical and feasible means for giving effect to programmes in the peaceful uses of outer space which could appropriately be undertaken under United Nations auspices, including, *inter alia*:

- (i) Assistance for continuation on a permanent basis of the research on outer space carried on within the framework of the International Geophysical Year;
- (ii) Organization of the mutual exchange and dissemination of information on outer space research;
- (iii) Encouragement of national research programmes for the study of outer space, and the rendering of all possible assistance and help towards their realization;

(b) To study the nature of legal problems which may arise from the exploration of outer space;

2. *Requests* the Committee to submit reports on its activities to the subsequent sessions of the General Assembly.

B

The General Assembly,

Noting with satisfaction the successes of great significance to mankind that have been attained in the exploration of outer space in the form of the recent launching of artificial earth satellites and space rockets,

Attaching great importance to a broad development of international co-operation in peaceful uses of outer space in the interests of the development of science and the improvement of the well-being of peoples,

1. *Decides* to convene in 1960 or 1961, under the auspices of the United Nations, an international scientific conference of interested Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies for the exchange of experience in the peaceful uses of outer space;

2. *Requests* the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, established in resolution A above, in consultation with the Secretary-General and in co-operation with the appropriate specialized agencies, to work out proposals with regard to the convening of such a conference;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in accordance with the conclusions of the Committee, to make the necessary organizational arrangements for holding the conference.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography

General Assembly

Economic Development of Under-developed Countries. Report by the Secretary-General on measures taken by the governments of member states to further the economic development of underdeveloped countries in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1316 (XIII).

Additional replies from governments - Dominican Republic. A/4220/Add.4. December 2, 1959. 3 pp.

Question of the Frontier Between the Trust Territory of Somaliland Under Italian Administration and Ethiopia. Note by the Secretary-General. A/4325. December 3, 1959. 16 pp.

Economic Development of Under-developed Countries: Report of the Economic and Social Council (Chapters II, III, IV and V). Report of the Second Committee. A/4321. December 4, 1959. 65 pp.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960. Report of the Fifth Committee. A/4336. December 4, 1959. 63 pp.

The Korean Question: Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Note verbale dated December 5, 1959, from the Soviet delegation addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4338. December 5, 1959. 7 pp.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Change in Consular District for Islands of Zanzibar Protectorate

Department notice dated December 17

The consular district of Nairobi, Kenya, has been changed to reflect the withdrawal of the island portions of the Zanzibar Protectorate (Zanzibar and Pemba Islands and adjacent islets) from the jurisdiction of the consulate general at Nairobi and their inclusion in the consular district of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, effective November 1, 1959.

Recess Appointments

The President on December 24 appointed John J. Muccio to be Ambassador to Guatemala, vice Lester D. Mallory, resigned. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 875 dated December 24.)

Designations

Lester D. Mallory as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, effective December 21. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Mr. Mallory on his resignation as Ambassador to Guatemala, see White House press release dated October 28.)

Appointments

The President on December 24 appointed Harry R. Turkel to be U.S. Representative on the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States, with the personal rank of ambassador, vice Harold M. Randall. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 874 dated December 24.)

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4314. 5 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany, amending agreement of July 3, 1957. Signed at Washington July 22, 1959. Entered into force September 22, 1959.

Parcel Post. TIAS 4315. 23 pp. 15c.

Agreement and regulations of execution between the United States of America and the United Arab Republic. Signed at Cairo December 30, 1958, and at Washington January 13, 1959. Entered into force October 1, 1959.

Mutual Defense Assistance. TIAS 4316. 2 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and Norway, amending annex C to the agreement of January 27, 1950. Exchange of notes—Dated at Oslo August 31 and September 9, 1959. Entered into force September 9, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4317. 3 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and Belgium, amending agreement of June 15, 1955, as amended. Signed at Washington July 22, 1959. Entered into force September 29, 1959.

United States Educational Foundation in India. TIAS 4318. 1 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and India, amending agreement of February 2, 1950, as amended. Exchange of notes—Dated at New Delhi January 30 and February 6, 1959. Entered into force February 6, 1959.

Passport Visas. TIAS 4319. 5 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and Nicaragua. Exchange of notes. Dated at Managua July 6, September 30, and October 22, 1955. Entered into force October 22, 1955.

Defense—Maintenance of Haines-Fairbanks Pipeline. TIAS 4320. 2 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and Canada, extending agreement of January 16 and 17, 1957. Exchange of notes. Dated at Ottawa August 17 and 20, 1959. Entered into force August 20, 1959. Operative retroactively July 1, 1958.

Conservation of Shrimp. TIAS 4321. 10 pp. 10c.

Convention between the United States of America and Cuba. Signed at Habana August 15, 1958. Entered into force September 4, 1959.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Assurances. TIAS 4322. 2 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and India. Exchange of notes. Signed at New Delhi April 16, and December 14, 1958. Entered into force December 17, 1958.

Foreign Service Personnel—Free-Entry Privileges. TIAS 4323. 5 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and Venezuela. Exchange of notes—Dated at Caracas April 7 and 17, 1959. Entered into force April 17, 1959.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. TIAS 4324. 10 pp. 10c.

Seventh protocol of supplementary concessions to agreement of October 30, 1947. Done at Bonn February 19, 1957. Schedule for Austria entered into force September 1, 1958; schedule for the Federal Republic of Germany entered into force August 21, 1959.

Special Economic Assistance. TIAS 4325. 3 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and Burma. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rangoon June 21, 1959. Entered into force June 24, 1959.

Economic Cooperation. TIAS 4326. 2 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and Burma, amending agreement of March 21, 1957. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rangoon September 12, 1959. Entered into force September 12, 1959.

Commission for Exchange of Students and Professors. TIAS 4327. 11 pp. 10c.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Arab Republic. Signed at Cairo September 28, 1959. Entered into force September 28, 1959.

Surplus Property—Sale in Korea of Excess Military Property. TIAS 4328. 15 pp. 10c.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea. Signed at Seoul October 1, 1959. With memorandum of interpretation and understanding.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4329. 4 pp. 5c.

Agreement between the United States of America and Peru, amending agreement of April 9, 1958, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Lima September 11 and 25, 1959. Entered into force September 25, 1959.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: December 21—27

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to December 21 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 856 and 858 of December 15, 862 of December 16, 864 of December 17, and 867 of December 19.

No.	Date	Subject
866	12 21	Western heads-of government communique.
868	12 21	Educational exchange (Latin America).
869	12 21	Western heads-of government communique.
870	12 22	Office of Political Adviser to High Commissioner of Ryukyu Islands.
871	12 22	North Atlantic Council communique.
872	12 21	U.S.—U.S.S.R. lend-lease negotiations.
873	12 24	Netherlands cases import controls.
874	12 21	Turkey appointed U.S. representative on Inter-American Economic and Social Council (biographic details).
875	12 24	Mexico appointed ambassador to Guatemala (biographic details).

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January 18, 1960

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FIGURE
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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

Vol. XLII, No. 1073 • PUBLICATION 6930

January 18, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

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The Search for Peace With Freedom

*Remarks by President Eisenhower*¹

Fellow Americans, at home and overseas; friends of America; workers for a just peace, wherever you may be in the world, whatever your race or flag or tongue or creed:

Once again I have the privilege of lighting the Pageant of Peace tree on the eve of the Christmas season. This is the season when men and women of all faiths, pausing to listen, gain new heart from the message that filled the heavens over Bethlehem 2,000 years ago—Peace on earth, good will to men.

Every Christmas through the long march of centuries since then, the message has been echoed in the hopes and prayers of humanity.

This Christmas, for me at least, those words have clearer meaning, sharper significance, more urgent counsel.

Last night I came home from a trip that carried me to three continents, Africa and Asia and Europe.² I visited 11 countries, whose populations total a quarter of all mankind.

I wish that every American—certainly every American recognized by his fellows as a leader in any field—and every leader in the countries of the West could see and hear what I have seen and what I have heard. The mutual understanding thereby created could in itself do much to dissolve the issues that plague the world.

My trip was not undertaken as a feature of normal diplomatic procedures. It was not my purpose either to seek specific agreements or to urge new treaty relationships. My purpose was

to improve the climate in which diplomacy might work more successfully—a diplomacy that seeks, as its basic objective, peace with justice for all men.

In the crowds that welcomed my party and me I saw at close hand the faces of millions. Many, indeed most, were poor, weary, worn by toil; but others were young, energetic, eager—the children, as always, bright and excited.

The clothes of a few were as modern as today's Paris and New York; of others, as ancient as the garb of Abraham, often soiled and tattered, although sometimes colorful and romantic to the American eye.

They were Buddhist and Muslim and Hindu and Christian.

But, seeing them massed along country roads and city streets from the eastern shore of the Atlantic to Karachi and Delhi, three things, it seemed to me, united them into one family:

The first, their friendship for America and Americans;

The second, their fervent hope—too long frustrated—for betterment of themselves and of their children;

And third, their deep-seated hunger for peace in freedom.

Key to Betterment of Peoples

Of this last, permit me to speak first. It must come first. The assurance of peace in freedom is the key to betterment of peoples everywhere, and in a just peace friendship between all peoples will flourish.

I assure you that all the people I saw and visited want peace. Nothing in human affairs can be more certain than that.

¹ Made at the ceremonies opening the Christmas Pageant of Peace at Washington, D.C., on Dec. 23 (White House press release).

² For background, see BULLETIN of Dec. 28, 1959, p. 931, and Jan. 11, 1960, p. 46.

I talked with kings and presidents, prime ministers, and humble men and women in cottages and in mud huts. Their common denominator was their faith that America will help lead the way toward a just peace.

They believe that we look and work toward the day when the use of force to achieve political or commercial objectives will disappear, when each country can freely draw on the culture, wisdom, experience of other countries and adapt to its own needs and aspirations what it deems is best and most suitable.

They understand that we look and work toward the day when there can be open and peaceful partnership — communication — interchange of goods and ideas between all peoples, toward the day when each people will make its maximum contribution toward the progress and prosperity of the world.

Such is the world condition which we and all the peoples I visited hope—and pray—to see.

Our concept of the good life for humanity does not require an inevitable conflict between peoples and systems, in which one must triumph over the other. Nor does it offer merely a bare coexistence as a satisfactory state for mankind. After all, an uneasy coexistence could be as barren and sterile, joyless and stale a life for human beings as the coexistence of cellmates in a penitentiary or a labor camp.

Help and Strength for the Cause of Freedom

We believe that history, the record of human living, is a great and broad stream into which should pour the richness and diversity of many cultures, from which emerge ideas and practices, ideals and purposes, valid for all. We believe each people of the human family, even the least in number and the most primitive, can contribute something to a developing world embracing all peoples, enhancing the good of all peoples.

But we recognize—we must recognize—that in the often fierce and even vicious battle for survival—against weather and disease and poverty—some peoples need help. Denied it, they could well become so desperate as to create a world catastrophe.

Now, in the ultimate sense, a nation must achieve for itself, by its heart and by its will, the

standard of living and the strength needed to progress toward peace with justice and freedom. But, where necessary resources and technological skills are lacking, people must be assisted, or all the world will suffer.

In the past America has been generous. Our generosity has been greeted with gratitude and friendship. On my trip many millions cried and shouted their testimony to that fact.

No country I visited is short on the greatest of all resources—people of good heart and stout will. And this is especially true of the young. Almost every country is, however, short on the technical knowledge, the skills, the machines, the techniques—and the money—needed to enable their people fully to exploit the natural resources of their lands.

Of course, money alone cannot bring about this progress. Yet America's own best interests—our own hopes for peace—require that we continue our financial investment and aid and persuade all other free nations to join us, to the limit of their ability, in a long-term program, dependable in its terms and in its duration.

But more importantly—in the spirit of the Christmas season, that there may be peace on earth and good will among men, we must as individuals, as corporations, labor unions, professional societies, as communities, multiply our interest, our concern in these peoples. They are now our warm friends. They will be our stout and strong partners for peace and friendship in freedom—if they are given the right sort of help in the right sort of spirit.

The American Government and our allies provide the defensive strength against aggression that permits men of good will to work together for peace. Such strength is an absolute requirement until controlled and safeguarded disarmament allows its reduction, step by step.

Protected by our defensive strength against violent disruption of our peaceful efforts, we are trying to produce a workable, practical program that will make each succeeding Christmas a little closer in spirit and reality to the message of the first Christmas long ago.

This is not a matter of charity for the poverty-stricken nor of easing our own consciences through doles for the distressed. The help we give to our friends is help and strength for the cause of free-

dom—American freedom, as well as freedom throughout the world.

In giving it, we must be hardheaded but understanding, enlightened in our own interest but sympathetic and generous in the interest of our friends.

Together we should consider all the ways and the forms such help might take. I fervently hope that in this Christmas season each of you who is listening will give thought to what you can do for another human, identical with you in his divine origin and destiny, however distant in miles or poor in worldly estate.

With that hope, with that prayer, I wish you all happiness and peace in this season as I light the Nation's Christmas tree for the Pageant of Peace.

Merry Christmas!

Four Powers Agree on May 16 as Date for Summit Meeting

On December 21 France, the United Kingdom, and the United States proposed to the Soviet Union that an East-West summit meeting begin at Paris on April 27.¹ Following is a subsequent exchange of messages between President Eisenhower and Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO MR. KHRUSHCHEV

White House (Augusta, Ga.) press release dated December 29

DECEMBER 29, 1959

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I note with satisfaction that you have agreed to participate in a Summit meeting of the Four Powers in Paris which Prime Minister Macmillan, President de Gaulle and myself proposed to you. I can well understand the difficulty of arriving at a date commonly acceptable to the four of us.

I have been in touch with Prime Minister Macmillan and President de Gaulle in regard to the alternative dates which you suggest. Unfortu-

¹For text of a letter from President Eisenhower to Soviet Premier Khrushchev, see BULLETIN of Jan. 11, 1960, p. 44.

nately, due to other engagements, both President de Gaulle and I would not find it possible to meet on April 21. I further understand that Prime Minister Macmillan has prior commitments which run from May 3 until mid-May.

Provided that this is acceptable to you, the best arrangement would seem to be for the meeting of the Four Powers to open in Paris on May 16.

I trust, Mr. Chairman, that this will not present any difficulties to you and that we may agree to meet in Paris on that date.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

MESSAGES OF PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

Letter of December 25

Unofficial translation

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have received your letter in which you confirm your readiness to take part in a summit meeting of the Four Powers and communicate the understanding reached on this question between you, Prime Minister Macmillan and President de Gaulle. First of all I wish to express my deep satisfaction that you, Prime Minister Macmillan and President de Gaulle consider it desirable for the discussion of the main international problems from time to time to arrange a meeting at the highest level of the countries taking part in such a meeting.

The Soviet Government can only welcome such a declaration. We have always considered that it is exactly through the personal meetings of statesmen on the highest level that urgent international problems can be resolved in the most effective manner.

The Soviet Government expresses its readiness for conducting the summit meeting in Paris.

Unfortunately the date named for this meeting of April 27, 1960, is not convenient for the Soviet Government. In connection with this, we would like to suggest as a possible date for this meeting the 21st of April or the 4th of May 1960.

The Soviet Government hopes that one of these dates will be acceptable for the Government of the United States of America as well as for the Governments of Great Britain and France and that its proposal will not make any difficulty in the choice of a definitive date for the meeting of the Heads of Government.

I hope, Mr. President, that these considerations will be acceptable to you.

With warm regards,

N. KHRUSHCHEV.

THE KREMLIN, Moscow, December 25, 1959.

Letter of December 30

Unofficial translation

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I received your letter of December 29 in which you express yourself in favor of a summit meeting of the Four Powers in Paris beginning May 16, 1960.

The Soviet Government considers this date acceptable.

It is now possible to note with satisfaction that as a result of the joint consultations among the Governments of the Four Powers final agreement has been reached on the date and place for convening a summit conference.

N. KHRUSHCHEV

THE KREMLIN, Moscow, December 30, 1959.

The Outlook for 1960 in Foreign Affairs

Statement by Secretary Herter

Press release 887 dated December 31

1960 will be an eventful year in the field of foreign affairs. President Eisenhower is considering making more trips to other countries provided his schedule permits.¹ He plans to return the visit of Mr. Khrushchev to this country by traveling to the Soviet Union, probably in June.

We expect to be hosts to a number of distinguished statesmen during the course of the year; in fact, in the first few months Prime Minister Kishi of Japan, President Lleras of Colombia, President de Gaulle of France, and the King of Nepal, among others, will visit us.

Now scheduled for some time in May, there will be an East West summit meeting.

Throughout the year we shall face great challenges. We and our allies will explore with the Soviet Union possibilities for reaching political settlements. We will engage in redoubled efforts to make progress on arms control. We will keep up our programs to assist developing nations to progress in freedom.

In the midst of all this activity it is important for us all, as Americans, to bear two things in mind:

First, despite a new atmosphere of hopefulness for the solution of world problems, there has, in fact, been no real change in Communist inten-

¹For texts of addresses, statements, and joint communique from President Eisenhower's 11 nation trip, Dec. 3-22, 1959, see BULLETIN of Dec. 28, 1959, p. 1631, and Jan. 11, 1960, p. 16.

tions. So far, deeds have not followed upon peaceful words. Thus, though willing and ever ready to negotiate, we must not let down our guard. More than ever, in a period of some hope, it is essential to maintain our defenses. Also, if we are to arrive at solutions to world problems, we must realize that these do not come easily—they may well take generations to accomplish.

Secondly, we must go forward from the experience of the President's recent trip which has headlined through the world the concern of the United States for peace and friendship in freedom. This principle is now recognized by hundreds of millions of people. Our task in 1960 and the years ahead is to help convert this principle from an expression of anxious hope into a statement of actual fact.

In all our foreign relations we will try to carry out America's role of responsibility to the free world. We will try to demonstrate America's dedication to the cause of individual dignity and freedom.

U.S. States Position on Atom Ban, Refutes Soviet Statement

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

White House (Augusta, Ga.) press release dated December 29

The negotiations with respect to the cessation of nuclear testing have now been in progress for 14 months. While now recessed, they will soon be resumed. No satisfactory agreement is yet in sight. The prospects for such an agreement have been injured by the recent unwillingness on the part of the politically guided Soviet experts to give serious scientific consideration to the effectiveness of seismic techniques for the detection of underground nuclear explosions. Indeed the atmosphere of the talks has been clouded by the intemperate and technically unsupportable Soviet annex to the report of the technical experts. The distinguished American group of scientists who composed the United States delegation will make public from the verbatim records of the conference the facts which will completely refute this Soviet document.

We will resume negotiations in a continuing spirit of seeking to reach a safeguarded agree-

ment. In the meantime, the voluntary moratorium on testing will expire on December 31.¹

Although we consider ourselves free to resume nuclear weapons testing, we shall not resume nuclear weapons tests without announcing our intention in advance of any resumption. During the period of voluntary suspension of nuclear weapons tests the United States will continue its active program of weapon research, development and laboratory-type experimentation.

REPLY TO STATEMENT BY SOVIET EXPERTS

Press release 884 dated December 29

Department Announcement

Technical Working Group 2, which examined problems relating to detection and identification of seismic events, concluded its work on December 18 and reported to the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests on December 19. Annex II of the Working Group report² is a "Statement by the Soviet Experts." This intemperate and technically unsupportable Soviet annex, immediately after it was read to the conference, was refuted by Dr. James B. Fisk, chairman of the U.S. technical group. The text of Dr. Fisk's statement of December 19 is attached.

Excerpt from Verbatim GEN/DNT/PV. 150 (December 19, 1959)

Mr. FISK (*United States of America*): I had hoped that we would not be called upon today to re-argue our cases, particularly since I understand that the annexes to the report which we have submitted to you today are to be published, and particularly also because these questions have been so thoroughly covered in the verbatim records.

However, since Dr. [E. K.] Federov has read his incorrect, distorted and misleading statement, I feel that the record would be lopsided if I did not make a few moderate comments on behalf of the United States delegation.

Mr. Federov has referred to a large number of very highly technical and complicated matters. I do not propose to comment on all of them, for the reasons that I have cited. There are, however, a few which deserve comment at this time.

Mr. Federov has returned once again to the argument which he has used persistently throughout our meetings—

namely, the argument that the new data based on the Hardtack experiments are invalid because they in effect do not represent a test of the system recommended by the Geneva Conference of Experts. I should like to observe that that assertion is irrelevant. I would, furthermore, observe that the instruments which were used in the Hardtack experiments have been conclusively shown, in the course of the meetings of the Technical Working Group, to be superior to those which we understand were recommended by the Conference of Experts.³ Mr. Federov challenges us because not every one of the total number of seismographs used in the Hardtack experiments was used in every experiment. This has no essential bearing on the results. I would simply observe that sixteen seismographs, well calibrated and well placed, for any one of these underground explosions, are a rather unusually large number and the data from them are good, relevant and complete.

Mr. Federov charges us with changing the source data as a matter of whim. I should like to remind him that the source data are the seismograms themselves. Many of them have been available to the Soviet delegation for a number of months. In the first few meetings of the Technical Working Group, 250 were made available to the Soviet delegation. Those are the source data. If the Soviet scientists are willing to do their own homework, they have available every bit of data that we have laboured on for so long.

Mr. Federov says that we introduced new data at the nineteenth meeting of the Working Group. That is an absurd statement. I should like to observe that it was only at last, at that nineteenth meeting, that we could even bring Mr. Federov to discuss on a technical basis the very important question of first motion. Furthermore, what he calls new data were obtained by measuring the very seismograms that had been made available to the Soviet delegation earlier.

I should now like to make some remarks about the final report of the United States delegation concerning the work of the Technical Working Group.

In accordance with the Group's terms of reference, the United States delegation bases its report on all scientifically valid conclusions concerning the detection and identification of nuclear events based on new studies and data, whether such conclusions would lead to improvements of the system or would lead to an assessment which would make the system appear less effective. It is our view that mentioning only the potential improvements in the final conclusions on this subject would mislead the Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests concerning the present technical status of the possible control system.

One of the important conclusions in the section of our report on new data deals with the so-called first motion problem—that is, the direction in which a seismic needle would swing as a first response to a seismic disturbance. This direction was considered by the Conference of Experts in 1958 to be the primary tool for discriminating

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1959, p. 374.

² Doc. GEN/DNT/TWG. 2/9, released at Geneva Dec. 19, 1959.

³ For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 22, 1958, p. 452, and Jun. 26, 1959, p. 118.

between earthquakes and explosions. The conclusion drawn by the United States delegation, based on new data, is that this method of discrimination is much less effective than had been thought.

A further important conclusion in that section concerns the possibility of concealment of underground nuclear explosions by detonating such explosions in a very large cavity in salt or hard rock. It was shown theoretically that the seismic signal of a given explosion under these conditions could be reduced three hundredfold or more as compared to the signals produced in the Nevada tests. Consequently, explosions could be made to look smaller by this factor and thus be much harder to detect and locate.

Another item of the same section deals with a subject to which Mr. Federov has given such attention—that is, the estimate of the number of earthquakes which would be expected to be detected and located by the system. The conclusion is that the estimates of such a number are very uncertain but that about 15,000 earthquakes per year would be located by the system over the whole world, corresponding to earth movements produced by nuclear explosions of more than one kiloton. For larger explosions, such as 20 kilotons, the number of equivalent earthquakes is about 2,000 world-wide.

All delegations concurred in the section on seismic improvements, and I do not believe that it needs any further comment. However, much work and research must be done to make these new methods effective.

We then have a section on criteria based on objective instrument readings which could be used by the control organization in determining the eligibility of detected and located seismic events for inspection. Agreement was not reached on that section. It is the United States delegation's view that such criteria must be formulated so that a large number of explosions would not be classified as natural earthquakes and that the criteria must be based on well established technical information. Unfortunately, the resulting criteria classify only a small fraction of the seismic events as natural earthquakes, leaving a large number eligible for inspection. It was the Soviet delegation's view that criteria must be specified by the Working Group which would remove a large fraction of the seismic events from eligibility for inspection by identifying them as natural earthquakes. However, it is the United States delegation's view that this is impossible within present technical knowledge. In fact, the criteria proposed by the Soviet delegation would have classified

such events as the recent United States underground nuclear test explosions, which ranged up to 19 kilotons in yield, as natural earthquakes and thus would have made them ineligible for inspection. It is the United States delegation's view that as scientific knowledge progresses more useful criteria can be formulated in the future.

We recognize that there is a great deal of additional seismic information available, as listed in a substantial section of our report, but that information is not sufficiently complete to be formulated into specific criteria. The United States delegation feels that such auxiliary information should be very useful if evaluated in a competent technical manner in connection with a particular seismic event.

The problem of the formulation of criteria is a strictly technical problem. If technical knowledge permits one to identify a large fraction of seismic events as earthquakes, then it is clearly a great advantage to the control system. If technical knowledge does not permit that, then seismic events must remain eligible for inspection. Determination of the means of selecting events to be inspected must be left for further consideration by the main Conference.

Foreign Minister of Spain To Visit United States

Press release 879 dated December 29

The Foreign Minister of Spain, Fernando María Castiella y Maiz, has accepted the invitation of the Secretary of State to make an official visit to Washington from March 22 through March 24, 1960. The Secretary expressed his interest in having the Foreign Minister visit Washington when they met in London on August 31, 1959.¹

During the 3 days he will be in Washington, the Foreign Minister will exchange views with the Secretary of State and other U.S. officials on current aspects of Spanish-United States relations and matters of mutual interest to both countries.

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 21, 1959, p. 404.

Communications Between Peoples, the Challenge of Cultural Diplomacy

by Robert H. Thayer¹

We are on this 29th day of December on the threshold of an exciting new decade, the decade of the sixties. The next 10 years are going to be years of astounding and dramatic changes. The rapid progress being made in all fields of science is bound to affect very deeply the individual as well as the national lives of the peoples of the whole world.

We in the United States have an obligation as individuals and as a nation to assert leadership in seeing that these changes take place in a way that will bring greater fulfillment to life in a world of peace. We must be on the alert not to lose the basic principles of our great heritage in this process of change, and at the same time we must take care not to cling to concepts that have lost their validity.

This is particularly true in the field of international relations, where, I submit, new concepts are needed if we are to succeed in establishing and maintaining with the people of the rest of the world the mutual understanding necessary to prevent a war that could destroy civilization. These new concepts include what I have termed "cultural diplomacy," as distinguished from the military, political, and economic diplomacy of the decades behind us; and cultural diplomacy, if it is to be effective, requires close association between the government and the academic community. I have, therefore, a profound sense of professional comradeship with all of you here today, for we have much in common in our respec-

tive fields of education and foreign affairs, and there is an urgent need today for us to draw closer together.

The key word that links both our worlds is "communication." As teachers of speech and the dramatic arts, you are dealing with communication in its most dynamic form—the form that throughout history has provided man with one of the most effective outlets for his social consciousness. As the head of the State Department's Bureau of International Cultural Relations, I am concerned with communication between peoples—the masses of people who collectively form nations with distinctive languages, histories, social and economic developments, and cultural patterns.

Once communications are established, whether across footlights or from the rostrum or across continents, you and I have the same primary objective—the achievement of a basic understanding of the emotions, aspirations, problems, and cultural heritage of people, whether they be hundreds of millions of Asians seeking social and economic justice or a group of playwrights or speakers pleading for the same cause.

Broadening of International Horizons

International cultural relations have come to the forefront during the past decade in the form of a challenge to our ability to communicate as a nation. I would like to talk to you about this rapidly expanding field of communications today and show you how the Government and the universities can cooperate to work for the national interest in the decade to come.

About 30 years ago the governments of the world, especially ours, paid little attention to international cultural relations, an area of human endeavor properly left to the scholars, artists, and

¹ Address made before a joint meeting of the American Educational Theater Association and the Speech Association of America at Washington, D.C., on Dec. 29 (press release 880). Mr. Thayer is Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for the Coordination of International Educational and Cultural Relations.

peripatetic concert soloists. Since then—especially since the outbreak of the Second World War—governments have come to appreciate international cultural activities as important factors in the overall conduct of foreign affairs. Why have sovereign states broadened their international horizons beyond their traditional political, economic, and military fields of activity? There are three primary reasons, all of which are closely linked.

First, the power of the people to influence official policy has grown in all parts of the world. The masses, whether at the ballot box or at the barricades, are making their voices heard and their desires understood.

Second, the technical means of international communication have developed in phenomenal fashion. The airplane, the radio, the cinema, the low-priced book—all of these have made it possible for the people of one country to reach the people of other countries swiftly and in depth.

Third, world events have made sovereign nations politically, economically, and militarily interdependent. The hiatus between domestic and foreign policy has almost disappeared. Independent countries—the powerful and the weak, the large and the small, the developed and underdeveloped—must adjust themselves to unprecedented and complex interrelationships.

Thus, with the masses taking their place in the sun and with sovereign states finding it impossible to stand alone, communications between peoples—cultural relations—have come to mean many important things to many governments.

What do they mean to your Government? For the United States, the challenge to our ability to communicate as a nation of 180 million people is part and parcel of our struggle to achieve a lasting peace with social justice and dignity for the individual. We are a nation with a message to convey and assistance to give to the peoples who desire a greater share of the world's economic and social wealth. Cultural relations, properly focused and conducted, can help us to convey our message and give our assistance in a manner that is clearly understood, both as to motivation and objectives. Cultural relations can also help us to understand the cultural accomplishments of other peoples, so that our world leadership may be exercised with compassion and respect for foreign values and aspirations.

Unfortunately cultural relations can be used to promote international villainy as well as understanding. The radio that carries the voice of friendship can also carry the voice that harps on national fears, evokes ancient prejudices, and inflames smoldering passions. Cheaply printed books can carry lies as well as the truth. The cinema can convey political dogma as well as artistic achievement.

Therein lies the challenge to this Nation's ability to communicate with the other peoples of the world. The message we have is dynamic, but the barriers we have to breach are formidable. The Government is active in the field of international cultural relations as a partner with the American people in the fulfillment of a task that is vital to our national welfare—the development between peoples of an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect, within which sovereign states may resolve their differences without resorting to force. From a long-range point of view I can think of nothing more important to our national well-being than cultural diplomacy.

Let me review for you briefly the latest developments in the field of Government-sponsored international cultural activities.

Within the Department of State, the Bureau of International Cultural Relations was established last summer to provide high-level policy direction to the established cultural exchange programs. These include the well-known International Educational Exchange Program, which provides for the exchange of approximately 6,500 students, professors, teachers, leaders, and specialists between the United States and more than 100 other countries each year; the President's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations, which assists groups of American performing artists and athletes to appear in other countries of the world; the special cultural, technical, and educational exchange program with the Soviet-bloc countries of Eastern Europe; and the carrying out of the United States share in the important work of UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization].

The American Educational Theater Abroad

Here I would like to inject a note of commendation to those of you who have participated in our exchange program as lecturers in the fields of drama and the theater arts at foreign universities.

Among others, some of your colleagues who did outstanding jobs abroad last year include Dr. Frank A. McMullan of Yale University, who made many friends for the United States among the intellectual elite of Chile; Dr. Francis C. Strickland of Stanford University, who was very well liked in Finland; and Dr. Fanin S. Belcher of West Virginia State College, who taught drama to enthusiastic Iranian students at the University of Tehran, despite the frustrations of primitive working conditions.

All of these people proved that courses in the theater arts involve a great deal more rapport between the professor and both his students and his host community than courses in other subjects. This is a very important factor in the achievement of real exchanges of views between our grantees and the people they meet abroad. The professor of drama who directs his students in the production of a play is in an excellent position to represent his own country and culture in depth. I would like to see more of you apply for grants to lecture abroad under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programs.

Just one warning, however. Those of you who do go abroad are in for a lot of surprises. The educational theater abroad is not the same as in the United States. In Santiago, Chile, Dr. Frank McMullan found that the theaters of the University of Chile and the Catholic University are affiliated with those schools in name only. In effect, they are highly professional repertory theaters comparable to the Comédie Française in Paris and the Old Vic in London. Professor McMullan's productions of *Look Homeward*, *Angel* and *The Taming of the Shrew* were extremely well received. His biweekly lectures on acting and directing were attended by authors, composers, poets, and painters in addition to the regular contingent of professors and students from the schools. All of these activities earned him a prize as the "Best Director of 1958" from the Chilean National Association of Theater Critics.

At the same time, on the other side of the world in Iran, Professor Fanin Belcher was directing his students in a production of *Home of the Brave* without blackboard or chalk, in a utility room heated by an inadequate pot-bellied stove, with continuous interruptions from ping-pong players and afternoon tea drinkers.

Both of these gentlemen made outstanding con-

tributions to international understanding in cultural environments far different from the academic life back home.

The differences between the educational theater in the United States and those abroad have been made even more apparent to us in the President's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations. As you know, we have sent several AETA-affiliated university theater groups on foreign tours under this program. These have included the Wayne State University Theater Group that visited India; the Catholic University and University of Minnesota Theaters that toured Latin America; and the Florida A. and M. group that performed in Africa.

These tours were received with genuine warmth and helped to dispel the myth of America's preoccupation with materialistic objectives. Nevertheless, we have found that there is not a clear understanding abroad of the exact status of the amateur versus the professional in the United States. Very often our university theater groups abroad have been judged by the same critical standards used for companies like the Old Vic and the Comédie Française. This factor, added to the problems of limited budgets, makes it difficult for us to plan to use the educational theater abroad on a large scale. We have found, especially in countries where little English is known or spoken, that musical and dance presentations have a broader impact.

Nevertheless I have been particularly struck by the efforts your own organization is making to extend the influence and knowledge of American theater abroad. I understand that university-to-university relationships exist between a number of academic institutions in the United States and abroad. I certainly wish to encourage you to continue and expand this type of activity. It constitutes not only a welcome addition to the limited efforts that our Government can make in telling our cultural story abroad but broadens your community of interest and contributes to your techniques as well.

Despite the financial and other limitations I have already mentioned, I am certain that in the future there will be opportunities for some of your theater groups to travel abroad under the President's Program. Meanwhile we would welcome your advice and counsel concerning the problems that beset us in the export of American theater.

I hope that you will continue to increase your efforts to develop ways and means of your own to tell the story of America's academic theater to the world. The Bureau of International Cultural Relations and I stand ready to help in any way we can.

Coordinating Overseas Cultural Activities

In addition to the supervision and direction of the State Department's cultural exchange programs, I am responsible for coordinating the overseas cultural activities of 15 Government agencies and for serving as a focal point for cooperation between the Government and the many private institutions and organizations active in this field. Since assuming my present position in the State Department, I have not ceased to be amazed at the vast number of organizations and individuals directly concerned with projects that have a pronounced cultural impact abroad.

Within the Government you have the State Department's programs; the programs of the United States Information Agency, including the establishment and maintenance of American libraries abroad; the support of binational centers; the translation and distribution of books, and English-language training courses; the technical cooperation programs of the International Cooperation Administration, under which 8,000 foreign citizens come to the United States each year for training and 3,500 American technicians go abroad to teach skills to the peoples of other countries; the Defense Department's military assistance programs, which have brought more than 9,000 high-ranking military officials to the United States since 1950; the exchanges of publications and other materials between the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and the national libraries and institutions of other countries; the exchanges of research materials on the peaceful uses of atomic energy between our Atomic Energy Commission and corresponding agencies abroad; the International Trade Fairs of the Department of Commerce; and many others.

In the private sector hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of separately sponsored international cultural programs are in existence. All sectors of our society are involved, including universities, business firms, foundations, missionary groups, civic organizations, and service clubs. The programs vary in size and scope from the large-scale

exchange-of-persons projects of the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations to the scholarship programs of Rotary International, the pen-pal exchanges sponsored by the Student Forum on International Relations, and the work-camp activities of the American Friends Service Committee.

All of these programs, both public and private, are contributing to the creation of an image of America abroad. My job is to emphasize this commonly shared factor and to help all of the policymakers and planners focus their programs toward the objective of creating an image that is truthful, mature, and understandable.

How are we working to coordinate Government programs and to achieve cooperation between the Government and private enterprise in this field? As we see it in the Bureau of International Cultural Relations, there are three main goals to be reached.

First, we must gather all the facts and find out what everyone is doing in this field in both the public and private sectors. Once we have our facts, and can keep them current, we must distribute them for the benefit of interested individuals and organizations. Within the bureau we have taken steps to achieve this objective by establishing a clearinghouse that is gathering information and is just beginning to issue reports on American-sponsored international cultural activities on a country-by-country basis.

Second, we hope to set up a single coordinating mechanism which will make it easy for Government agencies and private organizations to exchange ideas and information about what they are doing. Toward this end we are arranging monthly meetings of policy planners representing all Government agencies active in cultural relations in the five main geographic areas of the world: Europe, South America, Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East. Exchanges of information and ideas take place at these meetings, which are followed by area forums to which nongovernmental agencies are invited. We have already gotten our regular meetings on the Far East and Africa under way, and we plan to organize our other regional groups in the near future.

Third, we believe that we have a responsibility for initiating activities to solve some of the broad problems of common concern to all groups active in this field. Last April the Department of State

sponsored a conference on international education at St. John's College in Annapolis. The conference brought together representatives of the universities, the Government, and the great foundations for 2 days of general discussions about the orientation of our overseas programs and the role of the American university in international education.

Need for Basic Appraisal

The delegates to the Annapolis conference generally agreed that there is a need for a philosophy of international cultural relations; that we must mobilize our national educational resources; and that long-range planning is required for international educational programs.

What about the role of the American university in this rapidly changing myriad of world events? The conferees at Annapolis sensed a less than adequate response to the Nation's worldwide responsibilities on the part of our academic circles.

American institutions of higher learning form a nucleus around which most of our international cultural and economic efforts turn at the present time. The International Cooperation Administration has entered into \$77 million worth of contracts with American universities to help carry out a variety of technical assistance projects. About 47,000 foreign students were enrolled at American colleges last year. According to a survey of the Institute of Research on Overseas Programs at Michigan State University, 184 American universities were conducting 382 international programs during the 1957-58 academic year. It goes without saying that the lifeblood of our International Educational Exchange Program is the wholehearted cooperation and participation of the American academic community.

But yet, despite this tremendous burden being carried by our schools, there seems to be a need for a basic appraisal of where we are headed. There are some important questions that still haven't been answered:

Can universities answer the demand from Africa, Asia, and Latin America for increased enrollments of foreign students in view of the pressures of limited budgets and an expanding school population?

Is our educational system properly geared to the development of a citizenry that will be able to fulfill the Nation's international responsibili-

ties with tact and understanding? According to surveys I have seen, 1 percent of our population is serving abroad for military, business, academic, governmental, scientific, and religious purposes. How many of these people are aware of their cultural missions in addition to their primary tasks? Not enough, I'm afraid.

Will our entire population have the world outlook necessary to support a massive effort to assist the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America in their struggle for higher economic and social standards?

These are the questions that should be carefully pondered by the academic world. I feel they deserve consideration with a sense of urgency.

As a result of the excellent rapport established at the Annapolis conference last April, I recommended that a detailed study be made of the relationship of the world of higher learning to our international responsibilities. With the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation there has been established an independent Committee on the University and World Affairs composed of academic, governmental, and foundation leaders. The Committee will issue a report next summer which we hope will serve as an impetus to further cooperative study and action by all interested sectors of our society.

These are some of the developments which we in Government with your help are sponsoring in the building of cultural diplomacy. They are, I believe, an important contribution to the perfection of communications between the people of the United States and the people of the rest of the world.

Three Essential Types of Communication

It seems to me that there are three main types of communication that are absolutely essential to us today. First of all, communication through language—so that people can speak and read and listen and learn from the sound of human lips and the sight of the written word. It is absolutely vital today that every American child learn to speak at least one, if not two, languages other than his own. I hope to get this message across to the teachers of every elementary and secondary school in this country, and I hope that some day part of the regular curriculum of speech education will include the necessity of making speeches in a foreign language as well as our own. In any

event, we must continue an aggressive, dynamic campaign to encourage teaching and the learning of foreign languages in this country.

Then there is communication through the common bond of the arts, the music, the song, and the drama. You are all making a fine and continuous contribution in this field.

Finally, there is communication through personal presence—made easier today through the wonders of modern transportation—communication by confrontation, if you will, when seeing is believing and where peoples learn of each other at first hand by sharing in each other's lives within each other's environment. We in America must rid ourselves of the psychological bloc many of us have about foreigners. We must wake up to the fact that in the sixties our neighbors are not those who live in the next house or the next town or the next State; our neighbors are those who live in Asia and Africa and Europe and Latin America, and we must be ready and willing to greet them and treat them not as foreigners but as close associates in a free world.

Modern transportation will surely bring the farthest corners of the earth within the reasonable reach of every American citizen—and also of every member of the hierarchy of international communism. At the same time the forces of freedom have brought into being new nations and new movements amongst peoples for independence and sovereignty which cannot be denied. International communism is avidly wooing these nations and peoples with every possible form of seductive communication. We of the free world have a very great responsibility and obligation to communicate to these people an understanding of what it means to live in freedom. This responsibility is yours and mine, and carrying it out effectively is a task that will demand the pioneering spirit which has always been America's and which, God willing, will always remain so.

U.S.-Soviet Lend-Lease Talks

The Department of State announced on December 24 (press release 872) that the Soviet Government has agreed to a United States proposal that negotiations on the unsettled Soviet lend-lease account should begin at Washington on January 11, 1960.

Charles E. Bohlen, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, will represent the United States in these negotiations. Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov will represent the Soviet Union.

U.S. Welcomes Additional French Trade Liberalization

Department Statement

Press release 881 dated December 29

The United States welcomes the December 24 announcement that the French Government on January 1, 1960, will remove quantitative restrictions on imports of a wide range of dollar goods. This action, which accords with the GATT objectives of removing discrimination in trade among GATT countries, follows similar steps taken September 26¹ and November 5, 1959. It goes far toward placing U.S. exporters on an equal basis with exporters from other countries in competing in the French market.

As a result of this most recent liberalization move, French consumers will be able to buy many United States goods whose importation has been curtailed by quota restrictions for many years. The products freed of quota limitations include cotton textiles, work clothing, wool and rayon clothing, nylon and other synthetic fabrics, acrylic fibers and thread, tires, photographic color film and paper, washing machines, phonograph records, many chemicals, certain machine tools, wheeled tractors, bourbon whisky, honey, light beers, dried or smoked fish, fatty acids, and numerous other goods. In addition, passenger automobiles and trucks with cylinder capacity of 3 liters and less are freed from import restrictions. Higher powered vehicles had been previously liberalized in September.

The action significantly reduces French discrimination against dollar goods and is an important step toward the United States goal of complete elimination of such trade discrimination. The United States Government hopes that France will continue to make rapid progress in removing remaining restrictions, which include some important agricultural products.

¹ For a Department statement of Oct. 1, see BULLETIN of Oct. 19, 1959, p. 559.

Schedule I Nomenclature Changed in U.S.-Swiss 1936 Trade Pact

BACKGROUND

The Swiss Government has placed into effect a modern tariff schedule, using the Brussels nomenclature, effective January 1, 1960. In this connection the Swiss have adapted the language of the schedule of tariff concessions granted to the United States in 1936 to the language of the new tariff. This adaptation is limited to changes in tariff numbers and descriptions of tariff items but does not involve any changes in rates of duty on tariff concessions given by Switzerland to the United States.

On December 30, 1959, the United States and Switzerland exchanged notes governing the entry into force of the new nomenclature of the Swiss schedule of tariff concessions to the 1936 U.S.-Swiss bilateral trade agreement, as supplemented, still in effect. The new Swiss schedule I to the agreement, authentic in both the English and French languages, was annexed to the Swiss note presented to the United States on December 30, 1959. The Swiss note, including the annexed schedule I, and the United States reply entered into force on January 1, 1960, to coincide with the entry into force of the new Swiss tariff.

U.S. tariff concessions granted to Switzerland under the bilateral agreement are not affected by the exchange of notes, and no new tariff concessions on the part of the United States are involved.¹

TEXT OF U.S. NOTE

DECEMBER 30, 1959

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your note of today's date in which you set forth the understanding of the Government of the Swiss Confederation of conversations which have been held between representatives of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Swiss Confederation with

¹ Copies of the new Swiss schedule may be seen at the field offices of the Department of Commerce, and individual copies may be obtained, as long as the supply lasts, by writing to European Division, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D.C.

respect to the transposition of Schedule I to the existing trade agreement between the United States and the Swiss Confederation, as supplemented, and which reads as follows:

[For text, see Swiss note which follows.]

In reply, I am happy to inform you that the Government of the United States concurs in the understanding as set forth in your note and that your note, including the Schedule I annexed thereto, and this reply shall enter into force on January 1, 1960.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the Secretary of State:

W. T. M. BEALE

His Excellency

HENRY DE TORRENTÉ,

Ambassador of Switzerland.

TEXT OF SWISS NOTE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 30, 1959

SIR: I have the honor to refer to conversations which have been held between representatives of the Government of the Swiss Confederation and the Government of the United States of America with respect to Schedule I to the existing trade agreement between the Swiss Confederation and the United States of America, as supplemented.

It is the understanding of the Government of the Swiss Confederation that, in order to reflect the nomenclature of the revised tariff of the Swiss Confederation, a transposition to the new nomenclature has been made in Schedule I, and that it is mutually agreed that the Schedule I, being equally authentic in the English and French languages, annexed to this note² shall replace Schedule I annexed to the 1936 trade agreement, as supplemented.

I have the honor to propose that the Government of the United States reply in the very near future concurring in the foregoing, and that the exchange of notes shall enter into force on January 1, 1960.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

H. DE TORRENTÉ

The Honorable

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D.C.

² Not printed here.

A Review of the State of the World's Food and Agriculture

TENTH SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION,
ROME, OCTOBER 31-NOVEMBER 20, 1959

by Clarence L. Miller

REPORT ON TENTH SESSION

The 10th session of the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) was held at the Organization's headquarters at Rome, Italy, from October 31 to November 20, 1959. The Conference, which meets biennially, is the governing body of the Organization, and as such it had before it many questions for decision, including approval of the program of work and budget for 1960-61, election of a number of officials and committees, election of new and associate member countries, decisions on several constitutional and administrative matters, and consideration of some special topics. In addition, the Conference provided a forum for reviewing the state of food and agriculture in the world.

This report contains a brief summary of some of the major actions of the Conference in these several categories.

Elections and Appointments

B. R. Sen of India, who had served for 3 years as Director General, was reelected for a further 4 years. Louis Maire of Switzerland was elected Independent Chairman of the FAO Council for 2 years, replacing S. A. Hasnie of Pakistan, who had completed two 2-year terms.

• Mr. Miller is the Assistant Secretary for Marketing and Foreign Agriculture, Department of Agriculture, and was the U.S. Delegate to the FAO Conference.

During 1960 the following 25 countries will occupy seats on the FAO Council: Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, France, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Thailand, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, and United States. In 1961 Australia and Denmark will take up membership in the Council, while New Zealand and Norway will drop out.

Max Myers of the United States served as chairman of Commission I (World Food and Agricultural Situation), and Ralph W. Phillips of the United States was elected *rappporteur* of Commission II (Program of Work and Budget).¹

New Memberships

The Republic of Guinea was elected to membership, bringing the total membership of FAO to 77 countries. Membership was also granted to Cyprus, Nigeria, Somalia, Cameroun, and the Republic of Togo, effective when the trusteeship ends or full independence is reached in each case and when the appropriate instrument of acceptance is submitted. Until they assume full membership they would be granted the status of associate membership as specified in article II, paragraphs 3 and 4, of the constitution. (Cameroun and the Republic of Togo declined this status.) Thus, presumably, by some time in 1960, the membership of FAO will have risen to 82 countries. Associate

¹ For names of other members of the U.S. delegation, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 732.

membership was also granted to the Republic of Chad, the Republic of Gabon, the Malgache Republic, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Republic of Senegal, and the Soudanese Republic.

Program of Work and Budget 1960-61

All segments of the Organization's regular program of work were reviewed, together with related activities carried out under the Expanded Technical Assistance Program (ETAP) and in projects supported by the Special Fund. The program of work includes activities in the following technical and economic fields: (1) land and water development, (2) plant production and protection, (3) animal production and health, (4) fisheries, (5) forestry, (6) nutrition and home economics, (7) rural institutions and services, (8) statistics, (9) commodities, and (10) economic analysis. The proposals for work in these fields were considered generally sound and were approved, together with activities relating to the applications of atomic energy in FAO's fields of interest and those relating to public information, publications, the library, and rural legislation.

A budget of \$21,536,850 was approved for the biennium 1960-61. After deducting a payment of \$2,556,800 to cover the contribution of the Expanded Technical Assistance Program toward the FAO headquarters costs of this program for the 2 years and anticipated miscellaneous income of \$529,050, the assessment budget to be contributed by member governments is \$18,451,000 for the biennium, or \$9,225,500 annually. The U.S. percentage contribution remains at 32.51 percent.

The budget includes financial provision for the final stages of an internal reorganization of FAO which had been approved earlier by the Council. Accordingly, the Organization now has four major segments, a technical department, an economics department, a department of public relations and legal affairs, and a division of administration and finance. Each of the three departments is headed by an Assistant Director General, who works under the supervision of the Director General and the Deputy Director General.

The technical department includes seven divisions, corresponding to the first seven subject-matter areas mentioned above. In addition there

is an atomic energy branch attached to the office of the Assistant Director General.

The economics department is composed of three divisions, corresponding to the fields of work numbered 8, 9, and 10 above.

Within the office of the Director General there is a program and budgetary service which assists the Director General, the Deputy Director General, and the departments on matters of a programing and budgetary nature that require centralized attention.

State of Food and Agriculture

The Conference noted that in 1958 a 4 percent increase in world agricultural production had followed the temporary pause in expansion in the previous year. Information available indicated a further rise in production in 1959, although probably not as great as in 1958.

As in previous years, however, little of the increase in production had moved into consumption. The large cereal crops of 1958, especially in the United States, had led to a sharp rise in the unsold stocks of wheat and coarse grains. There had also been a marked increase in stocks of coffee and sugar. Thus, while the economically advanced countries were able to increase production rather rapidly, the less developed countries found it difficult to achieve major increases; nor could they afford to import sufficient food to insure adequate nutrition for their rapidly growing populations.

Although the world food problem is partly a problem of distribution, and although the availability of surplus stocks on concessional terms had proved of great value in many cases, the recent virtual disappearance of stocks of dairy products for use in nutritional programs had demonstrated that nutritional improvement could not be based securely on the assumption that surplus stocks would always exist. As at its session in 1957,² therefore, the Conference again emphasized that, in spite of the continued existence of surplus stocks, in the long run the less developed countries could overcome the twin problems of rural poverty and inadequate food supplies only by building up their own agricultures and developing balanced economies.

² For an article on the ninth session of the FAO Conference, see *ibid.*, June 23, 1958, p. 1066.

Except in a few countries the increase in food production seemed to have done little to check the rise in the cost of food to consumers, and retail food prices had generally continued their slow rise during 1958. In most of the more developed countries this had occurred largely because of the increasing cost and complexity of marketing services. In many of the less developed countries, with low agricultural productivity, where population and the demand for food were rising quickly, food prices had tended to increase faster than the cost of living as a whole.

The average annual increase in world food production had recently been only about 0.5 percentage points above the average population growth of 1.6 percent, in contrast to the margin of some 1.5 percent that had been achieved in the earlier part of the postwar period. The Conference expressed its concern at the slackening in the increase of production in relation to population that had taken place in the less developed regions during the last few years. In the less developed regions as a whole the average annual margin over population growth was estimated to have fallen from nearly 2 percent in the earlier postwar period to a little under 1 percent in more recent years. Latin America was the only one of the less developed regions where food production was expanding faster than before.

The rate both of population growth and of production increase had naturally varied sharply from country to country. Examples included India, where population was increasing by 1.9 percent per year and the expansion of production had been stepped up from an annual average of 2.8 percent under the first 5-year plan to 3.9 percent during the first 3 years of the second plan; Chile, where the rates were estimated as 2.5 percent for population and 1.7 percent for production; and Pakistan, where food production had recently shown little increase in the face of an annual population growth of 1.6 percent. In several Far Eastern countries and in parts of Latin America and Africa the increase in production had recently fallen behind or was barely keeping pace with the accelerating growth of population.

Furthermore, in both the Far East, where the wartime setback to production had been particularly severe, and in Latin America, where the population was growing especially rapidly, per capita food production was still somewhat below

the average prewar level, while in Africa, too, it appeared recently to have fallen back to approximately that level. Because of smaller exports or larger imports, per capita supplies of food available for consumption in each of the less developed regions were slightly higher than before the war. Nevertheless, the widespread poor harvests of 1957 had demonstrated that the immediate situation remained precarious.

The Conference noted with concern the deterioration in the terms of trade for agricultural products on world markets, which had had serious effects for agricultural exporting countries. For example, in comparison with the average for the relatively stable 2-year period of 1952 and 1953, the terms of trade for agricultural products, as measured by their purchasing power for manufactured goods, had fallen by some 20 percent. Agricultural exporters in general had therefore not benefited at all from an increase of about 19 percent in the volume of their shipments from 1952-53 to 1958. For the less developed regions of the world the volume of agricultural exports had increased by 15 percent during this period, but their real value had declined by about 3 percent. Real prices of agricultural products as a whole, however, were still appreciably higher than during the period of depression immediately before the war.

The relatively unfavorable economic position of farm populations, which had lower levels of living, in both goods and services than urban populations, received considerable attention in the discussions. It was pointed out that a part of this difficulty was due to the farmer's position as a primary producer, since fluctuations in the prices of primary products were wider than they were in the prices of industrial products. This was particularly evident in underdeveloped countries which depended on the production of one or two agricultural products for sale in the world market. However, it was pointed out that even in the United States farm income, as a proportion of national income, had been falling rather steadily.

The difficult position of farmers as a group poses a number of serious problems for those countries trying to obtain more rapid development of their economies. The lack of capital and the extreme difficulty of creating savings from populations whose level of existence is extremely low were stressed. One obvious conclusion was

the necessity of obtaining capital from more highly developed countries if any substantial measure of economic growth is to be obtained by the underdeveloped countries. It was also pointed out, however, that capital alone could not be expected to overcome the handicaps of malnutrition, illiteracy, and lack of technical skills.

Government policies in regard to agricultural price stabilization and support also received a great deal of attention. A set of guiding principles which had been developed by a panel of experts in accord with a Conference decision in 1957 brought out some decided differences of opinion, and this matter will be given further attention in the Council's Committee on Commodity Problems and in future sessions of the Conference. There was a lengthy discussion of commodity problems, including the work of the Committee on Commodity Problems and its subsidiary groups, particularly the Washington Subcommittee on Surplus Disposal. A high degree of interest in and support for activities in this field was evident. Future benefits also would seem to be assured if an appropriate degree of support and interest can be maintained in relation to the increasing and better informed participation of underdeveloped countries in this work.

Special Topics

Several topics received special consideration in the Conference. Most of these were related either to past or proposed activities in the regular program of work or to activities that might supplement that program.

The Conference designated 1961 as a World Seed Year, and during 1959-61 a campaign will be conducted to emphasize the advantages of improved seed and to encourage the less developed countries to undertake more adequate seed improvement and distribution programs.

FAO's work to date on the survey and appraisal of resources was approved. It was agreed that FAO's role should continue to be that of developing methodology and advising countries regarding its use, leaving to countries the task of surveying and appraising their own resources and planning for the most efficient use. It was also agreed that plans for evaluation of the work done thus far were satisfactory, but it was left to the 11th session of the Conference to determine the future of the project within FAO's program of work.

In a discussion of relations between FAO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), financial problems received particular attention. The only basic point of difference that emerged related to the principles upon which the two organizations had based their policies to date. FAO has operated on the principle that the administrative and operational costs of projects should be met by the budgets for the programs to which they were related—in other words, that the full cost of a program should be the subject of action by one legislative body. If different legislative bodies allocate funds for different parts of a program or project, it is inevitable that at times shortfalls will result on one hand or the other. UNICEF has based its approach on the principles that financing and functional responsibility should go hand in hand and that one international organization should not transfer funds to another international organization. Thus, it is argued that, if FAO has the responsibility for the subject-matter side of a project, it should cover the cost of any work on that side of the project. It is argued also that UNICEF is not in fact a *fund*, like ETAP and the Special Fund. So long as these divergent principles govern the policy decisions of the two bodies, a reasonable solution to the problem is hardly possible.

The Conference expressed appreciation to the UNICEF Executive Board for its action in making available up to \$238,000 in 1960 to cover the costs of project personnel that could not be met from ETAP funds and for its willingness to consider extending this interim arrangement through 1961. It also endorsed the plan for the Director General of FAO and the Executive Director of UNICEF to hold discussions aimed at finding possible solutions to the long-term problem. It was recognized that the questions of principle could be resolved only by governments and that the governments which participate in both FAO and the UNICEF Executive Board should be urged to study the problem carefully and to insure that their respective representatives followed the same line in each governing body, thus making it possible for the governing bodies to arrive at agreed policies based on principles that are accepted in both organizations.

The Conference considered the Director General's proposal for a "Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign." It endorsed a campaign extending from

1960 to 1965 under the general leadership and coordination of FAO and with the participation of member governments of FAO, the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and IAEA; the agencies themselves; international nongovernmental organizations having consultative status with FAO, the United Nations, or the other specialized agencies; religious groups; and private organizations within member countries. The Conference also emphasized that objectives of the campaign can be reached only if the less developed countries develop effective and useful action projects; authorized establishment of a campaign trust fund to which voluntary contributions from participating member governments, international nongovernmental organizations, religious groups, private foundations, and organizations could be made; established an advisory campaign committee of 10 member governments (appointed by the Council), a subcommittee on research, and an advisory committee of nongovernmental organizations; requested the Director General to make appropriate reports to the Council and proposals to the Conference for possible inclusion of funds in the 1962-63 budget; and requested the Council to keep the campaign under review and present proposals and comments to the next Conference.

The Conference had before it a "Forward Appraisal" covering the period 1959-64, which had been prepared by the Director General at the invitation of ECOSOC. Similar appraisals have been prepared by the United Nations and other specialized agencies as a basis for consideration by ECOSOC of trends and interrelationships in the economic and social activities of the U.N. agencies. The Conference noted the great importance attached to work in the fields falling within FAO's terms of reference; commended the Director General for the careful analysis he and his staff had made; indicated general agreement with the priorities proposed, noting that they indicated a trend which reflected the need for greater attention to agricultural and food problems; pointed out that those priorities could only be considered as general guidelines and would need careful review in the light of the budget level which may be approved for the years involved; made it very clear that the Conference in no way endorsed the proposal for a 70 percent increase over the 3-year period and that, in fact, it was not prepared at that stage to indicate any specific level of increase

that member governments might support for 1962-63 and later bienniums; and authorized the transmittal of the "Forward Appraisal" documents to ECOSOC, together with the comments summarized above.

Three other special topics—social welfare, Mediterranean development, and agrarian reform—were also discussed. The first two of these were projects authorized by the Conference in 1957, and there were no proposals for further expenditures by FAO on these projects. There was unusually wide interest in the discussion of agrarian reform.³ The general tenor of the statements, with a few exceptions, was on the practical technical aspects of "land reform" or "agrarian reform." The Director General set the tone by his initial statement reminding the Conference that policy decisions in the field of agrarian reform are the prerogatives of governments, while FAO's part is to furnish member governments with technical analysis and background information and to function as a clearinghouse of experience and information. The Conference recognized the importance of agrarian reform in many countries and stressed the need for thorough planning, adequate land distribution, and proper implementation of programs. It also noted that measures of agrarian reform must take into account the need for maintaining and improving the level of agricultural production, as well as the provision of adequate supplementary services, such as credit, marketing facilities, cooperatives, and extension. The Conference endorsed expanded assistance to governments in Latin America and southeast Asia.

Constitutional and Administrative Matters

Among the many constitutional and administrative matters which the Conference acted upon, the most significant were these:

An amendment to the constitution, proposed by the United States, was adopted, which provides that decisions on the level of the budget shall be taken by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast instead of a simple majority.

Another amendment transfers from the rules to

³ For a U.S. statement on agrarian reform made before the Conference on Nov. 9 by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Horace E. Henderson, see *ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1959, p. 887.

an article of the constitution a provision requiring 120 days' notice to member governments before a proposal for amending the constitution can be considered.

A third amendment increases the number of seats on the FAO Council from 24 to 25.

Changes in the rules include one designed to simplify multiple-election procedures in the Council. The Conference also decided that there should be only one policy governing both the membership of nonmembers of FAO in commodity study groups and observers at FAO meetings. In this connection it decided that nonmembers participating in study groups should contribute to their support, that former members in arrears could participate only after paying those arrears or after the Conference had approved arrangements for the settlement thereof, and that authority for approval of participation by nonmembers of FAO in subsidiary bodies of the Committee on Commodity Problems should rest with the Council.

An agreement between FAO and the Government of Ghana providing for a regional office for Africa at Accra was approved. An agreement with the Government of Venezuela was approved for establishing a Latin American Forestry Research Institute under the provisions of article XV of the constitution. The establishment of regional forestry commissions in North America (Canada, United States, and Mexico) and in Africa was authorized.

The Conference adopted a set of "guiding lines regarding relationship between FAO and Inter-Governmental Organizations" and approved, in the light of these "guiding lines," an agreement between FAO and the League of Arab States. Although this agreement had been the subject of considerable discussion in earlier meetings, it was adopted by the Conference in an atmosphere of harmony.

A cooperation agreement between FAO and the International Atomic Energy Agency was approved.

The Government of Italy had made financial provision for construction of a new wing to the FAO headquarters building, and during the 10th session of the Conference the President of Italy laid the cornerstone. It is expected that the new wing will be ready for occupancy by mid-1961.

With regard to the headquarters costs of the Expanded Technical Assistance Program, the

Conference approved the interim arrangement for 1960-61 by which FAO will be reimbursed from ETAP funds for headquarters costs and also reaffirmed its earlier position, and that of the Council, that these costs should continue to be a charge against ETAP funds instead of being incorporated in the regular FAO budget.

General Observations on the Conference

The 10th session of the FAO Conference was the most substantive, orderly, and businesslike session held to date. This no doubt resulted from a number of factors, among which were the following:

(a) The very thorough preparatory work done by the Council, its Program Committee, Finance Committee, and Committee on Commodity Problems, and the FAO/UNICEF Joint Policy Committee;⁴

(b) The fact that the level of the budget was not a major issue;

(c) The lack of major differences on constitutional or organizational matters, and the fact that political issues were relatively moderate in scope and intensity;

(d) The quality of the documentation, which on the whole, was well prepared; and

(e) The increasing experience of the staff and many of the delegations.

The overall organization of the Conference, while it still had some defects, was the best that has been achieved thus far. Most discussions—other than general statements by heads of delegations and final decisions and adoption of sections of the Conference report—were carried out in the commissions.

Perhaps the main problem facing FAO in the years ahead is that of insuring that the Organization remain an instrument of its member governments. FAO should be developed further as an international forum in which countries can exchange information and ideas and plan for common or coordinated action. The United States does not believe that the Food and Agriculture Organization should become an operating instrument for carrying out projects of one country, or

⁴ For a report by Ralph W. Phillips on the first meeting of the Joint Policy Committee, see *ibid.*, Mar. 9, 1959, p. 350.

of small groups of countries, or of individuals with particular interests to promote.

STATEMENT ON FREEDOM-FROM-HUNGER CAMPAIGN⁵

Many of the delegates to this Conference are aware that we, in our statements to the 29th and 31st sessions of the FAO Council, generally accepted the idea of the campaign suggested by the Director General. My Government has followed the development of ideas regarding this campaign very closely since the proposal was first brought forward; also, we had the opportunity of participating in the Council's *Ad Hoc* Committee which worked with the Director General in preparing suggestions for consideration by the 31st session of the Council. Even at the risk of some repetition, I should like to now restate our positions regarding various important aspects of the proposal.

We appreciate the importance of the problems to which the campaign is expected to direct attention. There can be no question of the great need for finding ways of providing more adequate nutrition to the large portion of the world's population which may now be considered as inadequately fed. We recognize, too, that this problem is apt to become more intense as the population upsurge continues. We have supported FAO's efforts to deal with these problems from the time the Organization was founded, and we will continue to do so. Our comments today, which are directed toward the proposals contained in the document⁶ before us, are intended to be constructive and in the interest of developing and strengthening FAO as an organization in the service of its member countries. With this in mind, I should like to make the following points:

Proposals for Specific Activities

1. We are pleased to note that progress is being made toward the development of more specific suggestions regarding the content of the proposed campaign. Those of you who heard our earlier statements will recall that one of our preoccupations was that this should be a campaign of sub-

stance and not one aimed at merely publicizing the problems involved in achieving better nutrition for all.

2. We are in general agreement with the findings of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. The *Ad Hoc* Committee, however, could only go a limited way in defining the nature and content of the campaign and much remains to be done before there is a clear understanding of the manner in which the campaign would be carried out and just what activities would be undertaken by governments, by FAO, and by other organizations, both inter-governmental and nongovernmental.

3. The proposals for specific activities or types of activities as set forth in the document under consideration are helpful and provide a basis for further discussions. However, the suggestions, and particularly those regarding activities to be undertaken by member governments, are quite general in nature. Countries, as well as organizations that might participate, must do a great deal of spade work before anything resembling a constructive and cohesive campaign can be expected to emerge.

4. Perhaps our greatest preoccupation with the proposals now before us, including those relating to financing, is that they tend unduly to emphasize what the FAO staff will do rather than what governments will do. It has been our feeling from the beginning that the major tasks of the campaign must fall upon member governments if productive work is to be accomplished and if the campaign is to achieve the success we would all wish it to have. In this context we visualize FAO's role as that of stimulator and coordinator and that the FAO staff would actually undertake relatively little additional substantive work. Rather, we hope that the campaign will strengthen the regular work of FAO and not compete with it. This concept was, I believe, clearly in the minds of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and is emphasized in paragraph 11 of that committee's report.

5. In view of the responsibility which must fall on governments if there is to be a successful campaign, we are not at all clear as to the basis of the estimates for the cost of the campaign itself. In this connection I would recall that the Director General in his statement to the Council in June intimated that he felt that perhaps as much as \$2 million would be necessary in a special fund in

⁵ Made by Mr. Miller before a plenary session of the Conference on Nov. 10.

⁶ FAO doc. C/59/15.

order to carry out a successful campaign. In the interval between June and the issuance, at the beginning of August, of the Conference document we are now considering, this figure was increased to something of the order of \$10 million to \$13 million. At the same time we are given no clear indication in the document as to the purposes for which the contributions, and particularly the \$4 million which might be contributed by governments over a 6-year period, would be used. This would represent a substantial increase in the contributions of governments to FAO's program, and, since contributions would presumably be on a voluntary basis, it is by no means certain that all member governments would be prepared to share in these contributions.

My own Government is not now in a position to make an additional contribution to the Organization, and it may be that many other governments will find themselves in the same position. With regard to the possibilities of finance from nongovernmental organizations, we should like to know from those organizations themselves just how far they might go in meeting the figure of \$1 million to \$1.5 million per year over a 6-year period, or a total of \$6 million to \$9 million.

6. I recognize that FAO could utilize additional funds to good advantage for certain aspects of the campaign. Also, my Government does not see any objections to the setting up of a fund to which nongovernmental organizations and foundations might contribute. Some governments also might wish to make special contributions, in line with the thinking of the *Ad Hoc* Committee when it suggested that "governments might make an initial contribution to this fund." However, I believe that anything that resembles a special levy against governments, either for a single year or over a period of years, would not be an acceptable approach. This may be primarily a question of wording, and we would be happy to assist in arriving at a suitable wording to describe the financial and budgetary aspects of the campaign.

Special Activities as Contributions to Campaign

7. Even though we have doubts regarding the obtaining of special financing at the level suggested by the Director General, we do not believe that this should be a serious roadblock in the development of the campaign. In fact, a large fund in the hands of FAO might itself be a roadblock

in developing a real worldwide campaign, since it would tend to overemphasize what the FAO staff would be doing as compared with those essential parts of the campaign which only governments and private organizations can and should do.

Therefore I should like to emphasize again the importance we attach to the development of an approach which encourages each government to undertake one or more activities which that government is prepared to have regarded as its contribution to the overall campaign. In this connection I should point out that our Government made available to the *Ad Hoc* Committee a series of suggestions regarding the types of activities which governments, and in some cases organizations, might undertake. That list of suggestions was not in any way intended to be a list of things all of which each country should undertake. Rather, it was merely a series of suggestions which, taken with suggestions from other sources, might indicate to governments the types of special projects they could undertake as contributions to the campaign.

Thus, one government might undertake only one or two special activities; another government might undertake three or four. In areas where several governments undertook work in the same field, FAO could perform a useful function in keeping each of them informed of the action contemplated by the others and in arranging for coordination where that was deemed desirable. By this approach a whole series of activities might be undertaken around the world which could have a very large total effect on the improvement of agriculture and human nutrition. In this respect we visualize the campaign as something which might be developed along the same general lines as those followed in the International Geophysical Year.

Phasing, Organizing, and Planning

8. The document before us contains some proposals regarding the phasing and the organization of the campaign. The suggested phasing seems to us satisfactory, although to some degree it is necessary to withhold judgment until the full nature and content of the campaign becomes more apparent. We endorse the proposal for a special campaign committee, consisting of member governments, which would advise the Director General on the development of the campaign. This

committee might function under the aegis of the Council. We are also in general agreement with the idea of a research advisory committee. However, to avoid confusion and to insure that research projects are properly coordinated with other phases of the campaign, we believe that the research group should be an advisory subcommittee of the main campaign committee. We are also in favor of the proposal for an advisory committee of those nongovernmental organizations which have recognized status with FAO, assuming that those organizations do expect to participate in and contribute to the campaign.

9. I should like to mention one other problem which causes us some concern. A campaign of the scope of the one proposed will involve a great deal of work if it is to be successful. It is hoped that most of that work would be done by member governments or nongovernmental organizations. At the same time FAO would be carrying forward its regular program of work as well as its technical assistance programs, which, of course, have the same objectives as does the campaign. Some additional workload would inevitably be placed upon the FAO staff. We are eager to insure that the campaign is so planned and so developed that this extra workload is kept to a minimum and that the regular program of work will be disrupted as little as possible.

This Conference will approve a regular program of work for the next 2 years. It is a substantial program and will provide a full workload for the staff. There are in it certain changes in emphasis whereby it will contribute more effectively to meeting the needs of member governments. Certain other changes may be made in subsequent biennial programs also aimed at giving more effective service to member governments. This we believe to be a sound approach. At the same time we would consider it very unfortunate if such large demands were placed on the staff members for special activities in connection with the proposed campaign which are not included in the approved program of work that they would be unable to implement a substantial portion of the activities agreed to by this Conference. In other words, we should not, in our zeal to assist member governments in one respect, cut off or diminish the assistance which the Organization is in position to give under its regular program of work. Perhaps our apprehension arises from the

lack thus far of a clear, carefully costed program of work for the campaign, including a clear indication of the extent to which the regular staff would be called upon to participate.

10. Just a brief word regarding the title. We believe that the title selected should be one that is positive, does not create false hopes, appeals to reason rather than emotions, and is readily translatable into the three official languages. We believe that the present proposal, i.e. "Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign," constitutes a substantial improvement over the initially proposed title, "Free the World from Hunger Year." We would have preferred a title such as "International Food Campaign," but on this question we would be prepared to accept "Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign" if a majority of the member countries feel that there is no better alternative.

U.S. Support of Campaign

11. Finally, I would like to indicate that the United States is prepared to support the campaign in various ways. Some of the possibilities include distribution of informational materials and publications in our country on as broad a basis as the supplies permit; stimulation of public discussion, particularly on the land-grant-college and university campuses, in farm organization groups, and in other groups which have definite interests in food problems; participation in research projects insofar as these are of direct interest to and can be fitted into existing programs of our Federal and State institutions; and continuing to give support to activities in other countries through U.S. bilateral activities within the framework of continuing programs. In addition I should say that we are prepared to participate in the special campaign committee and a subcommittee to advise on research activities if the Conference agrees to the establishment of these bodies and requests us to participate, thus assisting in the further planning and development of the campaign.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that I have been able to make it clear that we of the United States delegation do believe that the campaign can make substantial contributions to the solution of the world food problems and that we are prepared to participate in it. If I have appeared to take a questioning attitude on some points it is because we in the United States delegation believe sincerely that the campaign can be really effective only if it is

developed primarily as an activity of governments and that the main responsibility for action must rest with the member governments. We feel that an attempt to develop the campaign on any other basis could only lead to ineffective action and frustration. I hope, therefore, that we can agree on a positive approach along the general lines I have tried to set forth.

Proposals Regarding Resolution

Now, Mr. Chairman, in the light of the foregoing comments, I should like to suggest that this Conference adopt a resolution along the following lines:

First, the resolution should recognize that FAO is, according to its constitution, the principal agency within the United Nations family of agencies for the promotion of international cooperation designed to achieve the objectives of the proposed campaign.

Second, the resolution should also recognize the urgency and importance of increased national efforts toward these objectives, in view of the growing needs for food and agricultural products as a result of the expansion in world population.

Third, the resolution might include decisions aimed at:

(a) authorizing an international campaign beginning in 1960 and culminating in a World Food Congress, perhaps in 1963, and in a review of the final accomplishments of the campaign in the FAO Conference in 1965;

(b) establishing a special campaign committee composed of representatives of perhaps 10 member governments, which would serve until the 11th session of the Conference and would exercise general oversight over the campaign on behalf of the Council and the Conference;

(c) establishing a research subcommittee, composed also of perhaps 10 countries, on the understanding that countries would supply individuals selected for their competence and experience in agricultural research (This group would serve as a subcommittee of the special campaign committee, and would likewise serve until the 11th session of the Conference.);

(d) authorizing the Director General to begin preparations of basic studies just as soon as these proposals had been reviewed by the research subcommittee and the special campaign committee and the funds were available to cover the costs;

(e) authorizing the establishment of a campaign fund to be administered in accord with FAO's financial regulations and to which nongovernmental organizations, private foundations, and individuals, as well as, in some cases, member governments, might make voluntary contributions for purposes to be agreed upon by the special campaign committee.

Fourth, the resolution should authorize the Director General to invite the cooperation of the United Nations and other agencies in the U.N. family of agencies in those aspects of the campaign falling within their terms of reference and of interest to them.

Finally, the resolution should request the Council to keep the campaign under review, to receive reports from the special campaign committee and its research subcommittee, and to present to the 11th session of the Conference a detailed report on the then current status of the campaign and on proposed further activities and their financial implications.

I make these suggestions, Mr. Chairman, not as a formal resolution but rather to provide the framework for a resolution which can be prepared at a later stage, when the precise nature of this Conference's conclusions are evident.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION ⁷

FREEDOM-FROM-HUNGER CAMPAIGN

THE CONFERENCE

Considering that

(a) a large part of the world's population still does not have enough to eat, and an even larger part does not get enough of the right kinds of food,

(b) the increase in food production only barely exceeds population growth,

(c) the increase in food production per capita is least marked in the less developed parts of the world,

(d) food production in developed countries is being held back by limited marketing possibilities abroad and that even so, surpluses of some commodities have accumulated in some countries, and

(e) under its Constitution FAO is the principal agency within the United Nations family of international agencies responsible for the encouragement of and aid to countries in raising levels of food production, consumption, and nutrition.

1. *Welcomes and approves* the proposal for a Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign along the general lines suggested by the Director-General;

⁷ Adopted unanimously in plenary session on Nov. 20.

2. *Expresses* appreciation of the cooperation in the Campaign promised by the United Nations and the specialized agencies;

3. *Authorizes* an international "Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign" extending from 1960 through 1965, under the leadership and general coordination of FAO and with invitations to participate, as appropriate, and approved by FAO, to (i) member countries of FAO; (ii) member countries of the U.N. and the U.N. specialized agencies, and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and to these agencies themselves; (iii) international non-governmental organizations having established consultative relationship with FAO, the U.N., or the other specialized agencies; (iv) religious groups; and (v) individuals and private organizations within the member countries specified in sections (i) and (ii) above;

4. *Emphasizes* that the objectives of the Campaign can only be reached if the less developed countries develop effective and useful action projects to this end, and that the formulation and vigorous prosecution by them of such projects will increase the support for the Campaign in the more highly developed countries;

5. *Approves* the creation of a Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign Trust Fund, to be administered in accordance with FAO's regulations, and for purposes and activities involved in the Campaign;

6. *Authorizes* the Director-General to appeal for voluntary contributions to:

- (a) Member countries as specified in paragraph 3 (i) and (ii),
- (b) International non-governmental organizations,
- (c) Religious groups,
- (d) Private foundations or organizations in such member countries;

7. (a) *Authorizes* the Director-General, in the case of countries whose governments are not in a position to contribute directly to the Trust Fund, to discuss with these governments other ways in which they might be able to support the Campaign;

(b) *Invites* each member country to set up or utilize appropriate national bodies to promote and coordinate the Campaign in that country;

(c) *Authorizes* the Director-General to carry on the Campaign with the funds available, in consultation with the Advisory Campaign Committee mentioned in paragraph 9 below;

8. *Authorizes* the Director-General to make preparations for a World Food Congress in 1963 just before the FAO Conference, on the 20th anniversary of the Hot Springs Conference, when the Campaign will reach its climax;

9. *Establishes* an Advisory Campaign Committee composed of the representatives of ten member countries to be designated by the Council, plus the chairmen of the Council, the Program Committee and the Finance Committee, as *ex officio* members, this Committee to serve until the Eleventh Session of the Conference with the following terms of reference:

to advise and assist the Director-General in the development of a detailed program for the Campaign, taking into account the suggestions made by the Director-General to the Tenth Session of the Conference and the observations thereon by the Conference at that Session, and to report to the Council, and to establish a sub-committee of technical and economic experts on research needs and projects under the Campaign, selected for their competence and experience in various fields of work of FAO;

10. *Authorizes* the Director-General, after consultation with the Advisory Campaign Committee, to convene such meetings of representatives of governments or of such bodies mentioned in 7(b) above as have been established, as may be considered by the Committee and the Director-General to be necessary or desirable, in order to review the progress and financial position of the Campaign;

11. *Authorizes* the Director-General to invite the non-governmental organizations specified in para. 3 sub-head (iii) to participate in an Advisory Committee of non-governmental organizations, which shall on request consult with the Director-General and with representatives of other cooperating international organizations concerning plans for the Campaign and the activities of non-governmental organizations in assisting in the Campaign, at the same time providing an opportunity for the organizations represented to consult with one another;

12. *Requests* the Director-General (a) to prepare reports to the Council concerning the detailed development of the Campaign and to present to the Conference in 1961 a detailed report on the current status of the Campaign and on proposed activities and their financial implications and (b) to include in his financial proposals to the Eleventh Session of the Conference, separate provision for such funds as he may consider necessary to meet that portion of the FAO expenses for the Campaign for the 1962/63 biennium as cannot be covered out of the Campaign Trust Fund;

13. *Requests* the Council to keep the progress of the Campaign under review, to review reports from the Advisory Campaign Committee, and from the Program and Finance Committees on the progress of the Campaign and its relation to the other work of FAO, and to present to the Conference its comments and suggestions on the further development of the Campaign.

SEATO Announces 1960-61 Research Fellowship Series

Press release 877 dated December 28

For the 4th consecutive year, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization is offering a number of postdoctoral research fellowships to established scholars of the member states.

The object of the SEATO fellowship program is to encourage study and research of such social,

economic, political, cultural, scientific, and educational problems as give insight into the present needs and future development of the southeast Asia and southwest Pacific areas.

Grants are normally for a period of 4 to 10 months and include a monthly allowance of \$400 and air travel to and from the countries of research. Candidates are selected on the basis of special aptitude and experience for carrying out a major research project. Academic qualifications, professional experience beyond graduate level, and published material are taken into account.

The competition for the awards for the 1960-61 academic year is now open. American citizens may apply to the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington 25, D.C. American candidates for the awards are selected by the Department of State, with SEATO selecting the final award winners.

A total of 33 awards were made during the first 3 years of the SEATO fellowship program. The member states of SEATO are Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Accomplishments of 14th Session of U.N. General Assembly

*Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge
U.S. Representative to the United Nations*¹

1. From the standpoint of the tough fiber of the United Nations—of its ability to function continuously through fair weather and foul—undoubtedly the most significant accomplishment of the 14th General Assembly was the decision to continue to finance the United Nations Emergency Force,² which is keeping the peace in the Gaza Strip and at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba. The vote was actually larger than last year—a most encouraging sign of steadfastness.

¹ Released to the press following remarks made by Ambassador Lodge before the United Nations Correspondents Association on Dec. 15 (U.S. delegation press release 3349).

² BULLETIN of Dec. 21, 1959, p. 919.

This was achieved in spite of the Soviet Union's continued default on this prime obligation both of law and of honor, in spite of the strong human tendency to lose interest in something which is no longer dramatic, and in spite of the real difficulty which many states have in finding the money.

That all these factors should have been overcome is a tribute to the awareness of the United Nations that failure to continue UNEF would speedily create a dramatic—and dangerous—situation.

2. From the standpoint of the ability of the Soviet Union and the United States to reach agreement, the resolution creating the new United Nations Committee on Outer Space³ is, I believe, the most substantial achievement in the 14 years that the United Nations has been in existence. Outer space, certainly, should be a field in which earth-bound international differences are left behind and in which men work together for the common good.

It is particularly pertinent that agreement to create this Committee only came about after prolonged and arduous negotiations, showing that an efficient working arrangement between the United States and the Soviet Union will not be achieved merely by waving a wand or by wishful thinking. Only by long, hard work will such agreements be hammered out. The differences between the two nations are real differences—and not merely misunderstandings. They reflect not only such usual factors as geography and economics but, in addition, a different view of the world and of the nature of man. To bring about a relatively efficient working arrangement under such circumstances is a prickly business. But in this shrinking world the effort must be made.

3. From the standpoint of the less developed countries—and of human freedom—a very significant development was the increased money which member states have pledged to the United Nations Special Fund⁴ for its second year. This is the fund which, under the direction of Paul Hoffmann, makes preinvestment surveys and promotes technical education in the newly developing countries. The future of those countries, inhabited by over a billion human beings, presents a challenge even more difficult and more pressing than the Communist menace.

³ See *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 61.

⁴ For a statement on progress of the Fund, see *ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1959, p. 689.

The money for the Fund's second year will be about 50 percent more than the \$26 million which it had for its first year. Every dollar of preinvestment work by the Special Fund can pave the way for hundreds of dollars in capital investment. Thus it can give these peoples new hope that they can conquer poverty without resorting to the totalitarian methods of communism.

The increase in the Special Fund is therefore a sign that United Nations members are aware of the trend of the future.

4. From the standpoint of the future of the United Nations were decisions affecting two United Nations trust territories in Africa. Somalia will become independent on July 1, 1960. Also, the people of the British Cameroons will vote in 1960 or 1961 on which of their two neighbors they will join—Nigeria or Cameroun, both about to become independent.⁵ These steps are part of the movement toward independence which is sweeping Africa and which, in 1960 alone, will bring at least four new African nations into the United Nations—and still others in succeeding years.

These new nations will not only add to the membership of the United Nations; they will also bring new viewpoints to bear on the problems of the world. For the United States, which has more people of African Negro descent in it than any other country in the world except Nigeria, this is a particularly welcome prospect.

5. Then the 14th General Assembly passed a resolution protesting the Chinese Communist wholesale murder of the people of Tibet.⁶

6. The Assembly continued to voice the protest of civilized mankind against the brutalization of Hungary—and did so by a large vote.⁷

7. Communist China was once again kept out of the United Nations.⁸

8. The Czech attempt to promote its candidacy for the 15th General Assembly by means of an Assembly resolution was defeated.

9. The Palestine refugee program, with its great

⁵ For background, see *ibid.*, of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 730, and Jan. 4, 1960, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1959, p. 683.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1959, p. 942.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 547.

expense and its many difficult problems, was extended.⁹

10. An expert management survey of the United Nations Secretariat was authorized to help the Secretary-General get the maximum efficiency at the least cost. Such a "Hoover Commission" type of operation—the first complete outside review in the Secretariat's 14-year history—is a necessity in view of the growing membership of the United Nations and the increased workload of the Secretariat.

11. A universal declaration on the rights of the child was adopted, reflecting concepts of human rights held by many nations, including the United States.¹⁰

There were many other worthwhile accomplishments, but the above were outstanding as they affect the United Nations' future and its ability to survive and to meet its responsibilities.

General Assembly Fails To Adopt Resolution on Algeria

*Statements by Henry Cabot Lodge
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*

STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 2¹

It is evident from what has been said in this committee on the Algerian question that there exists a spirit of conciliation. Such a spirit is indispensable to any early solution of the problem. The United States welcomes this spirit.

We favor a just, peaceful, and democratic solution. We are anxious to see an end to violence and bloodshed. We hope that effect will be given to the aspirations of the people of Algeria by peaceful means.

We favor the use of every appropriate means by those principally concerned, and early steps by them, to bring about a peaceful settlement. Clearly no solution is possible without good faith and restraint by all concerned.

A prospect for peace has been made evident.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1960, p. 31.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹ Made in Committee 1 (Political and Security) (U.S. delegation press release 3323).

But to make that prospect into a reality is not easy. The bitterness of conflict, the shadow of fear, and the gnawing worry of uncertainty all add to the inherent complexities of the problem.

On September 16 the President of the French Republic, General Charles de Gaulle, made a far-reaching and significant declaration concerning the problem of Algeria. To be sure, this statement must be read as a whole, but there are certain points which the United States believes deserve special emphasis and attention during our discussion here.

First, General de Gaulle made clear the intention of France to solve the problem of Algeria by permitting the Algerian people a free choice as to their future. The application to Algeria of the principle of self-determination was thus recognized specifically. The United States welcomed this declaration. In General de Gaulle's words: "We can now look forward to the day when the men and women of Algeria will be in a position to decide their own destiny, once and for all, freely and in the full knowledge of what is at stake."

President Eisenhower stated in his press conference on September 17:² "It is a far-reaching declaration, containing explicit promises of self-determination for the Algerian peoples and as such, completely in accord with our hopes to see proclaimed a just and liberal program for Algeria which we could support."

The United States was also encouraged by the responses which General de Gaulle's proposals evoked. They indicate awareness that a significant new commitment has been made—a commitment which furnishes a basis for concrete discussions.

It was in the light of General de Gaulle's historic declaration, furthermore, that Secretary of State Herter said on September 22² that the United States "naturally hopes that no action will be taken here which would prejudice the realization of a just and peaceful solution for Algeria such as is promised by General de Gaulle's far-reaching declaration with its provision for self-determination by the Algerian people."

To this end the United States hopes that the members of this committee will see the wisdom of avoiding a resolution which could prejudice a solution of the Algerian problem.

The speeches made here—in and of them-

selves—will have an effect on those principally concerned. It must also be clear that recent statements by those principally concerned offer real hope that a just, peaceful, and democratic solution can soon be found. And it must also be apparent that the sense of this debate is that those principally concerned should make early use of every appropriate means to achieve a solution.

We hope, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that these considerations will be weighed carefully before proposals are introduced and pressed to a vote. Injudicious action here risks bringing in extraneous factors which might endanger the chances for direct negotiations. At such a moment as this the utmost caution is not only warranted; it is essential.

We can understand why some delegations seek to impart further momentum to what they already admit are favorable developments. But if such members look at the present situation carefully—as they must—they will surely conclude that we are at the threshold of one of those historic occasions in which those principally concerned should be unhampered and allowed to seek direct solutions.

The United States continues to believe that in the interests of all concerned moderation, restraint, and patience should be the watchwords. It is in this spirit that the United States will conduct itself during the remainder of this debate.³

STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 12⁴

In my statement in committee December 2 I referred to the far-reaching and significant declaration concerning the problem of Algeria made on September 16 by General de Gaulle. I said that there are now real hopes that a just, peaceful, and democratic solution of this problem can soon be found. I then expressed the hope that the General Assembly would see the wisdom of avoiding a resolution which could prejudice the solution of the Algerian problem, emphasizing our

² On Dec. 7 Committee I adopted by a vote of 38 to 26 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions, Resolution A.C.1/L.246, which urged "the two parties concerned to enter into *pourparlers* to determine the conditions necessary for the implementation as early as possible of the right of self-determination of the Algerian people, including conditions for a cease-fire."

⁴ Made in plenary (U.S. delegation press release 3346).

² BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 500.

belief that moderation, restraint, and patience should be the watchwords.

Guided by these considerations, we carefully examined the revised resolution on Algeria on which the General Assembly has just voted.⁵ The United States did not vote in favor of this resolution, since we believe that, notwithstanding the modifications which it contains, it is not likely to be helpful in promoting an early and just solution. Moreover, this resolution also fails to take into account the most significant development on this question since it has been before the United Nations, that is, the forward-looking proposals of General de Gaulle.

This resolution, however, embodies two principles which are of fundamental importance in our history and tradition: the principle of self-determination and the principle of seeking solutions to difficult problems through peaceful means. These principles we strongly endorse.

The United States therefore abstained in the vote on this resolution.

I should like to add in closing that the United States Government reaffirms its conviction that the forward-looking declaration of General de Gaulle offers the best prospects for a peaceful, just, and democratic solution of the Algerian problem.

Freedom of Information

Statement by Christopher H. Phillips¹

This, as you know, is my first opportunity to address the Third Committee and, may I say at the outset, a most welcome opportunity. Though my duties require me to devote most of my time to the Second Committee, I am by no means unfamiliar with the work of your committee. As the United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council, I am, of course, equally con-

⁵ A revised resolution introduced by Pakistan (A/L. 276) urging "the holding of *pourparlers* with a view to arriving at a peaceful solution on the basis of the right to self-determination, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations" failed on Dec. 12 to obtain the two-thirds majority vote necessary for adoption; the vote was 39 to 22, with 20 abstentions (U.S.).

¹ Made in Committee III (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) of the U.N. General Assembly on Dec. 1 (U.S. delegation press release 3321). Mr. Phillips is U.S. Representative on the U.N. Economic and Social Council.

cerned with both the economic and social activities of the United Nations.

Quite frankly, we had not intended to intervene at this particular juncture in the debate. We would have preferred to hear the views of many more delegations than time has allowed thus far. We are doing so, however, because many delegations, both privately and publicly, have asked for our views and have urged us to express them at this time.

I think one of the most difficult problems involved in a consideration of freedom of information is to arrive at a meaning of freedom of information which is both precise and acceptable to all. For example, freedom of information to one may mean state control of the press, to another license, and yet to another a point somewhere in between. We have clearly seen this to be the case during the debate this year. Moreover, the course of the debate so far has revealed serious misconceptions about the U.S. attitude toward freedom of information. For this reason, I would like to devote the next few minutes to a clear exposition of our position on this complex and highly important subject.

The U.S. Position

Freedom of information in the United States is recognized as a cornerstone of liberty, as it is in every country which believes in freedom for the individual. The need to know, to be informed, is a deep-seated urge in all mankind. It is more than a need; it is a hunger for facts and ideas, a hunger for the means to think and to understand events and situations. The urge is to listen as well as to speak, to learn as well as to teach, to judge the fact as well as to plan the action. Only as men and women are able to satisfy this hunger can they feel they are valued fully as human beings. The right to know is a part of human dignity; the right to seek the truth is a foundation of human freedom.

It is for this reason that any withholding of information instantly arouses suspicion. Censorship breeds only fear and insecurity. Within nations such limitations undermine confidence; between nations they jeopardize peace. Full access to the news is the only basis on which we can hope to build strong democracies and popular understanding of and support for a strong United Nations.

This has been said before, but it cannot be said too often. Ignorance and false report have long been recognized as the shackles by which tyrants and dictators control the peoples under their rule. In a free society there is special cause to keep up with the course of events. Wherever the ultimate decisions rest with the people, it is obvious that intelligent decisions can be made only in the light of adequate knowledge. As a practical matter, this means full and rapid access to all possible news—in the daily press, through radio and all other media of information.

On this point Thomas Jefferson, the author of our Declaration of Independence, felt strongly on the necessity for information in a government of the people. He once wrote that if he were forced to choose between a government without newspapers, on the one hand, and newspapers without government, on the other, he would not hesitate to prefer the newspapers. Jefferson maintained this view even though he was severely criticized in the press. I need hardly point out that no United States President since that time has escaped the sharp barb of hostile press criticism and that such criticism has often been unfair and unfounded.

There can be no question of the importance the United States attaches to freedom of information. Our belief in this freedom is implicit in our system of education, in the tremendous variety of our newspapers and our broadcasting systems, our magazines, and all other media of communication. Our aim is knowledge for everyone with sources sufficient that each may seek the truth for himself. Let me stress this again. Only through sufficient sources of information can the individual be in position to decide for himself what is true. In this we believe that we are at one with all other free peoples in the United Nations.

Framework for News Media Development

There are also wide areas of agreement we share with other countries on the means by which freedom of information can be achieved. We are in agreement on the need to develop news media of all kinds; it is academic to expect adequate information in areas which lack sufficient media and opportunities for training journalists. With this in mind, the United States delegation to the last session of the Human Rights Commission cosponsored a very important resolution with Ceylon,

India, Iran, Italy, Mexico, and the Philippines. This resolution requested a report from the Secretary-General which *inter alia* would review the problems encountered in providing to underdeveloped countries technical assistance in the information field. This resolution was adopted by a large majority both in the Commission and subsequently in the Council.² But let us not forget that there would be little point to providing media and training journalists if the free flow of information is then hampered by censorship, jamming, or other artificial barriers.

The United States attitude toward freedom of speech and press is based on constitutional guarantees which prohibit the passage of legislation infringing these rights. This is provided in the first amendment, in the section known as our Bill of Rights. It says simply that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press . . ." This amendment has been in force for more than 160 years. It has kept our media of information free from Government control and regulation. This is the framework in which our great newspapers and radio and television systems have developed; while they respect and conform to laws forbidding libel, obscenity, and other infringements on public order, they know that these cannot be used to justify censorship or interference in presenting facts and opinion.

You may argue that this prohibition indicates a distrust of authority. I would say quite openly that this is the case. Our feeling goes back to the days before we became an independent nation, when our newspapers often had to be licensed and were at the mercy of foreign governors. We have learned to fear any attempt, direct or indirect, to control freedom of information, lest it lead to suppression and tyranny. We have learned the hard way, if I may borrow a popular phrase, that no government, however good or highly motivated, should be trusted with power over the rights of every individual to know and to think. We have learned also the two reasons why this is so: first, that governments may change, and second, that

² For text of the resolution adopted on Apr. 24 in the Economic and Social Council, see U.N. doc. E RES. 718 (XXV11); for a statement made by Mr. Phillips in the ECOSOC meeting on Apr. 20, see BULLETIN of July 6, 1959, p. 26.

men may grow lazy in their own defense against authority.

It has been suggested that such freedom gives rise to abuses. Of course freedom of any kind carries with it the possibility of abuse, but this is hardly justification of denial of the freedom. We should be careful, moreover, not to confuse real abuses with the legitimate reporting of news which, though accurate, deeply offends an individual or a nation.

Admitting to the possibility of abuse under a genuinely free press, we would do well to get a real perspective on the subject. Many of the statements so far made have implied that abuses can only occur in a truly free press. This is far from the truth. Few members of this committee need be reminded that some of the most vicious abuses of information media occur under systems in which freedom of information is either rigidly controlled or nonexistent. There, through complete government monopoly of all information media, news is manipulated and the "big lie" technique employed as official government policy.

We could, of course, with considerable effectiveness, cite examples of the most extreme abuse of press media under such circumstances. But surely such tactics do not contribute to a productive consideration of the business before us. For our part, therefore, we will refrain from indulging in such tactics.

Madam Chairman, I have tried to present something of the philosophy of my Government on freedom of information. Before concluding, I wish to make a few brief remarks on the Convention on Freedom of Information now before us.³ As all of you know, we have not in the past felt that the proposed convention is an adequate or effective means of protecting the information media of our time or of promoting the right of everyone to full and free access to the facts. We continue in this belief, because we have seen nothing to convince us to the contrary—to convince us that international legislation of this type is in fact the way to achieve progress. At the same time we are fully aware that many other delegations do not agree with us and, indeed, that they do

attach the greatest importance to the adoption of this convention. Out of respect to them, I wish to assure you that my delegation will not attempt in any way to impede the progress on the convention. Moreover, because my Government attaches the greatest importance to freedom of information, my delegation will take part in the debate on each article and will, to the utmost of its ability, strive to make a constructive and valuable contribution toward reaching agreement on language acceptable to the majority.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

General Assembly

Question of the Frontier Between the Trust Territory of Somaliland Under Italian Administration and Ethiopia. Report of the Italian Government on the measures taken to give effect to General Assembly resolution 1345 (XIII) of 13 December 1958. A/4324. December 3, 1959. 30 pp.

The Future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons Under United Kingdom Administration: Report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner on the Plebiscite in the Northern Part of the Territory. Statement made by the U.K. representative at the 988th meeting of the Fourth Committee. A/C.4/438. December 7, 1959. 12 pp.

The Future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons Under United Kingdom Administration: Report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner on the Plebiscite in the Northern Part of the Territory. Statement made by the U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner at the 989th meeting of the Fourth Committee. A/C.4/439. December 7, 1959. 16 pp.

Economic and Social Council

Status of Women in Family Law. Report of the Secretary-General based on replies from governments to part III of the Questionnaire on the Legal Status and Treatment of Women. Addendum. E/CN.6/185/Add. 17. November 11, 1959. 31 pp.

United Nations Programme of Technical Assistance. Report of the Secretary-General on programs of technical assistance financed by the regular budget. Corrigendum. E/TAC/95/Corr. 1. November 20, 1959. 1 p.

Commission on Human Rights. National Advisory Committees on Human Rights. Note by the Secretary-General. E/CN.4/791. November 23, 1959. 4 pp.

Draft Convention and Draft Recommendation on the Age of Marriage, Consent to Marriage and Registration of Marriages. Report by the Secretary-General prepared in accordance with ECOSOC resolution 722 B (XXVIII). E/CN.6/353. November 23, 1959. 9 pp.

³ U.N. doc. A/AC.42/7, annex. Only a portion of this convention was considered in the 14th General Assembly; on Dec. 10 (A/RES/1459(XIV)) the Assembly decided "to give priority to this item at its fifteenth session."

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

Commission on the Status of Women. Property Rights of Women. Supplementary report by the Secretary-General. E/CN.6/208/Add. 5. November 30, 1959. 11 pp.

Organization and Operation of the Economic and Social Council. Letter dated November 27, 1959, from the permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General. E/3310. December 2, 1959. 1 p.

Organization and Operation of the Economic and Social Council. Note by the Secretary-General. E/3311. December 2, 1959. 3 pp.

Protocol for limiting and regulating the cultivation of the poppy plant, the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium. Dated at New York June 23, 1953.¹

Accession deposited: Nicaragua, December 11, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1960.

Notification of approval: Australia, November 6, 1959; Luxembourg (with reservations), October 29, 1959.

Whaling

Amendments to paragraphs 1(a), 1(f), 5, 6(3), 7(a), 16, and 17(c) of the schedule annexed to the international whaling convention of 1946 (TIAS 1849). Adopted at the 11th meeting of the International Whaling Commission, London, June 22-July 1, 1959. Entered into force October 4, 1959, with the exception of amendment to paragraph 4(1).

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Opened for signature at Washington April 6 through 24, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, for part I and parts III to VIII, and August 1, 1959, for part II. TIAS 4302.

Accession deposited: El Salvador, December 15, 1959.

Notification received December 29, 1959, from United Kingdom of application to: Isle of Man and the Bailiwick of Guernsey.

TREATY INFORMATION

U.S. and Japan Sign Treaty of Cooperation and Security

Press release 883 dated December 29

The Department of State announced on December 29 that the new Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States will be signed at the White House on January 19.¹ Following the signing ceremony, Prime Minister [Nobusuke] Kishi and Foreign Minister [Aichihiro] Fujiyama will meet with President Eisenhower and Secretary Herter. Prime Minister Kishi and the Japanese delegation for the signing of the new treaty will also be guests at a White House luncheon on January 19 in their honor.

During the afternoon of January 19, Prime Minister Kishi and Foreign Minister Fujiyama will meet with Secretary Herter at the Department of State.

BILATERAL

Korea

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of June 30, 1959 (TIAS 4256). Effected by exchange of notes at Seoul October 12 and December 11, 1959. Entered into force December 11, 1959.

Philippines

Agreement relating to the relinquishment of Olongapo and adjacent areas, with annex. Effected by exchange of notes at Manila December 7, 1959. Entered into force December 7, 1959.

Uruguay

Agreement supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of February 20, 1959, as supplemented (TIAS 4179, 4238, and 4356), with exchange of notes. Signed at Montevideo December 1, 1959. Entered into force December 1, 1959.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Narcotics

Protocol bringing under international control drugs outside the scope of the convention limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs concluded at Geneva July 13, 1931 (48 Stat. 1543), as amended (61 Stat. 2230; 62 Stat. 1796). Done at Paris November 19, 1948. Entered into force December 1, 1949. TIAS 2308.

Acceptance deposited: Brazil, December 9, 1959.

¹ For a statement of Dec. 2 by President Eisenhower regarding the negotiations with Japan, see BULLETIN of Dec. 21, 1959, p. 907.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Designations

Charles N. Spinks as Director, Office of Research and Analysis for Asia, effective December 22.

¹ Not in force.

Appointment of Political Adviser to High Commissioner of Ryukyus

Press release 870 dated December 22

The Departments of State and Defense on December 22 announced the establishment of the office of Political Adviser to the High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands, Lt. Gen. Donald P. Booth.

Byron E. Blankinship, a career Foreign Service officer and heretofore the American consul general at Naha in the Ryukyus, has been appointed to the new position. Mr. Blankinship will assume his new duties on January 1, 1960.

The new office has been established as the outgrowth of lengthy discussions between the Departments of State and Defense. The consul general at Naha has hitherto acted concurrently as foreign relations consultant to the High Commissioner. The new arrangement divorces the senior representative of the Secretary of State in the Ryukyus from consular duties and permits him to devote full time to the responsibilities of this new office. The American consular unit at Naha will continue to perform the normal functions of a U.S. consular post.

The assignment of a political adviser to top-level Defense Department officials elsewhere in the world has proved effective in insuring the closest possible working relationship between the Departments of State and Defense in areas where activities of the latter Department directly affect the conduct of U.S. foreign relations.

The Ryukyu Islands constitute one of the most important strategic outposts in the interlocking system of the free world's defenses. The treaty of peace with Japan¹ gave to the United States the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation, and jurisdiction over these islands.

In his Executive order of June 5, 1957,² the

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Aug. 27, 1951, p. 349.

² For text, see *ibid.*, July 8, 1957, p. 55.

President delegated this authority to the Secretary of Defense, on whose behalf the High Commissioner directs and heads the civil administration of the area. In the same Executive order the President also charged the Secretary of State with the responsibility for the conduct of relations with foreign countries and international organizations with respect to the Ryukyus. The political adviser will serve as the field representative of the Secretary of State in the discharge of this responsibility and will provide ready access for the High Commissioner to the worldwide facilities of the diplomatic and consular services of the Department of State.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Air Traffic Control Services—Birkenfeld High Altitude Facility. TIAS 4330. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany. Signed at Bonn October 1, 1959. Entered into force October 1, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4331. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Pakistan, amending agreement of November 26, 1958, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Karachi October 7 and 8, 1959. Entered into force October 8, 1959.

Interchange of Patent Rights and Technical Information for Defense Purposes—Filing Classified Patent Applications. TIAS 4332. 7 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Netherlands. Exchange of notes—Signed at The Hague October 8, 1959. Entered into force October 8, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4333. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Arab Republic, amending agreement of December 24, 1958, as supplemented and amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Cairo October 14, 1959. Entered into force October 14, 1959.

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No.	Date	Subject
876	12/28	U.S.-Spain joint communique (printed in BULLETIN of Jan. 11).
877	12/28	SEATO fellowships.
878	12/28	U.S.-Morocco joint communique (printed in BULLETIN of Jan. 11).
879	12/29	Visit of Spanish Foreign Minister.
880	12/29	Thayer: AETA and Speech Association of America.
881	12/29	Additional trade liberalization by France.
*882	12/29	Delegates to Cameroun Independence ceremonies and Inauguration of President Tubman of Liberia.
883	12/29	Announcement of treaty signing with Japan.
884	12/29	Reply to Soviet experts in Geneva technical group.
†885	12/30	IJC report on Columbia River Basin.
886	12/30	Five-power communique on disarmament committee (printed in BULLETIN of Jan. 11).
887	12/31	Herter: "The Outlook for 1960 in Foreign Affairs."

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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The State of the Union

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS¹

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE 86TH CONGRESS, MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

Seven years ago I entered my present office with one long-held resolve overriding all others. I was then, and remain now, determined that the United States shall become an ever more potent resource for the cause of peace—realizing that peace cannot be for ourselves alone, but for peoples everywhere. This determination is, I know, shared by the entire Congress—indeed, by all Americans.

My purpose today is to discuss some features of America's position, both at home and in her relations to others.

First, I point out that for us, annual self-examination is made a definite necessity by the fact that we now live in a divided world of uneasy equilibrium, with our side committed to its own protection and against aggression by the other.

With both sections of this divided world in possession of unbelievably destructive weapons, mankind approaches a state where mutual annihilation becomes a possibility. No other fact of today's world equals this in importance—it colors everything we say, plan, and do.

There is demanded of us vigilance, determination, and the dedication of whatever portion of our resources that will provide adequate security, especially provide a real deterrent to aggression. These things we are doing.

All these facts emphasize the importance of striving incessantly for a just peace.

Only through the strengthening of the spiritual,

intellectual, economic, and defensive resources of the free world can we, in confidence, make progress toward this goal.

Second, we note that recent Soviet deportment and pronouncements suggest the possible opening of a somewhat less strained period in the relationships between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. If these pronouncements be genuine, there is brighter hope of diminishing the intensity of past rivalry and eventually of substituting persuasion for coercion. Whether this is to become an era of lasting promise remains to be tested by actions.

Third, we now stand in the vestibule of a vast new technological age—one that, despite its capacity for human destruction, has an equal capacity to make poverty and human misery obsolete. If our efforts are wisely directed—and if our unremitting efforts for dependable peace begin to attain some success—we can surely become participants in creating an age characterized by justice and rising levels of human well-being.

Over the past year the Soviet Union has expressed an interest in measures to reduce the common peril of war.

While neither we nor any other free world nation can permit ourselves to be misled by pleasant promises until they are tested by performance, yet we approach this apparently new opportunity with the utmost seriousness. We must strive to break the calamitous cycle of frustrations and crises which, if unchecked, could spiral into nuclear disaster; the ultimate insanity.

Though the need for dependable agreements to assure against resort to force in settling disputes is apparent to both sides yet as in other issues dividing men and nations, we cannot expect

¹H. Doc. 241, 86th Cong., 2d sess. President Eisenhower read a slightly condensed version of the message before a joint session of the Congress on Jan. 7.

sudden and revolutionary results. But we must find some place to begin.

One obvious road on which to make a useful start is in the widening of communication between our two peoples. In this field there are, both sides willing, countless opportunities—most of them well known to us all—for developing mutual understanding, the true foundation of peace.

Another avenue may be through the reopening, on January 12, of negotiations looking to a controlled ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, the closing statement from the Soviet scientists who met with our scientists at Geneva gives the clear impression that their conclusions have been politically guided.² Those of the British and American scientific representatives are their own freely formed, individual and collective opinions. I am hopeful that, as new negotiations begin, truth—not political opportunism—will guide the deliberations.

Still another field may be found in the field of disarmament, in which the Soviets have professed a readiness to negotiate seriously.³ They have not, however, made clear the plans they may have, if any, for mutual inspection and verification—the essential condition for any extensive measure of disarmament.

There is one instance where our initiative for peace has recently been successful. A multilateral treaty⁴ signed last month provides for the exclusively peaceful use of Antarctica, assured by a system of inspection. It provides for free and cooperative scientific research in that continent, and prohibits nuclear explosions there pending general international agreement on the subject. I shall transmit its text to the Senate for consideration and approval in the near future. The treaty is a significant contribution toward peace, international cooperation, and the advancement of science.

The United States is always ready to participate with the Soviet Union in serious discussion of these or any other subjects that may lead to peace with justice.

Certainly it is not necessary to repeat that the

² For a U.S. reply to a statement of the Soviet delegation, see BULLETIN of Jan. 18, 1960, p. 78.

³ For text of a communique issued by the Foreign Ministers of Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States at Paris on Dec. 21, see *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 15.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1959, p. 912.

United States has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of any nation; by the same token we reject any attempt to impose its system on us or on other peoples by force or subversion.

This concern for the freedom of other peoples is the intellectual and spiritual cement which has allied us with more than 40 other nations in a common defense effort. Not for a moment do we forget that our own fate is firmly fastened to that of these countries; we will not act in any way which would jeopardize our solemn commitments to them.

We and our friends are, of course, concerned with self-defense. Growing out of this concern is the realization that all people of the free world have a great stake in the progress, in freedom, of the uncommitted and newly emerging nations. These peoples, desperately hoping to lift themselves to decent levels of living must not, by our neglect, be forced to seek help from, and finally become virtual satellites of, those who proclaim their hostility to freedom.

Their natural desire for a better life must not be frustrated by withholding from them necessary technical and investment assistance. This is a problem to be solved not by America alone, but also by every nation cherishing the same ideals and in position to provide help.

In recent years America's partners and friends in Western Europe and Japan have made great economic progress. Their newly found economic strength is eloquent testimony to the striking success of the policies of economic cooperation which we and they have pursued.

The international economy of 1960 is markedly different from that of the early postwar years. No longer is the United States the only major industrial country capable of providing substantial amounts of the resources so urgently needed in the newly developing countries.

To remain secure and prosperous themselves, wealthy nations must extend the kind of cooperation to the less fortunate members that will inspire hope, confidence, and progress. A rich nation can for a time, without noticeable damage to itself, pursue a course of self-indulgence, making its single goal the material ease and comfort of its own citizens—thus repudiating its own spiritual and material stake in a peaceful and prosperous society of nations. But the enmities it will incur, the isolation into which it will descend, and

the internal moral, spiritual, economic, and political softness that will be engendered, will, in the long term, bring it to disaster.

America did not become great through softness and self-indulgence. Her miraculous progress and achievements flow from other qualities far more worthy and substantial—

Adherence to principles and methods consonant with our religious philosophy;

A satisfaction in hard work;

The readiness to sacrifice for worthwhile causes;

The courage to meet every challenge;

The intellectual honesty and capacity to recognize the true path of her own best interests.

To us and to every nation of the free world, rich or poor, these qualities are necessary today as never before if we are to march together to greater security, prosperity, and peace.

I believe the industrial countries are ready to participate actively in supplementing the efforts of the developing nations to achieve progress.

The immediate need for this kind of cooperation is underscored by the strain in our international balance of payments. Our surplus from foreign business transactions has in recent years fallen substantially short of the expenditures we make abroad to maintain our military establishments overseas, to finance private investment, and to provide assistance to the less developed nations. In 1959 our deficit in balance of payments approached \$4 billion.

Continuing deficits of anything like this magnitude would, over time, impair our own economic growth and check the forward progress of the free world.

We must meet this situation by promoting a rising volume of exports and world trade. Further, we must induce all industrialized nations of the free world to work together to help lift the scourge of poverty from less fortunate nations. This will provide for better sharing of this burden and for still further profitable trade.

New nations, and others struggling with the problems of development, will progress only, regardless of any outside help, if they demonstrate faith in their own destiny and possess the will and use their own resources to fulfill it. Moreover, progress in a national transformation can be only gradually earned; there is no easy and quick way to follow from the ox cart to the jet plane. But, just as we drew on Europe for assistance in our

earlier years, so now do those new and emerging nations that have this faith and determination deserve help.

Over the last 15 years, 20 nations have gained political independence. Others are doing so each year. Most of them are woefully lacking in technical capacity and in investment capital; without free-world support in these matters they cannot effectively progress in freedom.

Respecting their need, one of the major focal points of our concern is the south Asian region. Here, in two nations alone, are almost 500 million people, all working, and working hard, to raise their standards, and, in doing so, to make of themselves a strong bulwark against the spread of an ideology that would destroy liberty.

I cannot express to you the depth of my conviction that, in our own and free-world interests, we must cooperate with others to help these people achieve their legitimate ambitions, as expressed in their different multiyear plans. Through the World Bank and other instrumentalities, as well as through individual action by every nation in position to help, we must squarely face this titanic challenge.

All of us must realize, of course, that development in freedom by the newly emerging nations, is no mere matter of obtaining outside financial assistance. An indispensable element in this process is a strong and continuing determination on the part of these nations to exercise the national discipline necessary for any sustained development period. These qualities of determination are particularly essential because of the fact that the process of improvement will necessarily be gradual and laborious rather than revolutionary. Moreover, everyone should be aware that the development process is no short-term phenomenon. Many years are required for even the most favorably situated countries.

I shall continue to urge the American people, in the interests of their own security, prosperity, and peace, to make sure that their own part of this great project be amply and cheerfully supported. Free-world decisions in this matter may spell the difference between world disaster and world progress in freedom.

Other countries, some of which I visited last month,² have similar needs.

² BULLETIN of Dec. 28, 1959, p. 931, and Jan. 11, 1960, p. 46.

A common meeting ground is desirable for those nations which are prepared to assist in the development effort. During the past year I have discussed this matter with the leaders of several western nations.

Because of its wealth of experience, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation could help with initial studies needed.⁶ The goal is to enlist all available economic resources in the industrialized free world—especially private investment capital. But I repeat that this help, no matter how great, can be lastingly effective only if it is used as a supplement to the strength of spirit and will of the people of the newly developing nations.

By extending this help we hope to make possible the enthusiastic enrollment of these nations under freedom's banner. No more startling contrast to a system of sullen satellites could be imagined. If we grasp this opportunity to build an age of productive partnership between the less fortunate nations and those that have already achieved a high state of economic advancement, we will make brighter the outlook for a world order based upon security, freedom, and peace. Otherwise, the outlook could be dark indeed. We face what may be a turning point in history, and we must act decisively.

As a nation we can successfully pursue these objectives only from a position of broadly based strength.

No matter how earnest is our quest for guaranteed peace, we must maintain a high degree of military effectiveness at the same time we are engaged in negotiating the issue of arms reduction. Until tangible and mutually enforceable arms reduction measures are worked out, we will not weaken the means of defending our institutions.

America possesses an enormous defense power. It is my studied conviction that no nation will ever risk general war against us unless we should be so foolish as to neglect the defense forces we now so powerfully support. It is worldwide knowledge that any nation which might be tempted today to attack the United States, even though our country might sustain great losses, would itself promptly suffer a terrible destruction. But I once again assure all peoples and all nations

⁶ For text of a communique issued by the Western heads of government at Paris on Dec. 21, see *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 43.

that the United States, except in defense, will never turn loose this destructive power.

During the past year our long-range striking power, unmatched today in manned bombers, has taken on new strength as the Atlas intercontinental ballistic missile has entered the operational inventory. In 14 recent test launchings, at ranges of over 5,000 miles, Atlas has been striking on an average within 2 miles of the target. This is less than the length of a jet runway—well within the circle of total destruction. Incidentally, there was an Atlas firing last night. From all reports so far received, its performance conformed to the high standards I have described. Such performance is a great tribute to American scientists and engineers, who in the past 5 years have had to telescope time and technology to develop these long-range ballistic missiles, where America had none before.

This year, moreover, growing numbers of nuclear-powered submarines will enter our active forces, some to be armed with Polaris missiles. These remarkable ships and weapons, ranging the oceans, will be capable of accurate fire on targets virtually anywhere on earth. Impossible to destroy by surprise attack, they will become one of our most effective sentinels for peace.

To meet situations of less than general nuclear war, we continue to maintain our carrier forces, our many service units abroad, our always ready Army strategic forces and Marine Corps divisions, and the civilian components. The continuing modernization of these forces is a costly but necessary process, and is scheduled to go forward at a rate which will steadily add to our strength.

The deployment of a portion of these forces beyond our shores, on land and sea, is persuasive demonstration of our determination to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with our allies for collective security. Moreover, I have directed that steps be taken to program our military assistance to these allies on a longer range basis. This is necessary for a sounder collective defense system.

Next I refer to our program in space exploration, which is often mistakenly supposed to be an integral part of defense research and development.

We note that, first, America has made great contributions in the past 2 years to the world's fund of knowledge of astrophysics and space science. These discoveries are of present interest chiefly to the scientific community; but they are

important foundation stones for more extensive exploration of outer space for the ultimate benefit of all mankind.

Second, our military missile program, going forward so successfully, does not suffer from our present lack of very large rocket engines, which are so necessary in distant space exploration. I am assured by experts that the thrust of our present missiles is fully adequate for defense requirements.

Third, the United States is pressing forward in the development of large rocket engines to place vehicles of many tons into space for exploration purposes.

Fourth, in the meantime, it is necessary to remember that we have only begun to probe the environment immediately surrounding the earth. Using launch systems presently available, we are developing satellites to scout the world's weather; satellite relay stations to facilitate and extend communications over the globe; for navigation aids to give accurate bearings to ships and aircraft; and for perfecting instruments to collect and transmit the data we seek. This is the area holding the most promise for early and useful applications of space technology.

Fifth, we have just completed a year's experience with our new space law. I believe it deficient in certain particulars and suggested improvements will be submitted to the Congress shortly.

The accomplishment of the many tasks I have alluded to requires the continuous strengthening of the spiritual, intellectual, and economic sinews of American life. The steady purpose of our society is to assure justice, before God, for every individual. We must be ever alert that freedom does not wither through the careless amassing of restrictive controls or the lack of courage to deal boldly with the giant issues of the day.

A year ago, when I met with you, the Nation was emerging from an economic downturn, even though the signs of resurgent prosperity were not then sufficiently convincing to the doubtful. Today our surging strength is apparent to everyone; 1960 promises to be the most prosperous year in our history.

Yet we continue to be afflicted by nagging disorders.

Among current problems that require solution participated in by citizens as well as Government are—

The need to protect the public interest in situations of prolonged labor-management stalemate;

The persistent refusal to come to grips with a critical problem in one sector of American agriculture;

The continuing threat of inflation, together with the persisting tendency toward fiscal irresponsibility;

In certain instances the denial to some of our citizens of equal protection of the law.

Every American was disturbed by the prolonged dispute in the steel industry and the protracted delay in reaching a settlement.

We are all relieved that a settlement has at last been achieved in that industry. Percentagewise, by this settlement the increase to the steel companies in employment costs is lower than in any prior wage settlement since World War II. It is also gratifying to note that despite the increase in wages and benefits several of the major steel producers have announced that there will be no increase in steel prices at this time. The national interest demands that in the period of industrial peace which has been assured by the new contract, both management and labor make every possible effort to increase efficiency and productivity in the manufacture of steel so that price increases can be avoided.

One of the lessons of this story is that the potential danger to the entire Nation of longer and greater strikes must be met. To insure against such possibilities we must of course depend primarily upon the good commonsense of the responsible individuals. It is my intention to encourage regular discussions between management and labor outside the bargaining table, to consider the interest of the public as well as their mutual interest in the maintenance of industrial peace, price stability, incentive for continuous investment, and economic growth. Both the Executive and the Congress will, I know, be watching developments with keenest interest.

To me, it seems almost absurd that the United States should recognize the need, and so earnestly to seek, for cooperation among the nations unless we can achieve voluntary, dependable, abiding cooperation among the important segments of our own free society. Without such cooperation we cannot prosper.

Failure to face up to basic issues in areas other than those of labor-management can cause serious

strains on the firm freedom supports of our society.

Agriculture is one of these areas.

Our basic farm laws were written 27 years ago, in an emergency effort to redress hardship caused by a worldwide depression. They were continued—and their economic distortions intensified—during World War II in order to provide incentives for production of food needed to sustain a war-torn world.

Today our farm problem is totally different. It is that of effectively adjusting to the changes caused by a scientific revolution. When the original farm laws were written, an hour's farm labor produced only one-fourth as much wheat as at present. Farm legislation is woefully out of date, ineffective, and expensive.

For years we have gone on with an outmoded system which not only has failed to protect farm income, but also has produced soaring, threatening surpluses. Our farms have been left producing for war while America has long been at peace.

Once again I urge Congress to enact legislation that will gear production more closely to markets, make costly surpluses more manageable, provide greater freedom in farm operations, and steadily achieve increased net farm incomes.

Another issue that we must meet squarely is that of living within our means. This requires restraint in expenditure, constant reassessment of priorities, and the maintenance of stable prices.

To do so we must prevent inflation. Here is an opponent of so many guises that it is sometimes difficult to recognize. But our clear need is to stop continuous and general price rises—a need that all of us can see and feel.

To prevent steadily rising costs and prices calls for stern self-discipline by every citizen. No person, city, State, or organized group can afford to evade the obligation to resist inflation, for every single American pays its crippling tax.

Inflation's ravages do not end at the water's edge. Increases in prices of the goods we sell abroad threaten to drive us out of markets that once were securely ours. Whether domestic prices, so high as to be noncompetitive, result from demands for too-high profit margins or from increased labor costs that outrun growth in productivity, the final result is seriously damaging to the Nation.

We must fight inflation as we would a fire that

imperils our home. Only by so doing can we prevent it from destroying our salaries, savings, pensions, and insurance, and from gnawing away the very roots of a free, healthy economy and the Nation's security.

One major method by which the Federal Government can counter inflation and rising prices is to insure that its expenditures are below its revenues. The debt with which we are now confronted is about \$290 billion. With interest charges alone now costing taxpayers about \$9½ billion, it is clear that this debt growth must stop. You will be glad to know that despite the unsettling influences of the recent steel strike, we estimate that our accounts will show, on June 30, this year, a favorable balance of approximately \$200 million.

I shall present to the Congress for 1961 a balanced budget. In the area of defense, expenditures continue at the record peacetime levels of the last several years. With a single exception, expenditures in every major category of health, education, and welfare will be equal or greater than last year. In space expenditures the amounts are practically doubled. But the overall guiding goal of this budget is national need—not response to specific group, local or political insistence.

Expenditure increases, other than those I have indicated, are largely accounted for by the increased cost of legislation previously enacted. I repeat, this budget will be a balanced one. Expenditures will be \$79,800 million. The amount of income over outgo described in the budget as a surplus to be applied against our national debt is \$4,200 million.

Personally, I do not feel that any amount can be properly called a surplus as long as the Nation is in debt; I prefer to think of such an item as a reduction of our children's inherited mortgage. And once we have established such payments as normal practices we can profitably make improvements in our tax structure and thereby truly reduce the heavy burdens of taxation. In any event this one reduction will save taxpayers each year approximately \$200 million in interest costs.

This favorable balance will help ease pressures in our credit and capital markets. It will enhance the confidence of people all over the world in the strength of our economy and our currency

and in our individual and collective ability to be fiscally responsible.

In the management of the huge public debt the Treasury is unfortunately not free of artificial barriers. Its ability to deal with the difficult problems in this field has been weakened greatly by the unwillingness of the Congress to remove archaic restrictions. The need for a freer hand in debt management is even more urgent today because the costs of the undesirable financing practices which the Treasury has been forced into are mounting. Removal of this roadblock has high priority in my legislative recommendations.

Still another issue relates to civil rights measures.

In all our hopes and plans for a better world we all recognize that provincial and racial prejudices must be combatted. In the long perspective of history, the right to vote has been one of the strongest pillars of a free society. Our first duty is to protect this right against all encroachment. In spite of constitutional guarantees, and notwithstanding much progress of recent years, bias still deprives some persons in this country of equal protection of the laws.

Early in your last session I recommended legislation which would help eliminate several practices discriminating against the basic rights of Americans. The Civil Rights Commission has developed additional constructive recommendations. I hope that these will be among the matters to be seriously considered in the current session. I trust that Congress will thus signal to the world that our Government is striving for equality under law for all our people.

Each year and in many ways our Nation continues to undergo profound change and growth.

In the past 18 months we have hailed the entry of two more States of the Union—Alaska and Hawaii. We salute these two western stars.

Our vigorous expansion, which we all welcome as a sign of health and vitality, is many-sided. We are, for example, witnessing explosive growth in metropolitan areas.

By 1975 the metropolitan areas of the United States will occupy twice the territory they do today. The roster of urban problems with which they must cope is staggering. They involve water supply, cleaning the air, adjusting local tax systems, providing for essential educational, cultural, and social services, and destroying those conditions which breed delinquency and crime.

In meeting these, we must, if we value our historic freedoms, keep within the traditional framework of our Federal system with powers divided between the National and State Governments. The uniqueness of this system may confound the casual observer, but it has worked effectively for nearly 200 years.

I do not doubt that our urban and other perplexing problems can be solved in the traditional American method. In doing so we must realize that nothing is really solved, indeed ruinous tendencies are set in motion by yielding to the deceptive bait of the "easy" Federal tax dollar.

Our educational system provides a ready example. All recognize the vital necessity of having modern school plants, well-qualified and adequately compensated teachers, and of using the best possible teaching techniques and curriculums.

We cannot be complacent about educating our youth. But the route to better trained minds is not through the swift administration of a Federal hypodermic or sustained financial transfusion. The educational process, essentially a local and personal responsibility, cannot be made to leap ahead by crash, centralized governmental action.

The administration has proposed a carefully reasoned program for helping eliminate current deficiencies. It is designed to stimulate classroom construction, not by substitution of Federal dollars for State and local funds, but by incentives to extend and encourage State and local efforts. This approach rejects the notion of Federal domination or control. It is workable, and should appeal to every American interested in advancement of our educational system in the traditional American way. I urge the Congress to take action upon it.

There is one other subject concerning which I renew a recommendation I made in my state of the Union message last January.⁷ I then advised the Congress of my purpose to intensify our efforts to replace force with a rule of law among nations. From many discussions abroad, I am convinced that purpose is widely and deeply shared by other peoples and nations of the world.

In the same message I stated that our efforts would include a reexamination of our own relation to the International Court of Justice. The Court was established by the United Nations to decide

⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1959, p. 115.

international legal disputes between nations. In 1946 we accepted the Court's jurisdiction, but subject to a reservation of the right to determine unilaterally whether a matter lies essentially within domestic jurisdiction. There is pending before the Senate a resolution which would repeal our present self-judging reservation.⁸ I support that resolution and urge its prompt passage. If this is done, I intend to urge similar acceptance of the Court's jurisdiction by every member of the United Nations.

Here perhaps it is not amiss for me to say a personal word to the Members of the Congress, in this my final year of office, a word about the institutions we respectively represent and the meaning which the relationships between our two branches has for the days ahead.

I am not unique as a President in having worked with a Congress controlled by the opposition party—except that no other President ever did it for quite so long. Yet in both personal and official relationships we have weathered the storms of the past 5 years. For this I am deeply grateful.

My deep concern in the next 12 months, before my successor takes office, is with our joint congressional-executive duty to our own and to other nations. Acting upon the beliefs I have expressed here today, I shall devote my full energies to the tasks at hand, whether these involve travel for promoting greater world understanding, negotiations to reduce international discord, or constant discussions and communications with the Congress and the American people on issues both domestic and foreign.

In pursuit of these objectives, I look forward to, and shall dedicate myself to, a close and constructive association with the Congress.

Every minute spent in irrelevant interbranch wrangling is precious time taken from the intelligent initiation and adoption of coherent policies for our national survival and progress.

We seek a common goal—brighter opportunity for our own citizens and a world peace with justice for all.

Before us and our friends is the challenge of an ideology which, for more than four decades, has trumpeted abroad its purpose of gaining ultimate victory over all forms of government at variance with its own.

We realize that however much we repudiate the tenets of imperialistic communism, it represents a gigantic enterprise. Its leaders compel its subjects to subordinate their freedom of action and spirit and personal desires for some hoped-for advantage in the future.

The Communists can present an array of material accomplishments over the past 15 years that lends a false persuasiveness to many of their glittering promises to the uncommitted peoples.

The competition they provide is formidable. We so recognize it.

But in our scale of values we place freedom first. Our whole national existence and development have been geared to that basic concept and is responsible for the position of free-world leadership to which we have succeeded. It is the highest prize that any nation can possess; it is one that communism can never offer. And America's record of material accomplishment in freedom is written not only in the unparalleled prosperity of our own Nation, but in the many billions we have devoted to the reconstruction of free-world economies wrecked by World War II and in the effective help of many more billions we have given in saving the independence of many others threatened by outside domination. Assuredly we have the capacity for handling the problems in the new era of the world's history we are now entering.

But we must use that capacity intelligently and tirelessly, regardless of personal sacrifice.

The fissure that divides our political planet is deep and wide.

We live, moreover, in a storm of semantic disorder in which old labels no longer faithfully describe.

Police states are called "people's democracies."

Armed conquest of free people is called "liberation."

Such slippery slogans make difficult the problem of communicating true faith, facts, and beliefs.

We must make clear our peaceful intentions, our aspirations for a better world. To do so, we must use language to enlighten the mind, not as the instrument of the studied innuendo and distorter of truth.

And we must live by what we say.

On my recent visit to distant lands I found one statesman after another eager to tell me of

⁸ For background, see p. 128.

the elements of their government that had been borrowed from our American Constitution, and from the indestructible ideals set forth in our Declaration of Independence.

As a nation we take pride that our own constitutional system, and the ideals which sustain it have been long viewed as a fountainhead of freedom.

By our every word and action we must strive to make ourselves worthy of this trust, ever mindful that an accumulation of seemingly minor encroachments upon freedom gradually could break down the entire fabric of a free society.

So persuaded, we shall get on with the task before us.

So dedicated, and with faith in the Almighty, humanity shall one day achieve the unity in freedom to which all men have aspired from the dawn of time.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 7, 1960.*

President Eisenhower To Visit South America

White House Statement

White House press release dated January 6

The President, accompanied by Mrs. Eisenhower, plans to visit Brazil, February 23-26; Argentina, February 26-29; Chile, February 29-March 2; and Uruguay, March 2-3; with brief stops in Puerto Rico.

The President, in visiting the four southernmost countries of our neighboring continent, is partially fulfilling his long-held desire personally to travel in South America, to meet the people, and to renew friendships with the leaders of the nations so closely allied with the United States in the Organization of American States. The President hopes that his visit will serve two purposes:

Publicly reflect his deep interest in all the countries of the New World, and

Encourage further development of the inter-American system, not only as a means of meeting the aspirations of the peoples of the Americas but also as a further example of the way all peoples may live in peaceful cooperation.

January 25, 1960

United States and Soviet Union Exchange New Year Greetings

White House (Augusta, Ga.) press release dated January 4

The White House on January 4 made public the following exchange of messages between the President and Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Kliment Efremovich Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The President to Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Voroshilov

JANUARY 2, 1960

On behalf of the American people, I thank you for your kind New Year's message. I share the hope which you have expressed for a further improvement in the relations between our two countries. The United States seeks the achievement of a just and lasting peace in a world where all questions are settled by peaceful means alone. I can assure you that my Government will continue its best efforts to reach that goal. Please accept my good wishes for you and your families and the people of the Soviet Union for the coming year.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Voroshilov to the President

DECEMBER 31, 1959

On the eve of the New Year we send to you, Mr. President, and to the people of the United States of America sincere greetings and best wishes from the peoples of the Soviet Union and from ourselves personally. It is possible to note with deep satisfaction that in the past year there were undertaken joint efforts in the search of ways for closer relations of our States, for insurance of such a situation in which the unresolved international questions would be decided by peaceful means only. Entering the New Year, we would like to hope sincerely that these joint efforts will guarantee a new triumph of reason, and that a start will be made to solve the most important problem of our times—the general and complete disarmament and the liberation of mankind from the burden of armament.

Let this New Year be the year of a further improvement in the relations between our countries. The realization of this hope which is so dear to the hearts of both the Soviet and American peoples would undoubtedly bring nearer the time when, thanks to the efforts of both countries, the relations between them could be built on the foundation of enduring friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation for the good of our nations, for the

good of peace in the entire world. It is exactly in this way that we evaluate the meaning of exchange visits by the leading statesmen of both countries. These meetings make it possible to ensure that historical turning point in the relations between our countries, as well as in the international situation as a whole, which leads to the deliverance of all people from the dread of a new war.

With best wishes for happiness and health to you personally and to your entire family.

N. KHURUSHCHEV
K. VOROSHILOV

United States and Netherlands Hold Civil Aviation Consultation

Press release 3 dated January 6

The following statement was issued jointly by the Department of State and the Netherlands Embassy at Washington on January 6.

A civil aviation consultation between representatives of the Governments of the United States and the Netherlands will begin in Washington on January 7 to consider the request of the Netherlands Government for a route authorizing air services between the Netherlands and Los Angeles. The request for the consultation was made several months ago by the Netherlands Government.

Under the existing Air Transport Services Agreement of April 1957,¹ KLM Royal Dutch Airlines operates on separate routes to New York and Houston from the Netherlands and to Miami and New York from the Netherlands Antilles. United States airlines are authorized to operate to Amsterdam, Surinam, the Netherlands Antilles and beyond to points in third countries.

The Netherlands Delegation is headed by Mr. E. G. Stijkel, State Secretary for Transport and Waterways. Other members of the Delegation are: Mr. H. J. Spanjaard, Director of Civil Aviation, Ministry of Transport and Waterways; Dr. J. C. Kruisheer, Economic Minister, Netherlands Embassy; Mr. J. C. Nieuwenhuysen, Deputy Transportation Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. F. J. H. Barend, Representative of the Government of Surinam; Mr. E. D. Baiz, Repre-

sentative of the Government of the Netherlands Antilles; Dr. L. H. Slotemaker, Executive Vice President, KLM Royal Dutch Airlines; Mr. M. Mourik, Second Commercial Secretary, Netherlands Embassy.

The United States Delegation is headed by Mr. Laurence C. Vass, Director, Office of Transport and Communications, Department of State. Other members of the Delegation are: Mr. G. Joseph Minetti, Member, Civil Aeronautics Board; Mr. Bradley D. Nash, Deputy Under Secretary for Transportation, Department of Commerce; Mr. Theodore Hardeen, Jr., Administrator, Defense Air Transportation Administration, Department of Commerce (Alternate); Mr. Joseph C. Watson, Associate Director, Bureau of Air Operations, Civil Aeronautics Board; Mr. James C. Haahr, Chief, Air Transport Relations, Aviation Division, Department of State; Mr. Robert M. Beaudry, Economic Officer, Swiss-Benelux Affairs, Office of Western European Affairs, Department of State; Mr. William Klima, International Division, Civil Aeronautics Board; Mr. Paul Reiber, Air Transport Association (Observer).

President de Gaulle To Visit U.S.

White House press release dated January 6

The White House announced on January 6 that the President of the Republic of France, General Charles de Gaulle, will pay a state visit to the United States during the spring. It is planned that President de Gaulle will arrive at Washington from Canada on April 22 and remain there until April 25. Thereafter, he will spend a day in New York City and will complete his visit by spending approximately 3 days in other cities in the United States. The exact itinerary has not yet been developed.

President Eisenhower is particularly pleased that he will have the opportunity of receiving President de Gaulle in Washington not only to renew his friendship with his comrade-in-arms and friend but also to have the occasion officially of receiving the Chief of State of the nation which is the oldest ally and friend of our country.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of May 6, 1957, p. 747.

Canadian-United States Cooperation for Peace

by Richard B. Wigglesworth
Ambassador to Canada¹

Il me fait un grand plaisir d'être ici aujourd'hui, et je vous remercie de votre aimable invitation. Je suis très heureux d'être à Montréal et d'avoir le privilège de rencontrer les membres de votre Club et leurs amis.

J'ai eu l'occasion pendant les derniers mois de voyager quelques 25,000 milles en terre canadienne d'un océan à l'autre, de rencontrer un grand nombre de vos concitoyens et de me familiariser avec vos traditions, vos aspirations, et vos convictions.

What I have learned from my travels in Canada has impelled me inevitably to reflect on the closeness between Canadian aims and the aims of my own country.

Our relationship prompts me to discuss today some aspects of Canadian-United States cooperation for peace. I do so because the nature of this cooperation is, I think, often obscured. It is obscured on the one hand by platitudes and on the other by the very complexities of security in the modern world. The result is a lack of appreciation of its unique character and the circumstances that brought it about.

Were I an historian I probably would start with the Rush-Bagot agreement of 1818, which freed our Great Lakes of warships. And I would give considerable attention to World War I and the contribution our two countries made to turning back that onslaught against our security.

I shall limit myself, however, to the last quarter of a century. I shall do so because it seems to me that our joint response to the dangers of these years has been different both in degree and in kind from the alliances and pacts that we find

as a general rule in the history of international relations.

The old saying that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" is of course totally inadequate to describe the depth and strength that characterize our cooperation. I am not concerned with the superficial similarities or differences that one may find between us and between our countries. I speak of something more profound. I would like to outline the cooperation between our countries during the past 25 years and to emphasize its significance to the security of the free world.

Response to Fascism

Fascism, the first of the two great challenges of the past 25 years, took the form of military aggression.

Though the Fascists used the tools of propaganda and the "big lie" with a thoroughness never before witnessed, our danger was a familiar one. We were faced, for the most part, with a classic war of men, maneuver, and materiel. No matter how hard or how costly the effort required of us, we understood immediately the kind of response the threat dictated. Only by war could fascism take our freedom.

We shared an enemy, and we shared a continent. That alone was enough to insure unity of action. We also shared the raw materials and the industrial capacity with which to build the complex machinery of modern war. And we sensed that if we did not put these resources together to a degree never before known in international affairs, our efforts might be not only inefficient but not enough.

Our joint action was possible only because we

¹Address made before the Montreal Canadian Club, Montreal, Canada, on Dec. 14.

had shared many years of mutual respect and good faith as well. Anyone who looked for pillboxes along our common border would have known that.

The conviction that North America is more than a geographic concept did not grow overnight. Throughout the thirties, as foreign places many of our people had never heard of—Manchuria, Ethiopia, the Sudetenland, Danzig—took over the front pages of our newspapers, the idea slowly and spontaneously spread.

I think particularly of President Roosevelt's address at Chautauqua, New York, on August 14, 1936:

Our closest neighbors are good neighbors. If there are remoter nations that wish us not good but ill, they know that we are strong; they know that we can and will defend ourselves and defend our neighborhood.

Or the President's words at Kingston, Ontario, on August 18, 1938:

I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire.

I also think of an address by Prime Minister Mackenzie King at Woodbridge, Ontario, on August 20, 1938:

We too have our obligations as a good friendly neighbor, and one of these is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way either by land, sea or air, to the United States across Canadian territory.

This growing awareness of our common danger and our common responsibilities led to our first great joint decision. I quote from the Ogdensburg agreement of August 18, 1940:²

The Prime Minister and the President have discussed the mutual problems of defense in relation to the safety of Canada and the United States.

It has been agreed that a Permanent Joint Board on Defense shall be set up at once by the two countries.

This Permanent Joint Board on Defense shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land, and air problems including personnel and matériel.

It will consider in the broad sense the defense of the north half of the Western Hemisphere.

This Permanent Joint Board was from the beginning an unqualified success. As you know, it still contributes greatly to the cooperation between

our two countries in respect to the defense of the North American Continent.

The second great step in this period of our common efforts, the Hyde Park declaration of April 20, 1941,³ was in a sense even more far reaching than the decision at Ogdensburg. I quote from it here because it illustrates the degree of cooperation which we were to attain:

Among other important matters, the President and the Prime Minister discussed measures by which the most prompt and effective utilization might be made of the productive facilities of North America for the purposes both of local and hemisphere defense and of the assistance which in addition to their own programs both Canada and the United States are rendering to Great Britain and the other democracies.

It was agreed as a general principle that in mobilizing the resources of this continent each country should provide the other with the defense articles which it is best able to produce, and, above all, produce quickly, and that production programs should be coordinated to this end.

It would serve no useful purpose to discuss World War II in any detail today. Many of you were in that war and remember well the first desperate years, then the great sweeps of the Allied armies, the ever-increasing flow of men and matériel, the billions in aid to our Allies from our two countries, and the victories that followed.

It is possible that some of you were among those Canadians who received parachute training at Fort Benning, Georgia. Or perhaps you were in Manitoba teaching United States soldiers the techniques of fighting in cold weather. Perhaps you flew fighter cover for our Flying Fortresses, or it may be that as you moved north in Italy you had close air support from United States airmen.

And I would remind you that when Pearl Harbor was attacked there were more than 16,000 United States citizens in Canadian uniform. And, strange as it may seem, by the time the United States had declared war on Japan, Canada had already done so.

The Ogdensburg agreement acknowledged our responsibilities to each other. As we disbanded our armies after the war and reconverted our factories to peacetime production we recognized new responsibilities. Our world grew smaller; our obligations grew greater. Our vigorous adherence to the charter of the United Nations is proof of our acceptance of these new responsibilities and of our allegiance to free men everywhere.

² For text, see BULLETIN of Aug. 24, 1940, p. 154.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Apr. 26, 1941, p. 494.

Military Response to Communist Imperialism

The second great danger of our time—international communism—became a reality in the years after the war. One aspect only of this new threat to the free world was military, but that aspect had to be faced first. We could not build for a world of free men without insuring that men would be free.

Our two Governments decided that it would be unwise to destroy the coordination we had so carefully built, but they recognized that this coordination had a wider frame of reference. I quote from a joint statement of February 12, 1947,⁴ released simultaneously in Ottawa and Washington:

In the interest of efficiency and economy, each Government has decided that its national defense establishment shall, to the extent authorized by law, continue to collaborate for peacetime joint security purposes. . . .

It has been the task of the Governments to assure that the close security relationship between Canada and the United States in North America will in no way impair but on the contrary will strengthen the cooperation of each country within the broader framework of the United Nations.

I do not recall that this statement received very much attention at the time. After all, the deadliest war in history was barely over. The world had surely learned, at least for a time, the disastrous consequences of aggression.

But it was an uneasy time. For example, why would an ally, presumably grateful for Canadian assistance, operate a spy ring in Canada? Was the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia really a domestic issue of no consequence to the rest of the world? Were the outlaws who sought to overrun the mainland of China really only peaceful agrarian reformers?

Then came the Berlin blockade.

Even the most wishful thinkers were forced to concede that the free world was faced again with possible disaster. The new threat demanded a whole series of new responses. In the military sphere they followed one another in quick sequence.

To counter the threat of armed aggression in Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was born. To counter the Communist invasion of south Korea a United Nations military force was formed for the first time in history, to protect a nation from aggression.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the Korean war. Our wounds are too fresh and our memories too full. But when we remember the cost in blood and treasure of that action, we must also remember its purpose and the result. More than 9 years after the invasion began, the Republic of Korea is still free.

The war also reinforced a lesson we had learned the hard way. The troops which invaded Manchuria fought on to Nanking, Singapore, and the Aleutians. The troops that marched into the Rhineland marched on to Paris, Athens, and Stalingrad. But the Communists who invaded south Korea have not fought their way to Australia or Japan, or to British Columbia or California.

We stood together, and under the flag of the United Nations we fought together. We were determined and united.

Surely others, too, learned a lesson from Korea. It is not likely that our determination to defend the free world will again be taken lightly.

But before this bitter war was over, North America itself faced the threat of aggression. The possibility of bombers from across the Arctic was no longer merely a classroom exercise in military theory.

Our joint response was the Pinetree Line, the Mid-Canada Line, the Distant Early Warning Line, and finally, on August 1, 1957, the announcement, already communicated to NATO, that Canada and the United States planned to operate their systems of air defense under an integrated joint command responsible to the Chiefs of Staff of both countries.⁵

We now know this command as NORAD—the North American Air Defense Command—and I regret that it is impossible for all the citizens of both our countries to visit its headquarters at Colorado Springs and its ever-ready fighting units across this continent and at sea. It is a splendid example of our cooperation at the service level.

To speak of NORAD today is to speak of a force of over 200,000 men, not to mention their equipment and augmentation forces. It is a compliment to the quiet efficiency of NORAD under the leadership of our General [Laurence S.] Kuter and your Air Marshal [Charles R.] Slemmon that so many of us take it for granted.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1947, p. 361.
⁵ For text of joint statement, see *ibid.*, Aug. 19, 1957, p. 306.

What air defense did we have 10 years ago? One radar squadron and two gun battalions, according to General Kuter. A far cry from the radar, supersonic interceptors, the surface-to-air missiles, and the electronic computers that guard us today.

We hope the effectiveness of NORAD is never tested in battle. We shall never know to what degree its strength has already deterred the ambitions of those who might otherwise have been tempted to try to destroy us.

But jet aircraft and the BOMARC are no match for intercontinental ballistic missiles. Nor are they supposed to be. Will NORAD, then, as some say, soon outlive its usefulness?

I am not a military expert; so I will let an expert speak for me. General Kuter addressed the NATO Parliamentarians Conference in Washington a few weeks ago. I quote:

Let me say here that we believe that the manned bomber will be a serious threat for a long time to come.

We are told that the missile will ultimately become the primary threat, but even so it will be a mixed threat, and the bomber will still be used against pinpoint or hardened targets, for mopup operations, or for a variety of situations which demand human intelligence and judgment on the spot.

We are also convinced that the subsonic attack—on the deck—at very low altitude—will remain a threat indefinitely.

But when the day does come that intercontinental missiles are the primary threat, will NORAD be helpless to deal with them? What is being done to insure that we can defend ourselves and strike back? I quote once more from General Kuter's address:

Another major area in which we are now working is that of defense against missiles.

We are installing now in the far north a missile warning system entitled the "Ballistic Missile Early Warning System"—short title, BMEWS.

These are enormous fan-beam radars which will give us not only warnings but an approximate idea of a missile impact area.

We are working vigorously in perfecting an antimissile missile. . . . And we have every confidence that free-world scientific and military capability is more than a match for anything communism may throw at us.

That is why we believe that when the missile becomes an operational threat in significant numbers we will have a system to counteract it. The stakes are too high to fail now.

Speaking also at the same NATO Parliamentarians Conference Admiral [Jerauld] Wright,

the NATO Atlantic commander,⁶ emphasized the vital importance of the military task which confronts us today as partners and allies. He stressed the fact that there are three basic defense tasks which must be accomplished by NATO:

1. the defense of Europe;
2. the defense of North America;
3. the defense of the Atlantic.

No one of these, he said, can be defended in isolation:

Europe could not be defended without the retaliatory capability and the logistic and military reinforcement capacity of North America.

The defense of North America would be made immeasurably more difficult if Europe should fall.

And neither could be defended if we lost control of our trans-Atlantic lines of sea communication between the two.

"Our basic and fundamental military task," he added, "is the *prevention* of war by our *strength*: strength to retaliate and strength to defend."

Before I end my discussion of our responses to the military threat posed by international communism, I should like to say a few words about one of the means of our defense that weighs heavily on us all—nuclear weapons. I think it might be useful to begin with an examination of the circumstances that require our possession of these weapons.

Shortly after their meeting in Paris in December 1957, the NATO Heads of Government issued a communique, from which I quote:⁷

The Soviet leaders, while preventing a general disarmament agreement, have made it clear that the most modern and destructive weapons, including missiles of all kinds, are being introduced in the Soviet armed forces. In the Soviet view, all European nations except the U.S.S.R. should, without waiting for general disarmament, renounce nuclear weapons and missiles and rely on arms of the pre-atomic age.

As long as the Soviet Union persists in this attitude, we have no alternative but to remain vigilant and to look to our defenses. We are therefore resolved to achieve the most effective pattern of NATO military defensive strength, taking into account the most recent developments in weapons and techniques.

At that meeting the Heads of Government

⁶ For an announcement of the designation of Adm. Robert L. Dennison to succeed Admiral Wright as Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, see *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 45.

⁷ For text, see *ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1958, p. 12.

agreed that the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Soviet armed forces—better than 80 Russian divisions directly facing Western Europe—required that the NATO shield forces have a nuclear capability.

Accordingly a series of agreements was concluded under the terms of which weapons capable of carrying nuclear warheads were made available to certain NATO countries. The warheads, which would be used only to meet aggression, remained in the custody of the United States. When the North Atlantic Council announced the conclusion of these agreements on May 7, 1959,⁸ it specifically quoted from the North Atlantic Council's communique of May 3 two years before.⁹ I quote:

Pending an acceptable agreement on disarmament, no power can claim the right to deny to the Alliance the possession of the modern arms needed for its defence. If, however, the fears professed by the Soviet Union are sincere, they could be readily dissipated. All that is needed is for the Soviet Union to accept a general disarmament agreement embodying effective measures of control and inspection within the framework of the proposals made on numerous occasions by the Western Powers, which remain an essential basis of their policy.

The Communists have tried to convince us that should we disarm unilaterally there would be no tension between them and the free world. They are right: there would be no free world.

It is clear, I think, no matter how profound our regret, that we must maintain a nuclear deterrent until a nuclear deterrent is no longer required. We have no choice. Thus, to give NATO's defense posture both breadth and flexibility, it was necessary to arm our shield forces with nuclear-capable weapons.

Nevertheless, in so arming our forces, it was also necessary to observe our obligation to reason and to humanity, to inhibit any increase in the number of holders of the warheads themselves. This obligation is embodied in an act of the United States Congress.¹⁰ I do not think any reasonable man underestimates the danger this law sought to minimize.

How much greater the danger under which we live would become if 10 or 50 nations had nuclear weapons for use as they chose. To have them

ready for defensive use and to insure that their use will be for defense only presents a dilemma we can ignore only at our peril. I submit that the solution we have found for our dilemma is a wise one. The free world has the necessary military strength today.

Speaking in this connection about a year ago President Eisenhower stated,¹¹ "As of today [we have the necessary power to] present to any potential attacker who would unleash war upon the world the prospect of virtual annihilation of his country." And he added, "Every informed government knows this. It is no secret." This military strength has preserved the peace of the world in recent years.

It is of course our deepest wish that all nations may disarm, but disarmament is not a one-way street. It is possible only in the event of effective international inspection and control. While there is a mailed fist anywhere, the free world must continue to bear the necessary armor. If we have it, we may not need it. If we need it and do not have it, we shall never need it again.

Economic Cooperation for Peace

I have emphasized the vital importance of Canadian-United States cooperation to the defense of the free world. I believe, however, I would leave an unbalanced picture if I did not at least briefly touch on a no less vital element in maintaining peace. That element is free-world economic cooperation.

Military strength alone will not achieve our objectives. Much more is required to end the cold war and to build the international understanding and confidence essential to world peace.

Millions of people in Asia and Africa are today struggling to throw off the yoke of poverty and misery under which they have existed so long. Some of them are determined to attain a better standard of living, cost what it may—even, if necessary, at the expense of freedom.

If freedom, security, and world peace are to be realized, the reasonable aspirations of these people must be furthered. The offensive must be maintained against hunger, disease, and privation.

The United States, Canada, and the free world took the initiative in this field long before the Communists had ever thought of a foreign aid

⁸ *Ibid.*, May 25, 1959, p. 739.

⁹ For text, see *ibid.*, May 27, 1957, p. 840.

¹⁰ Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended.

¹¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 27, 1958, p. 115.

program. We are fighting these ancient miseries which offer such fertile ground for communism's favorite technique of political subversion and economic penetration.

Aid alone will not bring the victory over poverty and hunger. People must have within their own hands the means of self-support in dignity and freedom. This can be assured only if the world's trade is founded on principles which promote expansion and provide opportunity. Canada and the United States have led the world toward these principles ever since the end of World War II.

The freedom preserved through defensive strength must not be lost to ignorance and hunger. Yes, we have guns for the defense of the free world, but we also have engineers, technicians, and surgeons, and food, and the certainty that all men wish to be free. And we are determined through understanding and cooperation to build lasting confidence and friendship which are so vital in this troubled world.

The Future

We have come a long way since the agreement at Ogdensburg. The world has changed and with it our responsibilities have changed—our responsibilities to ourselves and to all those who respect the charter of the United Nations.

But some things have not changed. When I mentioned a few minutes ago some of the things we share, my list was incomplete. I left out perhaps the most important things of all: the belief that peace and freedom are possible for all men and the hope that the door to peace and freedom may be opened as a result of our strength in cooperation.

My travels and observations during the past year have served to underline for me the great contribution which the cooperation between our two nations has made to the peace and security of the free world. They have also served to underline the vital importance of our continued cooperation for peace in the period which lies ahead.

May I add that what we have done for ourselves we have done for all free men. And what we have done for the security of the free world we have done for ourselves.

There is still much to do. Perhaps there always will be. But I am sure we will do it together. If we do not, it will not be done at all.

To paraphrase the words of your distinguished Prime Minister [John George Diefenbaker] at ceremonies in Prince Albert which I was privileged to attend: The price of peace is cooperation and the prize of cooperation is peace.

IJC Reports on Development of Columbia River Basin

Press release 885 dated December 30

The Department of State announced on December 30 that the International Joint Commission has submitted to the Governments of the United States and Canada its report on "principles for determining and apportioning benefits from cooperative use of storage of waters and electrical interconnection within the Columbia River system." The report was made public on December 30 at Washington and Ottawa.

In January 1959 the two Governments requested the Commission to make a special report on the determination and allocation of benefits which might result from the cooperative development of the Columbia River system with particular regard to electrical generation and flood control.¹

In receiving the report the Department of State expressed appreciation for the constructive efforts of the members of the International Joint Commission and the fact that the Commission was able to reach agreement on its recommendations. The Acting Chairman of the U.S. Section is Eugene W. Weber, and the Chairman of the Canadian Section is Gen. A.G.L. McNaughton. The other Canadian Commissioners are Donald L. Stephens of Winnipeg and Lucien Dansereau of Montreal. The other U.S. Commissioner is Francis Adams. The Department of State recalled the contribution which the late Gov. Douglas McKay made to the Commission's work as Chairman of the U.S. Section.

The Commission's report is now under study by appropriate officials in the U.S. and Canadian Governments with a view to its usefulness as guidelines in negotiation of an agreement covering specific projects and cooperative arrangements in the Columbia River Basin. After consultation with the appropriate congressional committees the Department of State will consult further

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 16, 1959, p. 243.

with the Canadian Department of External Affairs concerning the commencement of treaty negotiations.

A similar announcement was made simultaneously at Ottawa.

U.S. and Mexican Officials Discuss Control of Illegal Drug Traffic

Following is the text of a joint communique released at Washington on January 5 at the conclusion of a 2-day meeting of delegations from Mexico and the United States.

Press release 2 dated January 5 (revised)

In view of the fact that illicit production, traffic and use of narcotic drugs constitutes a world problem as well as a problem which affects Mexico and the United States alike and upon the invitations of the United States, delegations of the Governments of the United States and Mexico met in Washington, D.C., on January 4 and 5, 1960, to explore, informally, ways and means of intensifying the campaign against illicit traffic in narcotics in accordance with existing international treaties and the domestic legislation of the two countries. It was agreed that this campaign offers a most fruitful opportunity for international cooperation as is explicit in international treaties on narcotics to which both countries are parties and in their membership in the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs. It was also agreed that, in the spirit of mutual understanding and respect which characterizes the friendly relations of the two countries, the two Governments would continue to make their best efforts to find appropriate measures to combat more effectively the traffic in illegal drugs, in addition to the implementation of provisions of international treaties on the subject that each Government is observing to the best of its ability.

In this connection the Chief of the American Delegation stated that his Government is prepared to offer its facilities in the training of personnel and the use of scientific and technical equipment, if the Mexican Government should so desire.

On this basis each delegation stated their conviction that their Governments would continue to encourage closer cooperation between Federal,

State and municipal officials of the two countries who are engaged in the fight against the nefarious activities of narcotic criminals in the two countries. It was noted that the general public is frequently unaware of the operations of competent authorities in the narcotics field because of the necessarily confidential nature of enforcement methods.

There was complete recognition that the drug traffic between the two countries involves the illicit production, distribution or transit of narcotic drugs in Mexico and the illegal sale and use of or addiction to those drugs in the United States. In this connection the Chief of the Mexican Delegation called attention to the fact that since 1947 a national campaign has been carried out in Mexico with the cooperation of all levels of government to combat the illicit cultivation, traffic or transportation of narcotic drugs. The Chief of the American Delegation commented that the United States has increased the number of customs and narcotics agents in the areas near the border and is prepared to enter into a cooperative training program for the enforcement agents of both countries.

The members of both Delegations stressed the need for continuous public enlightenment regarding the seriousness of the drug problem, especially in areas of widespread addiction, and the importance of wholehearted support of the people in supporting such measures as have a reasonable likelihood of eliminating the violators of narcotics laws—the perpetrators of the most abominable crime against the health and welfare of our communities.

Mexican Delegation:

Lic. Oscar Rabasa, Chief of Delegation, Director in Chief for American Affairs and the Foreign Service, Ministry for Foreign Relations, and Permanent Representative of Mexico to the United Nations Commission on Narcotics

Lic. Juan Barona Lobato, Assistant to the Attorney General of Mexico

Lic. Santiago Ibañez Llamas, Chief Inspector of Immigration, Ministry of the Interior

Lic. Francisco Alfaro S., Chief of Legal Department, Ministry of Health and Assistance

Lic. José Luis Laris, Secretary to Delegation, First Secretary of Embassy, Mexican Embassy, Washington, D.C.

United States Delegation:

Myles Ambrose, Chief of Delegation, Assistant to the Secretary for Law Enforcement, Department of the Treasury

Chester A. Emerick, Deputy Commissioner of Customs, Investigations, Department of the Treasury

Henry L. Giordano, Deputy Commissioner of Narcotics, Department of the Treasury

John S. Hoghland, 2d, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, Department of State

Robert F. Hale, Consul General, American Consulate General, Tijuana, Mexico

Melville E. Osborne, Officer in Charge, Mexican Affairs, Department of State

Elwyn F. Chase, Jr., Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

U.S. Congressmen James Roosevelt and Joe Holt from the State of California attended and participated in the discussions held in Washington.

THE CONGRESS

President Expresses Views on World Court and Disarmament

Following is an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey which was made public by Senator Humphrey on November 27.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO SENATOR HUMPHREY

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA
November 17, 1959

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: I write now in further reply to your letter of October 21, 1959.

One of the great purposes of this Administration has been to advance the rule of law in the world, through actions directly by the United States Government and in concert with the governments of other countries. It is open to us to further this great purpose both through optimum use of existing international institutions and through the adoption of changes and improvements in those institutions.

Timely consideration by the United Nations of threatening situations, in Egypt in 1956, in Lebanon in 1958, and in Laos in 1959, has made an important contribution to the preservation of

international peace and security. The continued development of mutual defense and security arrangements among the United States and a large number of free-world countries has provided a powerful deterrent against international law-breaking. One cannot, however, be satisfied with the way events have developed in some areas—for example, Hungary, and Tibet. The international community needs to find more effective means to cope with and to prevent such brutal uses of force.

One of the principal efforts of the United States in the last half dozen years has been to devise effective means for controlling and reducing armaments. Success in this quest will bring greater security to all countries and lift the threat of devastating nuclear conflict. In order to make progress toward the goal of complete and general disarmament expressed in the United Nations resolution¹ recently sponsored by the United States and the other members of the General Assembly, this Government has followed the policy of seeking reliable international agreements on manageable segments of the whole arms problem. I am hopeful that the current Geneva negotiations on discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests will produce agreement.² A resulting treaty would, of course, be submitted to the Senate.

Next year the United States will be participating in further disarmament efforts to be undertaken by a group of ten nations which will, as appropriate, report on its progress to the United Nations Disarmament Commission and General Assembly.³ The best and most carefully elaborated disarmament agreements are likely to carry with them some risks, at least theoretically, of evasion. But one must ponder, in reaching decisions on the very complex and difficult subject of arms control, the enormous risks entailed if reasonable steps are not taken to curb the international competition in armaments and to move effectively in the direction of disarmament.

As you know from my message to the Congress on the State of the Union in January 1959,⁴ and

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Nov. 23, 1959, p. 766.

² For a statement by the chairman of the U.S. delegation, see *ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1960, p. 79.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1959, p. 115.

from expressions by the Vice President,⁵ the Secretary of State,⁶ and the Attorney General,⁷ the Administration is anxious to contribute to the greater effectiveness of the International Court of Justice. The Administration supports elimination of the automatic reservation to the Court's jurisdiction by which the United States has reserved to itself the right to determine unilaterally whether a subject of litigation lies essentially within domestic jurisdiction. I intend, therefore, on an appropriate occasion, to re-state to the Congress my support for the elimination of this reservation. Elimination of this automatic reservation from our own declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction would place the United States in a better position to urge other countries to agree to wider jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

I appreciate having your views on this vitally important subject.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

**SENATOR HUMPHREY TO PRESIDENT
EISENHOWER**

OCTOBER 21, 1959

The PRESIDENT
The White House
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In your State of the Union Message on January 9, 1959, you declared it to be your purpose to intensify our efforts to the end that the rule of law may replace the obsolete rule of force in the affairs of nations. In particular, you advised the Congress to expect a more specific proposal from you, dealing with the problem of our relationship to the International Court of Justice. Subsequently, the Vice President and the Attorney General have delivered important addresses citing your concern with this problem.

Along with many other members of Congress in both parties, I was delighted to note this emphasis on a program of strengthening the Court. An American initiative

along this line would, I know, be welcome throughout the world.

In selecting for first attention the problem of the American relationship to the Court itself, you have I believe, made a wise judgment. In particular, the reservation to ourselves of the right to determine whether a case lies within our domestic jurisdiction, should be eliminated as soon as possible. Since reservations of any party automatically accrue to its adversary, this reservation probably will be used against our interests more frequently than it is used in our behalf.

I should like to say, Mr. President, that the initiatives you have taken toward the establishment of an international rule of law are most welcome. They have my wholehearted support, and, I am confident, the support of most members of the Congress.

Senate Resolution 91⁸ supports your position in this matter. The State Department has advised the Foreign Relations Committee that it is in agreement with this Resolution. There is considerable support among members of the Foreign Relations Committee for this step toward greater participation in the Court, but there is a general feeling, which I share, that since you have indicated a desire to speak further on this subject, final action should be held in abeyance pending your message.

I regret very much that the first session of the present Congress has adjourned without receiving your message on this important subject.

I respectfully urge you to give this further consideration. I hope that you will, either in your next State of the Union message or in a special communication, advise us of the broad policies which guide the United States Government in its efforts to establish a rule of law in the world, and also describe the specific measures which Congress should pass to aid in accomplishing this general purpose. Since Senate Resolution 94 is now widely understood and has been fully discussed in the press, and since the withdrawal of the self-judgement aspect of the domestic jurisdiction reservation is an obvious first step, I hope your message will contain a plea for the early passage of Senate Resolution 94.

The enunciation of general principles of long range foreign policy are most useful. The public acceptance of these broad principles will be bolstered by concrete proposals. It is with this in mind that I have introduced Senate Resolution 94, which is admittedly only a very small step toward the greater common goal which we share. With your support I am confident that the Senate will accept this measure, and we will then be able to look toward the further establishment of what our late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, called "institutions of peace."

Advocacy of measures looking toward the establishment of a just and lasting peace has always been urgent. It is

⁸S. Res. 91 calls for U.S. renunciations of the right to declare an international legal dispute as "essentially domestic" and for acceptance of World Court jurisdiction in such disputes regarding interpretation of treaties, any questions of international law, breaches of international obligation, and reparations.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1959, p. 622.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1959, p. 255.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1959, p. 379.

particularly urgent now, after the recent visit of the Soviet Chairman, to make it doubly clear to the entire world that, while we shall strive mightily for a peaceful resolution of Soviet-U.S. differences, our goal has not shifted toward a two-power world; rather we continue to look resolutely toward an international system in which the rights of all nations will be respected, regardless of size or military power.

An American expression of confidence in the Court at this time, would be of tremendous value and I hope you will find an early occasion to express your personal support of legislation to make our American membership in the Court what it should be.

Respectfully yours,

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Secretary Sends Report to Congress on East-West Center in Hawaii

Following is the text of a letter from Secretary Herter transmitting to the Congress a report on "A Plan for the Establishment in Hawaii of a Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West,"¹ together with the text of chapter 6, "Summary of Proposals and Estimates."

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DECEMBER 31, 1959

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT:² I transmit herewith, pursuant to the provisions of Chapter VI of the Mutual Security Act of 1959, a Report describing a Plan and Program for the Establishment and Operation in Hawaii of a Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West.

The report presents both the role which such a Center could have in relations between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific and the problems and needs involved in its establishment. Attention is called especially to the problem of Federal assistance, as described on Pages 11 and 18.

It is not considered that funds available under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, may

¹ A limited number of copies of the report are available upon request from the Office of Public Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

² An identical letter, with a copy of the report, was sent to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

be used for construction and operating costs of the Center.

With warmest personal regards,

Most sincerely,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

Enclosures: Report entitled "A Plan for the Establishment in Hawaii of a Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West", dated December 30, 1959.

THE VICE PRESIDENT

United States Senate.

SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS AND ESTIMATES

An International Center, as proposed, concentrating on Asian and Pacific affairs and established in connection with the University of Hawaii could make a valuable contribution to the programs of the United States for the promotion of international educational, cultural, and related activities.

1. In keeping with the views of the Hawaiian Community Advisory Committee, it should consist of two principal units, to be maintained, staffed, and operated by the University. These units would consist of (1) an International College offering academic programs and related services and (2) an International Training Center providing facilities for on-the-job, in-service, or field training. The principal officers of the Center would be the Director, the Dean of the International College, and the Director of the Training Center. The Director of the International Center would report directly to the President of the University.

2. To initiate a program for such a Center would require the provision as soon as possible of adequate housing and related facilities; its expansion would have to be commensurate with the growth of such facilities.

3. During the first three years, scholarships for students from Asian and Pacific areas as well as for those of the United States should be provided, and also grants for outstanding scholars, scientists, and other specialists and men of leadership in order to strengthen the program of the Center and demonstrate its potentialities.

4. The facilities, services, and resources of the Center should be made available at reasonable cost to all qualified students, scholars, agencies, and institutions interested in participating in its programs.

5. Appropriate advisory committees should be established to assure adequate liaison and policy and program guidance from the viewpoint of the participating or sponsoring agencies and institutions.

6. To carry out such a Plan would require special financial support, that is, support from sources other than and in addition to the Government and University of Hawaii.

7. Such special financial support, it is estimated, would amount to \$8,300,000. This would be distributed as follows: (a) a contribution to initial building costs; and during the first three years: (b) contributions toward operational expenses, (c) scholarships for 225 Asian and Pacific students and 75 American students, (d) grants to outstanding Asian, Pacific, and American scholars and other leaders, and (e) advisory services. (For detailed figures, see Appendix 7.)³

8. Regarding the possibility of special financial support from the Federal Government, no specific provision has been made for these needs in the budget for 1961. The Plan for the Center as it materializes can be called to the attention of agencies of the Government planning programs which might make use of available facilities. Some support for the Center might be possible also to the extent that it could be derived from grants available under programs authorized by general legislation. Thus, the University might further explore the possibilities of obtaining assistance for the necessary building under the loan program of the Housing and Home Finance Agency or under programs of assistance to educational institutions, like those currently proposed in H.R. 4267 or S. 1017, 86th Congress, First Session, 1959. For scholarships, fellowships, and other similar payments to or for students and other individuals, grants could be sought under the regular programs for which the Congress appropriates funds as authorized by the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, as amended; Title III of Chapter II of the Mutual Security Act of 1954; the National Defense Education Act; and other Acts cited specifically or in general terms in the legislation which has authorized this Report.

³ Not printed here.

The Task of Peaceful Cooperation

Remarks by George N. Shuster¹

Mr. Chairman, having listened with great interest to the resolution² presented by the distinguished delegate from the Soviet Union [N. M. Sissakian] and also to his remarks, I feel it incumbent upon me to make a statement somewhat more lengthy than would otherwise be the case. I should like to begin by recalling UNESCO's first meeting in this city, when a truly great man, whose life has been given to the cause of peace and upon whose body then lay a weariness born of duress in concentration camps, rose to express the hopes which were in all our hearts at that time, namely, that our joint victory would usher in freedom and a decent measure of human understanding. That man was Léon Blum, and I should like to dedicate to the memory of this son of France what I shall now say. My comment will be, of necessity, in a measure a response to my colleague of the Soviet Union but will also be, I fondly trust, something more than that.

Certainly no men desired more ardently peaceful and fruitful relations with the people of Russia than did Americans of my generation. We had been reared and we lived in the spirit of Tolstoy and Dostoevski, the two greatest masters of the human mind of their age and still among the oracles of our own. They seem to me far more important than sputniks and fleets of jet planes. How could anyone doubt that a people from which such men arose is a mighty people fed by the springs of both East and West? Why

¹ Made on Dec. 2 before the 55th meeting of the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which met at Paris Nov. 24-Dec. 4. Dr. Shuster, who is president of Hunter College, was chairman of the U.S. delegation.

² UNESCO doc. 55 EX DR.1/Rev. The Soviet resolution called for (1) a study of the needs of underdeveloped countries in the fields of education, science, and culture and (2) "a radical improvement of UNESCO's activities for consolidating peace and implementing the principles of peaceful co-existence."

should we not always have lamented the barriers which, during a long and evil time, made the Volga and Neva alien streams for us? It is, in retrospect, unfortunate that the Soviet Union was not present at the earlier conference of UNESCO, despite earnest and repeated requests from the Government of the United States. I note with very great satisfaction that there has been a change of climate, and I wish to take full cognizance of this before proceeding to be rather critical of the resolution which Professor Sissakian has introduced.

Problem of Illiteracy and Poverty

There are in this resolution, in the main, three considerations. The first is this: We are asked to assume that, as a result of disarmament, profusely large sums of money will be made available to relieve illiteracy and poverty throughout the world. God knows that no one could be more in favor of that possibility than we are, but I would say in all candor that we already know what these needs are. One of my colleagues, Professor Paulo Carneiro, for example, has informed us that not less than \$100 million a year for 10 years would be required to solve the problem of illiteracy in Latin America. There exist, at the United Nations and at all our own American agencies, documents galore which reflect the need—the dire, desperate need—of millions of people, to whom Chesterton refers, “thronging like the thousands up from under the sea.”

Our problem is not now to ask UNESCO what are the dimensions of illiteracy and poverty in the world. Our problem is first of all to say, “What can we now do in order to alleviate these difficulties?” And I can only tell you that (and I think here again I will revert to what Professor Carneiro said) there are not merely people in my country but in all the countries of the world who are giving of their substance daily to relieve this distress. He referred to the action taken by the bishops of the West German Federal Republic. We know of so many more—I will not take up your time enumerating them—but I merely want to make one illustration. Heaven knows that the people of Greece are poor enough, but not long ago we received from two villages in that country a donation which was sent to an American organization in the hope of improving the lot of school-children in India.

I want now, if I may, to say this about UNESCO and its work. Sometimes we think that there is nothing very glamorous about UNESCO. This may be true. It does not concern itself with traumatic and dramatic experiences but with the daily, nourishing, creative work of the human mind. Therefore I would say that we should be grateful for the fact that we have come so far.

The other evening, after a long series of meetings, I sat for a while reading the excellent study which our colleague, Mr. Gardner Davies, has devoted to the French poet Mallarmé, and my eye lighted on that poet's line: *Toute notre native amitié monotone*. This amicableness, this *amitié*, that we feel is native to the human spirit. It may be a bit monotonous at times. I, for my part, am not at all satisfied with what UNESCO now is. I want to see it have, in the major lines of its effort, much more imagination, much more power, much more money, and I am grateful for the fact that the men who are guiding its destiny share these views with me. I see no occasion at the present time for turning aside from the efforts to which we are devoted in order to prepare a totally different outlook for the Organization.

Principle of Peaceful Cooperation

Now I shall come to the other two proposals in Professor Sissakian's resolution, about which I shall be even more critical, regretfully enough. The first has to do with what he calls peaceful coexistence. Now “peaceful coexistence” is one term. We have preferred another term, which is “peaceful cooperation.” The difficulty is that “peaceful coexistence” has a history. It has a history which from our point of view is not too glamorous, and I want, for my part, to be certain that there has been a close in one section of the book of the past and that from this time forward the words “peaceful coexistence” will mean something else. I shall be explicit. There is a proposal in this resolution that we establish a conference to be held on the basis of parity between East and West. Now what in essence does this resolution seem to us to mean? It appears to us, and my country, to mean what we have often confronted in the United Nations, namely, a proposition that there be set up a kind of parity between the United States and Russia as a basis for a sort of summit meeting in which we can

formulate a doctrine we might be able to sell to or, if necessary, to impose upon the Organization.

Our concept, members of the Board, of peaceful cooperation is a totally different one. We don't want any UNESCO summit conference. We are deeply committed to the principle of the family of nations. We know that this family looks upon us often as the eldest child, who has inherited all the money and who is a little stingy about giving it away. We also know that members of the family sometimes are a bit exigent and expect of us things that we cannot supply. Nevertheless I wish, this afternoon, to reaffirm our faith in the family of nations and to tell you that what we mean by cooperation is this: that never will we consent to any kind of international intellectual organization in which the smallest one amongst us does not have equal rights to share in the discussion and to arrive at the conclusions. It is for this reason, primarily, that we do not favor any kind of meeting under the auspices of UNESCO which is based on a principle of parity.

There is another reason. From our point of view the United States is not a capitalistic country. We have in our opinion long ceased to be one, and for my part, if I may say so, I think that Karl Marx would have great difficulty in recognizing the Soviet Union as a socialist country of the sort he had in mind. If I speak now of a parity of socialist and capitalist countries, I am not merely being semantic but I am pointing out that just as there has been an inevitable trend in the whole field of disarmament there has been an equally inevitable trend in the field of sociological and economic development. Therefore, I say, why not accept our principle of peaceful cooperation, which means in essence that we will rededicate ourselves to the problems of freedom, of literacy, of emancipation from poverty insofar as education can make this possible and expend additional effort in developing brilliantly the ways in which we can attack these situations.

Sources of War Propaganda and Preparations

And now, finally, I want to revert to the last part of the proposal about which Professor Sissakian will pardon me if I say that I have some very serious reservations. This is the passage in his document which refers to the fact that we have to fight against preparations for and propaganda for another war. This also has a long and serious history.

For the past 10 years my country has been cast, and not by itself, in the role of the originator of this kind of propaganda. There have been dozens of international conferences which we have not attended in which every resolution that was passed called attention to the fact that from somewhere between Washington and New York there emanated a constant stream of declarations hostile to the cause of peace. Now I want to be sure, before I dedicate UNESCO to anything like this, that it, in turn, is not to participate in a conference of this character, that when we talk seriously, man to man, about propaganda for warfare and preparation for war, we will look present international situations squarely in the eye. Where is propaganda for war being made? Where is activity for the promotion of military effort taking place? If the proposal is to look honestly at the current sources of propaganda and of military preparation, I can assure Professor Sissakian that I will be present for that conference.

This then, I think, more or less summarizes my point of view. I have, however, a recommendation to make. This I am going to introduce with a quotation from Abraham Lincoln. This is the greatest testament of my country: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in." I agree that this work is the building of a peace for which all the peoples of the world ardently long and of which they constantly dream, and I am going to suggest that between now and the next General Conference the distinguished delegate from the Soviet Union and I, severally in our ways, draw up for consideration at the next General Conference a bill of particulars of what he would have UNESCO do in terms of the principle of peaceful coexistence and what I would have UNESCO do in terms of peaceful cooperation.

We will go home to our several countries. He can consult his great leader, and I will consult mine. We will not compare notes and perhaps no one could hope this more deeply than do I. And I repeat what I said at the outset: As I talk this afternoon I think of Léon Blum, and as I talk this afternoon I think of what I owe personally, and will owe every day of my life, to the inspiration of the great masters of Russian literature. I profoundly hope that, when we come back with the two lists of proposals which I have suggested this

afternoon, there will be so much agreement between us that UNESCO can then proceed to say, "At last we have opened an era in which a genuine measure of cooperation and friendship is possible." I shall even confess to Professor Sissakian that, being the kind of man I am, I shall go back to my homeland and pray daily that his list may be inspired with even greater wisdom than my own. It is in this spirit that I would like to conclude the remarks I wish to make on his resolution.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Finance

Agreement establishing the Inter-American Development Bank, with annexes. Done at Washington April 8, 1959.

Signed and acceptances deposited: Colombia, December 21, 1959; Ecuador, December 22, 1959; El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama, December 29, 1959; Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Peru, December 30, 1959.

Entered into force: December 30, 1959.

Sugar

International sugar agreement of 1958. Done at London December 1, 1958. Entered into force provisionally January 1, 1959; definitively for the United States October 9, 1959.

Proclaimed by the President: December 31, 1959.

Ratifications and acceptances deposited: Costa Rica, June 23, 1959; Cuba (with reservation), June 15, 1959; Dominican Republic, June 3, 1959; Indonesia, November 6, 1959; Ireland, June 5, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.

Proclaimed by the President: December 30, 1959.

Entered into force: January 1, 1960.

Trade and Commerce

Seventh protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva November 30, 1957.¹

Signature: Peru, December 4, 1959.

Declaration on relations between contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Done at Geneva May 25, 1959. Entered into force November 16, 1959; for the United States, November 19, 1959.

Signatures: Yugoslavia, May 25, 1959; France, May 30, 1959; Finland, June 18, 1959; Italy, July 7, 1959; Greece, July 9, 1959; Norway, July 14, 1959; Turkey, July 21, 1959; New Zealand, August 4, 1959; Belgium (subject to ratification), August 20, 1959; India and Indonesia, September 1, 1959; Ghana, September 9, 1959; Austria, September 22, 1959; Luxembourg, October 12, 1959; Netherlands and United Kingdom (but not in respect of the Protected State of Brunei)², October 19, 1959; Denmark, October 26, 1959; Czechoslovakia, Israel, and Sweden, October 29, 1959; Ceylon, October 31, 1959; Canada and Chile, November 6, 1959; Uruguay, November 9, 1959; Burma, November 11, 1959; Peru, November 16, 1959; Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, November 17, 1959; United States, November 19, 1959.

Ratification deposited: Belgium, September 16, 1959. Declaration on the provisional accession of Israel to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva May 29, 1959. Entered into force October 9, 1959; for the United States December 19, 1959.

Signatures: Israel (subject to ratification), May 29, 1959; Greece, July 9, 1959; Norway, July 14, 1959; Turkey, August 6, 1959; Ghana, September 9, 1959; Austria (subject to ratification) and New Zealand, September 22, 1959; Belgium (subject to ratification) and Finland, October 6, 1959; France, October 9, 1959; Netherlands and United Kingdom (but not in respect of the Protected States of Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Bahrain, Brunei,² Dubai, Fujairah, Kuwait, Qatar, Ras al Khaimah, Sharjah, and Ummal Quaiwan), October 19, 1959; Sweden, October 29, 1959; Nicaragua, October 30, 1959; Ceylon, October 31, 1959; Canada and Denmark, November 6, 1959; Uruguay, November 9, 1959; Burma, November 11, 1959; Peru, November 16, 1959; Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and Union of South Africa, November 17, 1959; United States, November 19, 1959; Italy, December 7, 1959.

Ratification deposited: Israel, September 9, 1959.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Opened for signature at Washington April 6 through 24, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, for part I and parts III to VIII, and August 1, 1959, for part II. TIAS 4302.

Acceptance deposited: Mexico, December 30, 1959.

BILATERAL

Netherlands

Agreement further extending the agreement of August 6 and 16, 1956, as extended (TIAS 3650 and 3896), relating to the establishment and operation of rawinsonde observation stations in Curaçao and St. Martin. Effected by exchange of notes at The Hague July 21 and October 10, 1958. Entered into force October 10, 1958.

Switzerland

Agreement replacing schedule 1 (Swiss) annexed to the reciprocal trade agreement of 1936 (49 Stat. 3917). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 30, 1959. Entered into force January 1, 1960.

Turkey

Agreement further amending the agreement of November 15, 1954, as supplemented and amended (TIAS 3179, 3201, 3205, and 3444), for the exchange of commodities and sale of grain, with annex. Effected by exchange of notes at Ankara December 10, 1959. Entered into force December 10, 1959.

¹ Not in force.

² Notification dated November 27, 1959, accepts declaration in respect of Protected State of Brunei.

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Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.
Release issued prior to January 4, which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 885 of December 30.

No.	Date	Subject
†1	1/5	Consulate general at Cameroun elevated to embassy (rewrite).
2	1/5	U.S.-Mexico communique on narcotics control.
3	1/6	U.S.-Netherlands civil aviation talks.
†4	1/8	Delegate to ECE Steel Committee (rewrite).
†5	1/9	Dillon: departure for Paris economic talks.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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United States Participates in Economic Talks at Paris

Under Secretary Douglas Dillon left Washington for Paris on January 10 to represent the United States at a meeting of a Special Economic Committee on January 12 and 13,¹ a meeting of the 20 governments which are members or associates of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation on January 14,² and a ministerial meeting of the OEEC Council, also on January 14. Following is a series of statements made by Mr. Dillon, together with the texts of three resolutions adopted by the Special Economic Committee on January 13 and subsequently by the 20 member countries and associates of the OEEC on January 14.

DEPARTURE STATEMENT, WASHINGTON, JANUARY 10

Press release 5 dated January 9

My trip to Paris has two purposes:

On January 12 and 13 I will attend a meeting of representatives of a number of governments and the European Economic Commission. This meeting was called in accordance with an understanding reached by President Eisenhower, President de Gaulle, Prime Minister Macmillan, and Chancellor Adenauer at their conference in Paris on December 21.³

On January 14 I will represent the United States at the ministerial meeting of the Council of the OEEC.

It will be our purpose on January 12 and 13 to consider the need for and possible methods of continuing consultation on the important problems of expanding liberal multilateral world trade and stimulating aid to the less developed countries of the free world. These are complex and difficult problems. We do not expect to solve them during the course of the next week, nor do

we plan to make decisions affecting other countries without full consultation with them. But it is my hope that we will be able to decide upon practical steps which might be taken to devise the means most suitable for close consultation on these subjects.

The OEEC Council and the Executive Secretary of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will be fully informed of the discussions held on January 12 and 13.

Since the end of the Second World War the free nations of the world have made tremendous progress in devising entirely new concepts and new means of cooperation with each other. I am confident that the spirit of cooperation which has made possible the accomplishments of the past will serve us equally well in dealing with the challenges of the future.

¹The governments and organizations represented at the meeting on Jan. 12 and 13 were:

Belgium	Netherlands
Canada	Portugal
Denmark	Sweden
France	Switzerland
Germany	United Kingdom
Greece	United States
Italy	EEC Commission

²The member countries of the OEEC and associates represented at the meeting on Jan. 14 were:

Austria	Netherlands
Belgium	Norway
Denmark	Portugal
France	Spain
Germany	Sweden
Greece	Switzerland
Iceland	Turkey
Ireland	United Kingdom
Italy	Canada (associate)
Luxembourg	United States (associate)

³For text of a communique, see BULLETIN of Jan. 11, 1960, p. 43.

ARRIVAL STATEMENT, PARIS, JANUARY 11

During my last visit to Europe in early December,⁴ I had a most welcome opportunity to discuss informally with a number of my European friends and colleagues matters relating to certain trade problems and the challenge facing the industrialized nations of the free world to assist the less developed countries.

Since then, President Eisenhower, President de Gaulle, Prime Minister Macmillan, and Chancellor Adenauer have proposed an informal meeting to consider the need and possible methods for continuing close consultation on these problems. I look forward to representing the United States at that meeting, which has been called for January 12 and 13.

Immediately thereafter, on January 14, I will also represent the United States at the ministerial meeting of the OEEC Council. This will provide an opportunity for the participants in the January 12-13 meeting to inform the entire OEEC of their discussions.

It seems to me that we now face two tasks. The first is to consider immediate steps to have early informal consultations on the trade problems I have spoken of and also on development assistance. Our second task is to consider a long-range plan for continuing international consultations in the future.

We now seek constructive solutions to new challenges facing us today. As we do so, I am confident that the same spirit of cooperation which has made possible the extraordinary economic progress of the 1950's will serve us equally in the decade ahead.

SPECIAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, PARIS, JANUARY 12

Press release 13 dated January 14

I wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the members of the Special Economic Committee for this opportunity to present the views of the United States regarding the major tasks to which my Government hopes this Committee will address

⁴ Mr. Dillon was in Europe Dec. 7-14; for an announcement of his itinerary, see BULLETIN of Dec. 14, 1959, p. 862.

itself in the limited time at its disposal today and tomorrow.

I will begin by discussing the background of the communique which was issued on December 21 following the close of the recent Western summit meeting and from which we draw our terms of reference. Then I would like to lay before the Committee for its consideration certain procedural suggestions for future work.

There is no need for me to repeat the text of the communique of December 21. The essence of it is that we are invited to consider procedures designed to insure that three important economic questions will be given prompt and serious international attention.

The first of these questions relates to the commercial policies of the members of the European Economic Community [EEC] and of the proposed European Free Trade Association [EFTA]⁵ with respect to trade with other countries, including their trade with each other.

The second is that of enlarging the flow of development capital from the industrialized free world to the less developed areas.

The third is the problem of finding the best mechanism for continuing international consultations on major economic problems, including the problem of development assistance.

You are all of course aware that the communique of December 21 was based upon a proposal put forward by the United States. This proposal of ours was formulated in the light of discussions in recent weeks between the Government of the United States and several European governments. President Eisenhower had occasion to discuss certain of these matters during his recent trip, first in Rome and later in Paris. I also discussed them with the representatives of several governments and with the Commission of the European Economic Community in the course of my recent visit to London, Brussels, Bonn, and Paris, as did Assistant Secretary of the Treasury [T. Graydon] Upton on an earlier trip.

As a result of these talks my Government came to the following conclusions.

⁵ The EEC, sometimes called the "Inner Six," is composed of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. The EFTA, sometimes called the "Outer Seven," is composed of Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

Question of European Trade

First, we concluded that the trade problems now emerging in Western Europe presented certain dangers. On the one hand was the danger that these trade problems could lead to political and economic frictions within Europe which might weaken the cohesion of the free world. On the other was the danger that, in an effort to solve the regional European trade problem, measures might be taken which could seriously impair the world-wide trading principles established in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

These dangers, political and economic, are not ones which the United States can safely ignore. To mention only the economic aspect, it is clear that the development of United States commercial policy cannot be divorced from developments in such an important area of world trade as Western Europe. All would agree, I think, that the pursuit of a liberal commercial policy by the United States is essential to the functioning of an effective world trading system. United States commercial policy, however, is not formed in a vacuum. It can be kept liberal only insofar as other major trading countries also pursue liberal policies. Viewing the matter in both its political and economic aspects, we believe that the European trade question is an urgent one and requires the earliest possible attention. The history of this problem makes clear that there is no easy solution readily at hand. It is likely therefore that this subject will require continuing consultations.

Question of Enlarged Development Assistance

The second conclusion to which we came as a result of our talks was that there is great awareness in Western Europe of the increasing role which Europe is bound to play in the provision of development assistance to the newly developing areas of the free world and that there exists a desire for cooperation with the United States and other capital-exporting nations in this common endeavor which is so vital to the preservation of freedom.

At the same time, many questions have been raised as to the best methods of mobilizing national resources for development assistance and of bringing about a more effective exchange of views and experience among the capital-exporting

nations which have the capacity to provide these resources.

The problem of development assistance—like that of the trade problem to which I have referred—is also one in which the United States has a deep interest because of its substantial activities in this field. We wish to work closely with Western Europe and Canada in an endeavor to provide the external development capital which the developing areas of the free world must have if their own efforts to achieve economic progress under conditions of freedom are to succeed.

Question of Successor to OEEC

The third conclusion to which I came as a result of our discussions was that there was need for improving the machinery of international economic cooperation so as to create a better mechanism for dealing with major economic issues with a strengthened relationship between the United States and the other countries concerned. With this in view we felt that study should be given to revitalizing and broadening the work of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation through the establishment of a successor organization in which the United States could become a full member.

The OEEC has succeeded outstandingly in its major tasks of furthering the recovery of Western Europe. Even though many of the tasks for which it was originally created have now been largely accomplished, the OEEC is continuing to do valuable work. The habits of cooperation which have been developed through its efforts should be maintained and strengthened. For the new challenges which have emerged require the closest cooperation by all of us. For its part the United States is prepared to play a full and active part in such an effort.

Looking to the years ahead we see two main economic objectives which will require continuing attention. These are (1) the objective of promoting the economic development of the less developed areas, through bilateral methods as well as through the multilateral institutions already existing or about to be created; and (2) the objective of assuring stability and growth in the world economy.

Let me make one thing clear. If, as a result of this week's meetings, a study is undertaken of the methods of improving cooperation in the economic

field, we feel that such a study should not affect the good work presently under way in the OEEC. This should continue as at present. If, as a result of the proposed studies, it should later be determined by the member countries of the OEEC that a successor organization would be desirable, then and only then would it be time to transform the operations of the OEEC so as to adapt them to the requirements of the successor organization.

These, then, were the substantive conclusions which emerged from our consideration of current economic problems following our discussions with several European governments.

Need for International Action on Economic Problems

The three economic questions which I have mentioned—the question of European trade, the question of enlarged development assistance, and the question of a successor organization to the OEEC—are in many respects separate questions. Yet these three questions have one thing in common, which is that there is no existing international institution through which they may be successfully attacked.

The urgent question of European trade is not being discussed in the OEEC, partly for historical reasons with which all of the members of this Committee are familiar. Nor, because of aspects which go beyond the realm of commercial policy, can it be discussed effectively in the large forum of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. In our judgment this question can only be addressed with any prospect of progress in a limited but representative group such as this Committee.

The question of coordination of broad national policies relating to worldwide development assistance would appear to require the full participation of all countries actively engaged in this effort. The OEEC as presently constituted is seriously handicapped in this effort since the United States is not a full member. And, while the World Bank can be helpful in providing many kinds of information and in bringing countries together on specific projects in which the Bank has an interest, it is itself a lending institution which is not organized in such a way as to make possible the international discussion of broad policies, including national lending policies and the programs of those members which provide, or desire to provide,

external capital for development on a bilateral basis over and above their contribution to international organizations.

Finally, the question of whether there should be a successor organization to the OEEC, which would continue existing functions of the OEEC, which would add important new functions, and which would allow the United States and, we hope, Canada to assume the role of full members, can, in our view, only be discussed directly by all the governments concerned outside the framework of the institutional structure of the OEEC.

It was against this background, Mr. Chairman, that we proposed, at the time of the Western summit meeting, the creation of this Committee to formulate appropriate procedures to further international consideration of the three major economic problems to which I have referred.

U.S. Offers Procedural Suggestions

Since the publication of the communique of December 21 and the issuance by the French Government of the invitation to participate in the Special Economic Committee, my Government has been in continuing consultation both with the governments represented here and with other governments regarding the work of this Committee. In the light of these consultations I would like to place before the Committee the following procedural suggestions: first, for studying the desirability of a successor organization to the OEEC; second, for discussing, pending the establishment of such a successor organization, the problems of development assistance to the less developed areas; and, third, for giving early attention to the European trade questions.

Committee To Study OEEC Reorganization

In considering the desirability of a successor organization to the OEEC I think you will all agree that any such decision can only be taken by the 20 governments who are members of or associated with the OEEC. Furthermore all these governments must have adequate opportunity to thoroughly consider the matter so that we may all be certain that we are obtaining the best possible mechanism for handling the important economic problems which will face us in the future. Accordingly we would suggest that this matter be

thoroughly considered and discussed at a meeting of senior officials representing the 20 governments. The efforts of such a group would be greatly facilitated by the preparation of adequate working papers. These could best be prepared by a very small group. It is our view that this preparatory working group should consist of not more than three persons: one of whom might be chosen from the EFTA countries, the second from the EEC countries, and the third from the other countries who are members of or associated with the OEEC. Once chosen, this Committee of Three would be expected to obtain the views of each of the 20 governments and to prepare a report for submission to the 20 governments. This report might outline the general problems to be faced and might include a draft charter. These documents could then serve as the initial working documents for the conference of officials to which I have referred.

If, as a result of the conference of officials, general agreement emerged on the desirability of a successor organization, a ministerial meeting could be convened to decide any remaining points at issue and to approve a new charter, which would then be submitted to governments for ratification.

It would be our thought that, if the Special Economic Committee agrees on a procedure such as I have outlined relating to the establishment of a successor organization to the OEEC, the Committee should recommend it to all of the 20 governments of the OEEC, whose representatives will be assembled on the occasion of the meeting of the OEEC Council on January 14.

The procedure I have outlined is designed to give every member country of the OEEC full opportunity to participate in this work from the beginning. We have been aware during the weeks following the communique of December 21 that many countries were uncertain as to what the United States had in mind in proposing consideration of a new mechanism of consultation to follow the OEEC. We have heard, on the one hand, that our objective was to weaken the EFTA, on the other, to weaken the EEC, and, finally, that we might be desirous of establishing some sort of directorate to make decisions for others.

Let me state clearly what our motivation actually was. It was very simple. We felt that the time had come when the new problems facing the world, particularly the necessity of marshaling

the total economic resources of the free world in the most effective manner to meet the challenge posed by the newly developing countries, required a close and fully equal collaboration between the United States and the now completely recovered countries of Western Europe. The creation of a new organization seemed unthinkable. It was only natural to explore the possibilities of combining everything that is best in the OEEC with a changed framework that would permit full and equal United States participation. We recognize that the OEEC performs and should continue to perform certain functions that are purely European in character and in which our participation would not be appropriate. We would hope that all such activities as are found to be of continuing usefulness by the members would continue on a purely European basis unaffected by our assumption of full membership in a new parent body.

Development Assistance Group

Now as to the problem of development assistance and its better coordination. If the study of the successor organization to the OEEC results in general agreement that such an organization should be established, we assume that it may be as long as 18 months before the new organization could come into being. We therefore propose that in the meantime a limited group be constituted consisting of those countries in a position to make an effective long-term bilateral contribution to the flow of funds to the less developed countries. We believe that this group on development assistance should operate in an informal manner and that it should consult, whenever desirable, with the World Bank, the OEEC, and other appropriate national or international institutions. A major task of the development assistance group would be to discuss the most effective methods of mobilizing national resources for development assistance as well as of providing such assistance to recipient countries in the most useful manner. There is not only a real need for an increased flow of long-term private and public funds from the industrial countries whose reserves have increased in recent years but also a real need to provide investments, loans, and assistance to the less developed countries in ways which will make the maximum constructive contribution to their economies. The United States would be prepared to make available to this group information on its own lending,

assistance, and investment guaranty operations with the thought that our experience might be useful to others in considering their own programs.

We do not envisage that the development assistance group should attempt to engage in a "burden sharing" exercise or seek to reach decisions on amounts of assistance to be provided to specific countries or areas. If, during its deliberations, it appears that two or more countries desire to cooperate in assistance to particular countries, then it would be desirable to consult promptly with the recipient country or perhaps enlist the good offices of the World Bank. This, as you know, has been the procedure followed successfully by a number of capital-exporting nations and the World Bank in coordinating assistance to India.

We believe that the development assistance group would not require any special international staff. It could, however, make effective use of certain studies which might be carried out by the staff of the OEEC. Useful studies which the OEEC might appropriately undertake at this time would be:

(a) The development of up-to-date statistics on the actual amount of financing which various countries have undertaken in their transactions with the less developed countries, as well as the various types of financing, the relative maturities, and the countries to which assistance has gone.

(b) A factual survey of existing national organizations in the investment, lending, and assistance field through which funds are made available to the less developed countries, the policies of these organizations, the funds currently available to them, and the source of the funds.

(c) An analysis of the various types of incentives to foreign investment in the less developed countries which may exist or be under consideration in the industrial countries.

These studies, as you will have observed, correspond in general with certain of the recommendations of the OEEC staff, which are to be considered at the meeting of the OEEC Council on January 14. Certain other recommendations of the OEEC staff in the field of development assistance would, in our judgment, be premature, and we will speak to that point at the January 14 meeting.

We propose that the development assistance

group consist of those of us who, in addition to their contributions in multilateral organizations, now make, or might be prepared to make, significant bilateral contributions to development. Such a group might include, for example, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Commission of the European Economic Community.

Continuation of Special Economic Committee

The third and last procedural proposal which we wish to put forward is that there be agreement on the forum in which the European trade questions referred to in the communique of December 21 could be discussed from time to time, pending the decision on a successor organization to OEEC.

We suggest that this Special Economic Committee should be continued for this purpose. Although we have heard various alternative suggestions regarding the composition of an appropriate group, we are inclined to doubt that a better formula can be found. In any case, the problems to be considered are of such potential seriousness and urgency that they should not be put aside pending the possible creation of a new organization, which probably could not take place for some 18 months. If agreement can be reached that this body is appropriate for this purpose, we would hope that the date and place for its first meeting could be agreed upon at this time. We believe that this first meeting should be held soon and should be attended by senior officials, with ministerial meetings to be called thereafter as necessary.

The group to deal with these trade questions would not, of course, affect the continuing work of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade or the Steering Board for Trade of the OEEC.

This completes the presentation of our views, Mr. Chairman. In order to facilitate consideration by the Committee of the procedural suggestions we have made, we have prepared drafts of the formal actions which the Committee might take on each of the three procedural arrangements—the study of the reorganization of the OEEC, the establishment of the development assistance group and its terms of reference, and the continuation of the Special Committee to discuss the trade problem. These drafts are being

circulated for the consideration of the members of the Committee.

MEETING OF 20 GOVERNMENTS, PARIS, JANUARY 14

Press release 19 dated January 15

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to comment on the excellent report by the distinguished chairman of the Special Economic Committee, Mr. [Joseph M. A. II.] Luns. He has most ably summarized the outcome of our meeting yesterday. I am glad that he stressed—and I myself wish to underline—the fact that all of us who participated in the informal meetings fully recognized the interest of all member countries of the OEEC, as well as the two associate members, in this matter. I trust the full report which has just been made will reassure all the governments represented here today that there was no intention on the part of any of us—and this has certainly been the case so far as my own Government is concerned—to proceed further without full consultation with all OEEC governments.

Arrangements were made, I know, for all of you to receive copies of my remarks Tuesday evening at the opening meeting of the Special Economic Committee. Therefore I believe it is unnecessary for me to comment at any length on the reasons which prompted the proposals my Government has put forward. The essence of the United States position is that there are new challenges and new opportunities facing the free world. A greater degree of effective collaboration is needed to insure that we will be successful in meeting the new situation.

The objective of my Government in these discussions has been to reach agreement on an orderly method of beginning an exploration of three distinct problems: first, the question of trade which has arisen here in Europe but whose ramifications are truly worldwide in scope; second, the question of how to mobilize economic resources more effectively to promote the economic development of less developed areas; and, third, the need for new methods of economic cooperation which will promote stability and growth in the world economy.

All 20 governments represented here today must obviously participate from the very beginning in work relating to the question of organiza-

tional arrangements. I am sure that you will find that this is fully provided for in the resolution recommended by the Special Committee.

In concluding my remarks, Mr. Chairman, I should like to emphasize one point to which my Government attaches particular importance. That is the necessity that the good work of the OEEC continue unchanged during this period when we will be considering the possibilities for improved cooperation. We favor the formation of a reconstituted organization adapted to the needs of today. Subject to the approval of our Congress, the United States would be prepared to assume full and active membership in an appropriately reconstituted organization. In the meantime we are confident that the OEEC will proceed vigorously and creatively with the significant work before it.

ARRIVAL STATEMENT, WASHINGTON, JANUARY 16

Press release 22 dated January 16

I have just returned from Paris, where I represented the United States at the regular ministerial meeting of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and also at special meetings of the 20 governments which are members or associates of the OEEC.

At these special meetings the 20 governments reached decisions which are of great potential importance for the future of economic cooperation in the free world. Agreement was reached to work together for the establishment of a successor organization to the OEEC in which the United States could participate as a full member and which would facilitate cooperation between the industrialized nations of the free world in meeting the major economic problems which will face the world during the coming decade.

As a result of the Paris decisions we also have reason to expect that a serious and successful effort will now be made to solve the problems of European trade connected with the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association—the Six and the Seven. We have obtained assurances that any solution will take full account of the interests of the United States and other countries in accordance with the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Also during the Paris meetings the governments of a number of capital-exporting nations agreed to consult together on their efforts to provide development assistance to the less developed areas. This group will probably hold its first meeting in Washington in the near future.

TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS

Press release 20 dated January 15

Resolution on Study of O.E.E.C. Reorganization

Representatives of the Governments of Belgium, Canada, France, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States and the Representative of the Commission of the European Economic Community,

a) *Fully appreciating* the cooperative work accomplished by the O.E.E.C.;

b) *Wishing* to ensure the continuity of cooperation in the fields where no change is called for;

c) Determined to pursue economic policies which will contribute to stability and growth in the world economy, *including trade policies directed to the sound use of economic resources and the maintenance of harmonious international relations*;

d) Conscious of the need to devote increased efforts towards furthering the development of less-developed countries;

e) Recognizing the importance of continued cooperation to ensure the achievement of these objectives;

f) Noting the desirability of arrangements which would enable full participation not only by the present 18 Members of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation but also by the two associate members, the United States and Canada;

g) Desiring to proceed with an examination of improved organizational arrangements which could best accomplish these purposes;

h) Recognizing the equal interest of all member and associate member governments of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in this matter;

Propose

1) That a meeting of senior officials of the twenty Governments, members or associate members of the O.E.E.C. and to which the European Communities should also be invited, be convened in Paris on April 19, 1960 to consider the question of appropriate arrangements to achieve the objectives stated above;

2) That, in order to facilitate the work of such meeting, a group of four persons consisting of and^o should be appointed to prepare a report which would

a) examine the most effective methods for achieving

^o Although tentatively selected, the names of members of the group of four will be officially announced later.

the objectives referred to above and make appropriate recommendations with respect thereto;

b) submit a draft of articles of agreement, should their examination of this question indicate the desirability of bringing about an appropriately improved organization for economic cooperation;

c) identify those functions at present performed by the O.E.E.C. which should continue to be the subject of international economic cooperation under the aegis of the proposed organizational arrangements with respect thereto;

3) That the group named above should consult with all twenty governments and the European Communities and appropriate international organizations during the preparation of their report without, however, committing any government as to the content of the report which would be submitted by them in their personal capacities and which would be open for discussion and negotiation at the meeting envisaged in Paragraph 1 above.

Resolution on Development Assistance

The Special Economic Committee

Having been informed of the desire of the Governments of Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and the Commission of the European Economic Community, who, in addition to their contribution to international organizations, are making available or may be in a position to make available a significant flow of long term funds to underdeveloped areas, to discuss among themselves the question of techniques to facilitate such flow of funds, taking into consideration other means of assistance to developing countries;

Notes that these eight Governments and the Commission of the European Economic Community intend to meet together to discuss various aspects of cooperation in their efforts, and to invite other additional capital exporting countries to participate in their work or to meet with them as may from time to time appear desirable, and to consult with such multilateral organizations as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Investment Bank.

Resolution on Certain Trade Problems

The Special Economic Committee

Recognizing that there are problems of commercial policy of particular concern to the twenty governments who are members of, or associated with, the O.E.E.C.;

Taking note of the existence of the E.E.C. and of the convention for an E.F.T.A.;

Bearing in mind the relationship between the provisions of these agreements and general international commercial policy,

Considering the need to examine, as a matter of priority, the relationship between the E.E.C. and the E.F.T.A. with due regard to the commercial interests of third countries and the principles and obligations of the G.A.T.T.;

Decides

to propose to the twenty governments that they consti-

tute themselves, together with the E.E.C., a committee with power to

1) establish one or more informal working groups for the consideration of these problems without infringing the competence of the existing international institutions such as the G.A.T.T. or the O.E.E.C.; these groups should report back to the Committee;

2) transmit an invitation to the Executive Secretary of the G.A.T.T. to participate in these discussions.

President's Visit to Soviet Union Set for June 10-19

White House press release dated January 17

As already announced earlier,¹ the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., N. S. Khrushchev, invited the President of the United States to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union at a time suitable for him. President Eisenhower accepted with pleasure the invitation of N. S. Khrushchev.

As a result of subsequent personal exchanges between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchev, and President Eisenhower, it was agreed that the President would make his visit in the Soviet Union from the 10th until the 19th of June 1960.

U.S. Comments on Soviet Proposal To Reduce Armed Forces

*Statement by Lincoln White
Director, Office of News*²

We note with interest the Soviet Union's announcement of an approximate 1.2-million-men proposed reduction in its conventional armed forces and a readjustment in its conventional armaments. We also note that these reductions are to be carried out within the next 1 to 2 years. This proposed action to reduce present massive Soviet armed forces could lessen one of the causes of existing world tensions. The announcement was not unexpected, since the Soviet Union, along with other modern nations, is now in a position to place greater reliance on new weapons.

In this connection Chairman Khrushchev has

¹ BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

² Made to news correspondents on Jan. 14.

emphasized that the proposed reductions would in no way affect the actual power of the Soviet Union's arms. The Soviet Union, with its acknowledged—I might say parenthetically for the first time—its acknowledged armed force level of 3.6 million, and its neighbor, Communist China, maintain the largest standing armies in the world. This fact has been a constant source of concern to those nations earnestly seeking a solution to the dangers inherent in the armaments race.

For its part the United States, not in 1960 but immediately following World War II, demobilized the great bulk of its armed forces from a peak level of 12.3 million. In view of Communist aggression the level was later raised and stands today at approximately 2.5 million. In addition the United States has carried out corresponding reductions in its conventional armaments.

As in the case of previous unilateral Soviet announcements, the proposed reductions can be taken only as an intention since there will be no verifiable means of checking any actual reductions. An opportunity to achieve controlled international measures of disarmament will be offered at the general disarmament negotiations scheduled for the early part of this year.³ At these negotiations the United States will be prepared to go as far toward safeguarded disarmament as any other country. It is hoped that this announcement by the Soviet Union is an indication of its willingness to participate in the forthcoming negotiations in the same spirit so that world accord can be established through concrete and verifiable measures of disarmament, thereby removing suspicions and building real security.

Letters of Credence

Bulgaria

The newly appointed Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Peter G. Voutov, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on January 15. For texts of the Minister's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 17 dated January 15.

³ For a communique issued by the Foreign Ministers of Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States at Paris on Dec. 21, see BULLETIN of Jan. 11, 1960, p. 45.

Geographic Regions of Asia: South and East

by G. Etzel Pearcy

A zone arcing around the southern and eastern peripheries of the Asian Continent from the Makran coast of West Pakistan to Peter the Great Bay in Maritime Siberia coincides with the axes of the world's greatest population concentration. Some 1.4 billion people, more than half of the world total, live in this part of Asia, including its fringing islands and archipelagoes. India and China together can claim more than a billion inhabitants; Japan, Indonesia, and Pakistan each are fast approaching 100 million. These enormous census counts exist despite the fact that settlement is broken in places by mountainous terrain, stretches of desert, or other areas inhospitable to man and his efforts to wrest a living from the soil.

This populous crescent of Asia has a heritage accrued through tens of centuries—a much longer background than has Europe, which is better known to most Americans. Since World War II virtually every sector within the area has experienced political upheaval, adding confusion and, at times, chaos to an already complex pattern of civilization. Crisis has followed crisis until names such as Laos, Singapore, Kashmir, Tibet, Quemoy, and Panmunjom have been set in heavy type with weary regularity by our news services. Certainly today all parts of this arcuate region are written about at length and discussed by the delegate in

the assembly halls of the United Nations and the man on the street.

Oddly enough, no generally accepted regional term is available for identifying the southern and eastern periphery of Asia as a unit. Joseph E. Spencer, professor of geography at the University of California, Los Angeles, concentrated on this area in his textbook, *Asia, South by East*, from which the title of this article is adapted. One must depend upon rather clumsy expressions such as “southern and eastern Asia” or “the southern and eastern parts of Asia” as terms for the entire region in question. Fortunately, however, a myriad of regional names designate many politico-geographic areas within the confines of the southern and eastern segments of the great continent. Each one normally comprises a combination of political entities, even though any two may overlap to some degree. These regional names serve a useful purpose in discussing world affairs.

A strictly geographic expression, “Monsoon Asia,” can be used correctly to indicate that part of southern and eastern Asia which is associated with circulatory winds and heavy seasonal rainfall. This area supports a population running into hundreds of millions. But the word “monsoon” has no politico-geographic significance, and as a result it has not gained wide acceptance except among geographers.

The extensive land mass of Asia is frequently broken down into geographic “realms,” some of which may be likened to subcontinents. George B. Cressey, professor of geography at Syracuse University, recognizes three such realms—(1) Subcontinent of India and Pakistan, (2) Southeast Asia, and (3) China-Japan—which taken together generally connote southern and eastern Asia. This division, despite its lack of precision, has gained favor with other geographic writers;

• Mr. Pearcy is the Geographer of the Department of State. This is the third in a series of articles which he is writing for the *Bulletin on the nomenclature of geographic regions*. For his articles on the Middle East and Latin America, see *Bulletin of March 23, 1959, p. 407, and September 14, 1959, p. 384.*

nevertheless, some authorities frown at putting the innermost parts of China in the same unit as the coastal part of the country and Japan. They do not find that Tokyo and Urumchi have much in common. The solution suggested is further subdivision that would create another regional bloc encompassing the vast expanses of dry territory remote from the coast.

In current parlance the broad geographic zone sweeping around the southern and eastern edges of Asia might be said to comprise: (1) South Asia, (2) Southeast Asia, and (3) the Far East. South Asia appears to be a comparatively new term supplanting the outmoded term of "subcontinent" to denote India and Pakistan together. Southeast Asia is properly chosen in relation to the orientation of the area it names. Far East in its more limited sense supersedes the use of the country names China and Japan to designate this huge area. But when examined in more detail, this apparently innocuous 3-way division is encumbered with problems in nomenclature and with inconsistencies. Each division in turn demands further clarification in order that one may better understand the interplay of regional terminology in this densely populated area.

South Asia

The politicogeographic region of South Asia encompasses India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, and Bhutan. The first three are members of the British Commonwealth, India and Pakistan as independent republics and Ceylon as a dominion. Nepal ranks as a fully independent kingdom, but Bhutan continues to be guided by India in its external relations. Sikkim, situated along the northern boundary of India between Nepal and Bhutan, is by treaty a protectorate of India. However, one also sees it listed along with Bhutan as a semi-independent state. The Kashmir area, which unquestionably falls within the confines of South Asia, is known as the State of Jammu and Kashmir and is now considered by India for all intents and purposes as being a part of India. It is, however, the subject of a dispute between India and Pakistan. To continue itemizing the political entities that make up South Asia one must include the small Portuguese exclaves of Goa, Damão, and Diu, collectively known as Portuguese India. Within recent years Pondichéry and four other



French exclaves have become integral parts of India, although some few legal measures must still be taken to complete the process.

The place of Afghanistan in a regional grouping is less clear cut. Though the boundary line of South Asia is usually extended to include Afghanistan, that country may at times be identified as a part of the Middle East. Physically it is related to the northern reaches of West Pakistan on the east, the barren plateau lands of Iran on the west, and the Central Asia Republics of the Soviet Union on the north. Border problems between Afghanistan and Pakistan hark back to tribal difficulties in the British-controlled North-West Frontier States before partition. Continuing problems in this area strengthen the relationship—or at least the association—of Afghanistan with South Asia. At present the Pathan (or Pushtun) question continues to focus attention on the Pakistan-Afghanistan boundary area. For example, one not infrequently sees references to "Pushtoonistan" (or "Pakhtoonistan"), the name theoretically applied to the area inhabited by Pushtu-speaking tribes on both sides of the boundary.

South Asia is not a timeworn term. It should be distinguished from "southern Asia," a strictly direction-location term which could conceivably include as much as one-half of the entire continent and be geographically accurate. In the past the area now classed so conveniently as South Asia was held by some to be a part of the Middle East.

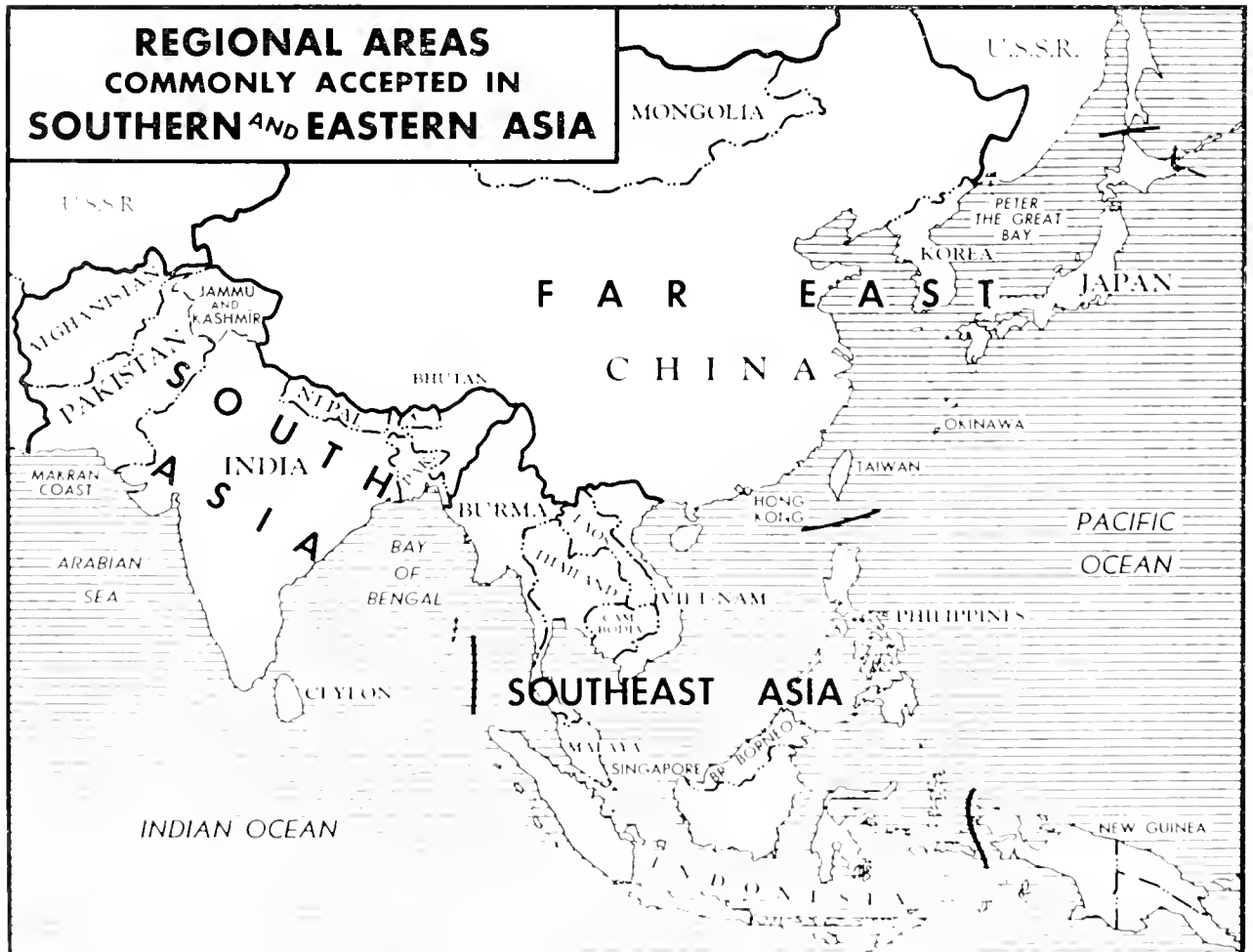
In fact, and not without some logic, this concept still persists to a limited extent. In direct contrast the same area has at times been placed within the domain of the Far East, especially among historians. By virtue of its central position on the southern side of the continent, one might facetiously define South Asia as the zone where the Middle East and Far East overlap.

Before partition in 1947 India was widely and even officially referred to as the Subcontinent. This terminology automatically set it apart as a region of significant proportions. A more recently evolved term, "Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent," though far from unknown today, apparently fails to replace the concept of an Indian subcontinent. With little doubt, the term "South Asia," concise and without strong competition, is a welcome addition to the traditional list of comprehensive terms for this politico-geographic region.

Lowlands of South Asia

Within South Asia one finds well-established subregions, most of them related to the broad geographic features of either India or Pakistan or both. Some are of sufficient size and importance to exert a strong or even dominating influence on the politico-geographic balance of the much larger region.

Across India and Pakistan from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal is a boomerang-shaped lowland extending for a distance of more than 2,000 miles. Through a series of interrelated valleys flow the waters of the Ganges, Indus, and Brahmaputra Rivers and their tributaries. Many of the legendary characters in Kipling's stories of British India have trod over the lowland, passing through Delhi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi. The region has three names: (1) Indo-Gangetic Plain, (2) Plain of Hindustan, and (3) Plain of North-



ern India. The latter name, it is significant to note, continues to be used, though much of the area involved lies in Pakistan. In order to limit the lowland area to Indian territory one may speak of the Gangetic Plain, or the trans-Gangetic Plain if one includes the low, fertile Punjab country in northwestern India. Even with this limitation the lowland is not entirely within a single country because the delta of the Ganges lies more in Pakistan than in India.

The Mountain Wall

North of the lowlands rises the mountain wall forming the southern reaches of the Himalayas. Except for Kashmir only fragments of India and Pakistan lie in the high mountainous region. Nevertheless, the dominating aspect of the Himalayan system gives definite regional characteristics to the northern portions of the two countries. Terms that are used to designate this northern fringe include "Mountain Wall" and the "Himalayan Region." In the same vein Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim may be grouped as the Himalayan states.

Webster would hardly define the southern part of India as a peninsula. Its shape is actually that of a gigantic cape, though only Cape Comorin at the southern extremity of the country is so designated generically. Nevertheless, the term "Indian Peninsula" finds common acceptance notwithstanding the fact that it carries two distinct meanings. First, "peninsula" may be used as an adjective applying to all of India as a peninsular country. Second, it may apply only to that part south of the Tropic of Cancer, which protrudes into the waters of the Indian Ocean (or, more precisely, into the waters of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal).

The Deccan Plateau

The huge Deccan Plateau, a distinctive physiographic region, roughly coincides with triangular-shaped peninsular India. Consequently "Deccan" has become a regional term, usually implying the high parts of the country south of the Nerbada River. India and Pakistan have many "regions," some of them with populations reaching into the tens of millions, that are held together by cohesive traditions. The names of such regions may well have provided the basis for those of administrative divisions. Probably the two best known re-

gions in this category are the Punjab and Bengal, home of the Punjabi and the Bengali. Partition divided both regions, and now India has East Punjab and West Bengal, whereas Pakistan has West Punjab and East Bengal. Associated with the Punjab in West Pakistan, but extending into India, is the area of the Five Rivers, tributaries of the Indus: Beas, Chenab, Jhelum, Ravi, and Sutlej. Here a physical region cut by an international boundary assumes tremendous political significance because of the problem of equitable distribution of life-giving water. Other regions also derive their names from physical features; for example, the Thar Desert, the Malabar Coast, and the Western Ghats.

A unique example of logical regional thinking lies in the use of the term "Hooghlyside" by Indians to denote the right bank of the Hooghly River, opposite Calcutta, which includes the great industrial city of Howrah. Origin of the term must, of course, be credited to the British, who have their own Merseyside and Tyneside for similar situations.

Southeast Asia

We can credit university circles for the increased use of the term "Southeast Asia." Since World War II several academic institutions, including Cornell University, have established area program studies concentrated on this part of the world. A rising tide of nationalism in lands immediately south of restless Communist forces gives a certain stark unity to the southeastern segment of the Asian Continent. Recognition of its identity as a regional bloc is further justified by virtue of its being pressed against the teeming millions of both the Indo-Pakistan community and China. Some of the countries of Southeast Asia are badly overcrowded, but for the most part the area has a population density somewhat less than critical.

The pattern of political sovereignty in Southeast Asia resembles a patchwork design. In his recent book, *The Diplomacy of Southeast Asia: 1945-1958*, Russell H. Fifield of the University of Michigan counts eight independent states as comprising the region—Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaya, Philippines, and Indonesia—but several fragmentary dependencies—Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei, North Borneo, and Portuguese Timor—are likewise included. Of the latter group all but Portuguese Timor are

British. Western New Guinea, under Dutch administration, constitutes a special case and normally is not considered to be a part of the region.

As might be expected, some authorities take exception to Dr. Fifield's delineation of Southeast Asia. Some authors include Taiwan in this region, despite the close relationship of that island's history to China and Japan. On the other hand, one seldom, if ever, finds Hong Kong and Macao included in any discussion of Southeast Asia. Even though it is far to the west, some foreign authors include Ceylon in the region. Other authorities would reduce the extent of Southeast Asia as defined by Dr. Fifield. British usage, for example, tends to omit the Philippines. Again, according to some scholars the term "Southeast Asia" should actually apply only to the mainland of the Asian Continent; thus Indonesia as well as the Philippines would be excluded. Pakistan, by virtue of its membership in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, has a vital interest in Southeast Asian affairs, but only East Pakistan is geographically contiguous to the area.

Before Southeast Asia became a popular term, several names prevailed for identifying regional blocs in this general sector of the continent. Some of these names remain in good standing and are readily recognizable; but for the most part they are gathering cobwebs or retain only historical value. As one example, "Farther India," a term seldom heard now, refers to peninsular Southeast Asia. It may or may not encompass the Malay Peninsula. Complementing Farther India is the fading concept of Malaysia, which refers to an insular Southeast Asia, comprising all the islands—including the Philippines—that lie off the coast of Asia between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. It is the largest island group in the world. But these islands would also be included in the concept of Australasia.¹ Almost synonymous with Malaysia is "Malay Archipelago." However, the Malay Peninsula has at times been regarded as belonging to the former, whereas it is seldom included in the latter.

The East Indies

Although designating an area somewhat more restricted than Malaysia, "East Indies"—more

¹ Australasia is rarely associated with the area under discussion, though according to most interpretations the two would overlap.

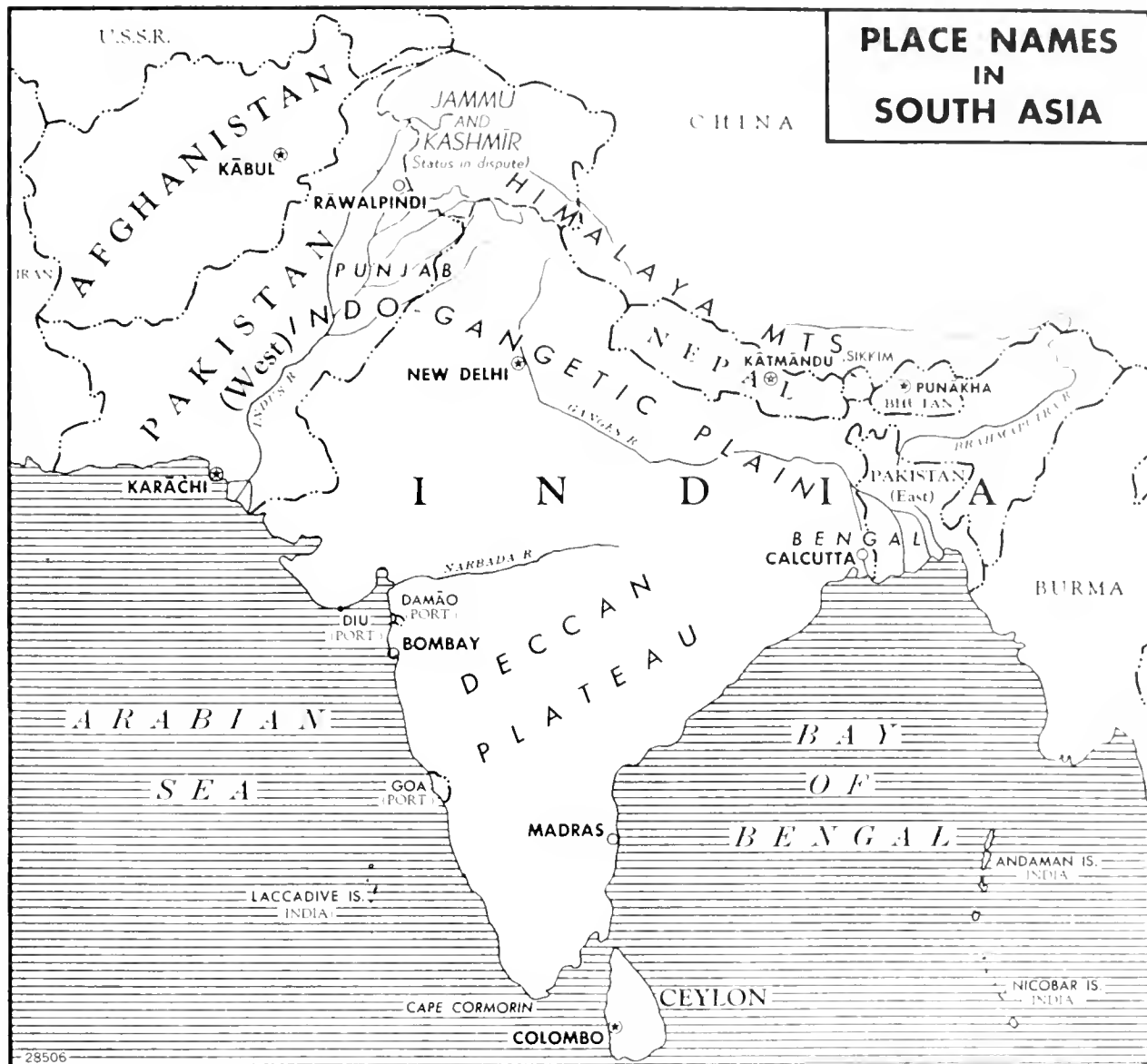
specifically, "Netherlands East Indies" or "Dutch East Indies"—long served as a term to mark off the chain of islands extending from Sumatra to New Guinea. The familiar-sounding "Dutch East Indies" as a political term fell into disuse after Indonesia gained its independence in 1949. But geographically the term "East Indies" continues to designate all of the Indonesian islands, together with British Borneo, Portuguese Timor, and the island of New Guinea and its offshore islands. "East Indies" may also apply to a more widespread area, in some cases including the Philippines. The term has even been used collectively to denote India, Farther India, and all the Malaysian area—this broad usage probably dating back to the old concept of the mystic lands of the East, from whence came the spices. Finally, vague though it is, the term "the Indies" when used alone also means East Indies.

Indochina

Indochina (previously hyphenated as Indo-China) defies rational definition. Geographic and political versions of the name depart markedly one from the other, the latter now retaining only a historical meaning. In a purely physical sense Indochina is usually identified as being co-extensive with peninsular Southeast Asia, probably excluding the Malay Peninsula by intent if not by actual definition.

Conflicting with this geographic connotation, the term "Indochina" in a political sense formerly was used only in relation to the French colonies of the peninsula. "French Indochina" was limited territorially to the eastern part of peninsular Southeast Asia comprising Annam, Cambodia, Cochinchina, Laos, and Tonkin, all major administrative divisions within French Indochina. The creation in the early 1950's of the independent states of Viet-Nam (encompassing Annam, Cochinchina, and Tonkin), Cambodia, and Laos vacated the name "French Indochina" as a valid political entity. The area including Viet-Nam, Cambodia, and Laos continues to be called Indochina, but without much justification. If used at all, the term should also include Thailand, Burma, and possibly Malaya.

It is interesting to see how some other countries apply regional names to Southeast Asia. The Chinese call it *Nanyang*, translated as "South Ocean." Similarly, the Japanese say *Nanyō*, which means "Southeast Seas Area." The Aus-



tricians, on the other hand, being faced with another set of directions in viewing this part of the world have quite recently originated the rather startling term of "Near North." If we wished to apply the same reasoning in our part of the world, we could perhaps call the Caribbean Islands and the northern coastal section of continental South America as the "Near South."

The Word "Malay"

Within Southeast Asia the word "Malay" is the key to a variety of regional concepts, both geographic and political. Malaysia and Malay Archi-

pelago have already been discussed, but, in a much more restricted sense, Malay, when used alone, refers only to the peninsula of that name. The Malay Peninsula includes the Federation of Malaya, or simply Malaya, and small sections of Burma and Thailand. Immediately to the south and connected by a causeway lies the island of Singapore, recently elevated in status from a crown colony to a state within the British Commonwealth. Traditionally any reference to the Malay Peninsula in a political sense included Singapore. But the independence of Malaya in 1957 severed the intricate administrative relation-



it is the present seat of government of the (Republic of the) Philippines.²

Far East

Passing counterclockwise from Southeast Asia along the periphery of the continent one reaches the vast region made up of China, Japan, and Korea. Maritime Siberia as well as scattered offshore islands may at times be considered as part of the same region, though usually by inference rather than by definition. "Far East" appears to be the most acceptable term for the area in question. It has the asset of long tradition in applying to the eastern part of Asia. On the other hand, "Far East" denotes no sharp delineation. The broadest definition normally given would consist of the enormous land mass of Asia eastward from the Khyber Pass and Lake Baikal. Even South Asia and Southeast Asia would be incorporated into this broad interpretation of the term. Conversely, the narrowest interpretation would confine the area to Japan, Korea, and a China shorn of its innermost reaches. It is readily apparent that South Asia and Southeast Asia are terms far more precise than Far East.

Another term not without some specific regional connotations is "East Asia." Less widely recognized than Far East, it may be applied to about the same area. In the new geography textbook *The Pattern of Asia*, edited by Norton Ginsburg of the University of Chicago, "East Asia" is given preference over "the Far East." The point is made that ". . . the term 'Far East' came to be applied to East Asia." As a further example, the Japanese prior to World War II coined the expression "Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere." Here a regional term lent itself to political and military action.

More vague than either "the Far East" or "East Asia" is the term "Orient." Though strong in cultural implications, it is becoming obsolete in a regional sense. However, there are those who continue to look upon China and Japan as the Orient. Others would also sweep Korea and Southeast Asia into the category because of common cultural patterns and religious traditions as

ship between the two political entities. Note that the addition of an "a" to Malay, as in Malaya or in former British Malaya, refers to a political rather than geographic area. Three other terms no longer need to be considered except in a historical sense: "Malay States," "Federated Malay States," and "Unfederated Malay States"—all records of water under the bridge in the sequence of events brought about by resurgent nationalism in Southeast Asia.

"Philippines," "Republic of the Philippines," and "Philippine Islands" are not synonyms. "Philippines" is the short form of "Republic of the Philippines" and is used more and more in referring to the relatively new island republic except on official documents. "The Philippine Islands" is strictly a geographic term, not employed by the Filipinos to designate their national domain. As an example, one could say that Manila is located in the Philippine Islands and that

² Quezon City has been decreed the capital of the Philippines, but as yet most government offices remain in Manila pending actual transfer.

well as a somewhat similar physiognomy of the people throughout this larger region. Indeed, some extremists deem anything "east of Suez" as "oriental." It can be noted, however, that the word "Orient" as an antonym of "Occident" does not necessarily carry a regional meaning and thus may well apply in a cultural sense to all of Asia.

Northeast Asia

The area normally included in the Far East breaks down into two clear-cut divisions: (1) Northeast Asia and (2) China. The Japanese islands and Korea together make up "Northeast Asia," a term rapidly gaining favor politically if not geographically. Manchuria and the eastern part of the Soviet Union fit into any logical locational concept of this region, since they also lie north and east in Asia. But any term delineating such a heterogeneous combination of political entities and parts of political entities serves no well-defined purpose other than for consideration of the physical landscape. Hence, for most effective applications of the term, "Northeast Asia" is limited to Japan and Korea. One would therefore hardly envision it—encompassing only two countries—to be complementary to a more spacious Southeast Asia in any worldwide pattern of regional blocs. China itself makes up the second of the Far East subdivisions, and its politico-geographic complexity entitles it to special consideration.

Greater China

The vast area of Greater China in its traditional sense holds within it five politicogeographic regions that have survived for centuries in one form or another and are still known today: Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet, and China Proper. In size each one would compare favorably with a group of Western European countries. Their geographic limits, never sharp in themselves, have seldom coincided with the ever-changing limits of political control. Even in the face of ill-defined borders, these major subdivisions are widely accepted to designate segments of the eastern Asia mainland.

Manchuria. Wedged between Soviet territory and the Korean peninsula, the Manchurian region is sometimes called Northeastern China. In the 1930's the Japanese incursion into Manchuria changed the name on maps to Manchukuo (or



Manchoukuo) but without widespread or lasting effects.

Mongolia. Mongolia is an area of internal drainage suited only to nomadism, occupied by Mongols, lying north of the Great Wall. The wide expanse of Mongolia further subdivides geographically into Outer and Inner Mongolia, the latter less arid and lying nearer China Proper than the former.

Sinkiang. Sinkiang is made up of a series of large basins and broad tablelands loosely stretching from the Kirgiz Steppe to the Kunlun Mountains. The western and central parts correspond to Chinese Turkestan (or Turkistan).

Tibet. Known as the "roof of the world," Tibet is formed by a high plateau rimmed by still higher mountains that have over the centuries fostered the development of an isolated politicoreligious regime. The name "Tibet" has both physical and political meaning, though in the East the two do not necessarily coincide.

China Proper. The name "China" itself long had two meanings. It could be construed as encompassing the four outlying areas of Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet—often called Greater China. Or it might exclude them and be coextensive with the 18 old provinces south of the Great Wall.³ This area, known to geographers as China Proper, closely corresponds to the popular conception of China as a land of teeming mil-

³ Anhwei, Chekiang, Fukien, Honan, Hopeh, Hunan, Hupeh, Kansu, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Kweichow, Shansi, Shantung, Shensi, Szechwan, and Yunnan.

lions. Even here there is a well-established breakdown into North China and South China, with cultural overtones based on regional differences.

In contrast to the broad dimensions of China, the narrow limits of Japan furnish few regional concepts of any appreciable dimensions. "North-east Japan" and "Southeast Japan" are well recognized, each based on segments of the populous Pacific margin of the islands. Several other areas, some of them quite small, have likewise become associated with well-known names. Of primary importance are the names of the four major islands that comprise the country and also serve as regional names: Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, and Shikoku. Honshu has nearly 60 percent of the area and approximately 75 percent of the population of Japan and, because of its relative importance, frequently assumes the role of the archipelago's "mainland." The situation is somewhat comparable to that of Great Britain in its relation to the British Isles.

The geographic term "Inland Sea" (*Seto Naikai*) identifies the busy body of water separating Honshu from Shikoku and Kyushu. In the center of Honshu a zone of rugged volcanic mountains has assumed recognition as the Japanese Alps. Finally, almost on a miniature scale, are the Kanto, Nobi, and Kinki Plains along the southern Honshu coast, which are fertile pockets supporting the largest cities and densest population.

Department of State Regional Bureaus

The crescent-shaped southern and eastern portion of Asia under discussion falls within the jurisdiction of two regional bureaus in the Department of State. In the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (NEA) the Office of South Asian Affairs (SOA) carries responsibility for an area closely corresponding to the concept of South Asia presented in this article.

In the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs (FE) the relationships between regional responsibilities and the politico-geographic area known as the Far East are apparent but somewhat more intricate than in SOA. The Office of Southeast Asian Affairs (SEA) covers peninsular Southeast Asia except Malaya, Singapore, and British Borneo. These latter plus Indonesia and the Philippines,

normally considered as part of the same region geographically, make up part of the extensive coverage of the Office of Southwest Pacific Affairs (SPA), which also includes almost all of Oceania.

The Far East as we have visualized it in this article is divided between the Office of Chinese Affairs (CA), which is responsible for affairs on the Communist-controlled mainland, in free China, and in Hong Kong, and the Office of North-east Asian Affairs (NA), the latter encompassing only Japan, the Ryukyus, and Korea. Thus, with but one noteworthy modification—that of insular southeast Asia—the Departmental breakdown of regional offices within the regional bureaus does not deviate from accepted geographic concepts.

East Versus West

Somewhere seaward from the outer eastern periphery of the Asian Continent lies a shadowy line which in the American mind divides East from West. Inheriting much of our directional outlook from Europe, we normally regard any point in Asia as being East. To us, the Far East is the same as it is for, say, a Belgian or a Greek. Such a concept is not always plausible from the standpoint of the distance involved. For example, from San Francisco to Tokyo the distance is nearly 20,000 miles if one measures in an easterly direction, but only 5,100 miles in a westerly direction.

Even though we think of Japan, the Philippines, and other parts of Asia as being in the East, a westbound crossing of the Pacific to Asia gives us a western outlook in relation to the ocean itself and its western borderlands. Paradoxically, then, we may think of the Pacific's western margin as either West or East. Americans have come to associate certain areas with a western direction. For example, during World War II our experiences in the southwest Pacific turned our minds westward. Pearl Harbor and, later on, Tarawa, Guadalcanal, and Leyte loomed as trouble spots in the west. Likewise, we presently look into the setting sun toward our bastions of defense in the western Pacific, notwithstanding the fact that they lie along the margin of the Asian Continent itself. On the other hand, all conceptions of a "West" disappear with any fundamental analysis of the continent itself. The Koreans, the Japanese, the Filipinos, and others native to

Asian soil are unquestionably of the East. As Americans we have an antipodean way of thinking which is very special indeed.

Changing of Names

In any part of the world geographic place names inevitably undergo change with the passing of time. A new discovery, a new hero, an altered political outlook, or perhaps boredom with an existing order may stimulate innovations in geographic terminology. In some parts of southern and eastern Asia since World War II impressive lists of names have been switched, usually from a European to an Asiatic tongue. The Indonesians, for example, elected to substitute place names of their own language for those conceived by the Dutch during colonial days. With the introduction of *Djakarta* we no longer think of *Batavia*, former name of the great metropolis on the Island of Java. Some changes in Indonesia have been less revolutionary, as *Surabaya* for *Saerabaya*. Nor have island names escaped the Indonesian drive for its own terminology. One frequently sees *Djawa* for *Java*, *Sumatera* for *Sumatra*, *Kalimantan* for *Borneo*, *Sulawesi* for *Celebes*, and so on.

In India, too, place name changes evidence the surge of a new national spirit. Indians have vacated English names of provinces and cities in favor of their own. *United Provinces* became *Uttar Pradesh* (fortunately without changing the standard abbreviation). In some cases the changes have been rather obvious, as *Kānpur* for *Cawnpore* and *Banāras* for *Benares*. In other cases, city names that were already complex sounding in English became even more complex sounding in an Indian language. Two examples are *Tiruchirāppalli* for *Trichinopoly* and *Vizakhāpatnam* for *Vizagapatam*.

Summary

Increasing politicogeographic importance is being attached to the peripheral crescent of south and east Asia which must support more people than all of the rest of the world put together. The continued centrifugal expansion of world power from established centers in the Western World more and more embroils Asiatic regions in international politics. Since the close of World

War II, Karachi,⁴ New Delhi, Colombo, Rangoon, Djakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Phnom Penh, Saigon, Vientiane, and Manila have all been added to the constellation of world capitals. On television it is not at all uncommon to hear on-the-spot commentators speaking from these cities as well as from London, Paris, Rome, Pretoria, Ankara, and Buenos Aires. It is essential to recognize South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Far East as the critical world regional blocs that they are and to know them well in terms of geographic nomenclature. Should more precise meanings be required for these and other regional terms, one may always specifically say what is included. To do so by no means invalidates the usefulness of the terms themselves.

Americans Reminded To Reregister Mining Concessions in Cuba

Press release 18 dated January 15

In connection with Cuban Law 617 issued by the Cuban Council of Ministers on October 27, 1959, and published in the *Official Gazette* of the Republic of Cuba October 30, 1959, American citizens are reminded of the deadline of February 27, 1960, for the required reregistration of title of ownership of mining concessions in Cuba. Solicitors and nominal beneficiaries of exploitations of minerals classified under the second and third sections in the Decree Law of Bases of December 29, 1868, in Cuba must also reregister their requests. These registrations are to be made with the Mine and Petroleum Department of the Cuban Ministry of Agriculture in Habana, Cuba. The Cuban law provides that, if registration is not made in accordance with the provisions of law, ownership and concession rights revert to the state.

In effecting the reregistration, the law states grantees are obligated to declare, if appropriate, the name and other personal data of persons to whom the mines are leased.

The Department understands that the reregistration taxes are as follows:

⁴ Pending the construction of the new capital city on the Potwar Plateau, Rawalpindi is serving as the administrative center of Pakistan. Meanwhile, Karachi remains the legal capital.

(a) Payment of \$100 for reregistration request for each mine.

(b) Payment of an annual tribute of \$20 per hectare for mines which are not under adequate exploitation in the judgment of the Mine and Petroleum Department of the Ministry of Agriculture.

(c) Payment of a \$10 annual tribute per hectare for mines which are being adequately exploited in the judgment of the Mine and Petroleum Department.

The law also provides that, aside from the annual tribute on the surface level, grantees are obligated to pay the state as a share 5 percent in cash or in its equal value as determined by the state on the calculated value of the minerals extracted in their concessions in accordance with the highest average yearly quotation registered in the world market. If exported, the participation of the state in the minerals or concentrates of minerals will be 25 percent of the value thereof.

United States Protests Cuban Property Seizures

Department Statement

Press release 7 dated January 11

Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal, who returned to Habana on Sunday [January 10], delivered today [January 11] to the Ministry of Foreign Relations a note,¹ prepared in the Department of State during the Ambassador's period of consultation in Washington, protesting to the Government of Cuba the numerous actions taken by officials of that Government which are considered by the United States Government to be in denial of the basic rights of ownership of United States

¹Not printed; for a Department statement concerning Ambassador Bonsal's meeting with Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos at Habana on Oct. 27, 1959, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 715.

citizens in Cuba—rights provided under both Cuban law and generally accepted international law.

The actions in question involve principally the seizure and occupation of land and buildings of United States citizens without court orders and frequently without any written authorization whatever, the confiscation and removal of equipment, the seizure of cattle, the cutting and removal of timber, the plowing under of pastures, all without the consent of the American owners. In many cases no inventories were taken nor were any receipts proffered nor any indication afforded that payment was intended to be made. These acts have been carried out in the name of the National Agrarian Reform Institute.

(A case was cited in which a marine dredge and a tugboat under United States registry valued at approximately half a million dollars were seized without any written authorization, inventory, or receipt.)

Several of these cases have been previously brought to the attention of the Government of Cuba by the Embassy of the United States but without result. Nor have the direct protests of the interested parties been fruitful.

The United States Government in its notes of June 11² and October 12, 1959,³ to the Government of Cuba expressed its full support of soundly conceived programs for rural betterment, including land reform. This support has been demonstrated by United States assistance given such programs in many countries. However, the United States Government at the same time expressed its firm belief that their attainment is not furthered by the failure of the Government of Cuba to recognize the legal rights of United States citizens who have made investments in Cuba in reliance upon the adherence of the Government of Cuba to principles of equity and justice.

²For the substance of the note of June 11, see *ibid.*, June 29, 1959, p. 958.

³Not printed.

Operation of the Mutual Security Program, January 1-June 30, 1959

EXCERPTS FROM 16TH SEMIANNUAL REPORT TO CONGRESS¹

PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

To the Congress of the United States:

Transmitted herewith is the Sixteenth Semiannual Report on the operation of the Mutual Security Program for the period ending June 30, 1959. The report was prepared under the direction of the Coordinator for the Mutual Security Program by the Department of State, including the International Cooperation Administration, the Department of Defense, and the Development Loan Fund.

The information set forth in the report demonstrates once again that today our national security is directly involved with nations and happenings throughout the world.

The Mutual Security Program is flexibly designed to meet military threats where they occur and to make an effective contribution toward the cooperative effort of the nations of the free world to promote economic development.

The economic problems of the newly developing nations of the world pose a challenge to our wisdom and energy, and to our steadfastness of purpose, that is as demanding in its own way as the blunt threat of an armed attack. Our economic development and economic aid programs are designed to meet this challenge and its ever-changing problems by selective and prudent use of the talents and resources available under the Mutual Security Program.

¹H. Doc. 299, 86th Cong., 2d sess.; reprinted here are chapters I through IV. Copies of the report may be obtained upon request from the Office of Public Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

The military, economic and technical assistance provided by the Mutual Security Program is essential to the achievement of our foreign policy objectives. A strong Program, vigorously and intelligently implemented, will see the challenge that confronts us surmounted. But a weakening of the Program can only invite the destruction of our free-world society.

This report affords the Congress a means of measuring what has been done by the United States and its friends to preserve a world where men and nations can live in freedom, without fear.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE
January 14, 1960

I. CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE

In the 14 years since the end of World War II it has become entirely clear that the social, political, and economic structure of the world is undergoing a profound and sometimes violent change. Old empires have disappeared and new countries have risen in their place. Nearly all of them live with intense desires for rapid internal developments. Taking advantage of the hopes of the new countries, as well as of the dislocations and exhaustion of the war, the Soviet Union extended its control in the immediate postwar years over formerly independent countries, and continues its efforts to extend and increase its control everywhere else.

The Mutual Security Program (MSP) is one of

the most important tools designed to cope with the external dangers to the security of the United States. In the broadest sense, it protects our security by shielding the free world from external attack. At the same time behind the shield, it is helping to strengthen its political and economic stability. The danger we face externally is complex and continuing. At one end of the scale it begins with the skillfully manipulated military threat of the Soviet Union to the physical safety of the United States, its allies, and other nations of the free world. At the other end of the scale it ends with a more diffuse but no less real threat. This is the explosion that may result if people in the emergent countries are frustrated in their determination to end the squalor and hunger and sickness in which they live. As these are totally different kinds of danger to our security, so must the methods employed in dealing with them be different.

With the end of World War II, the nature of the threat to the United States and the West altered abruptly. From the clear cut test of war with the Axis Powers, the threat shifted to the shadowy area where the economic exhaustion of our Western allies might make them powerless victims of the Soviet Union, whose leaders were flushed with victory and intent on extending their power westward until stopped. This threat was countered by the "Marshall Plan" which was designed to restore vigor to the exhausted economies of Western Europe and thus encourage in the peoples and governments of Western Europe the will to protect their independence. The associated military threat posed by the existence of huge Soviet forces garrisoned in the Baltic States, Poland, East Germany, Austria, and Hungary was countered by the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The United States provided much of the motive force in developing the military forces of the NATO countries, and in the earlier days of NATO provided the lion's share of the modern equipment used by NATO forces. The United States also furnished much of the military leadership in the higher echelons of NATO.

The economic viability of Western Europe was restored, in part by the assistance furnished through the Marshall Plan, in part by the vigorous efforts of the western Europeans themselves, and

in part by the cumulative effect of these and other factors on the revival of world trade. When it had accomplished its purpose (ahead of schedule), the Marshall Plan was terminated in 1951. The introduction of limited currency convertibility in late 1958—which meant in fact that all western European currencies were "hard"—symbolized the return to full vigor of the European economy.

While the favorable nature of the economic, political, and military developments in Europe permitted the termination of the Marshall Plan and the substantial scaling down of military aid in that area, the Soviet threat to Western Europe and the overall threat to the security of the United States continues; checked in Europe, it has broadened its scope and assumed less easily identifiable forms.

The Mutual Security Program is designed in part to cope with the military threat to the free world. The continuation of this threat will in all likelihood require the continued existence of its military arm, the Military Assistance Program. But even if the military threat were to disappear tomorrow, other problems of almost equal severity would continue to call on our ingenuity and our resources. These problems, often hard to identify at first glance as threats to the United States, are in general centered around the aspirations of the new and underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The drive to achieve these aspirations, sometimes called the revolution of rising expectations, has its internal political expression in every country concerned. Here millions on millions of people have seen that it is not ordained that they must live in perpetual squalor and illness, on the ragged edge of starvation, and their political leaders press the point home. In a variety of ways this revolution is moving forward by fits and starts, often uncertain of its direction, sometimes involved in the free world struggle against communism, sometimes not. The American people sympathize with these aspirations, and wish the new and underdeveloped countries well in their struggle to improve their lot. But sympathy aside, it is clearly in the interest of the United States that we assist this movement so that the underdeveloped countries may take their place as free, independent and prosperous members of the community of nations as quickly as possible and with the least possible stress and turmoil. It

is equally against our interests that this forward movement be stilled or hindered. To hamper this movement would breed only frustration and more explosive threats to political and economic stability.

One of the sparks that set off the revolution of rising expectations early in the postwar period was the dramatic effect of the worldwide application of public health measures. Malaria was almost wiped out in large areas of the world, thus reducing the death rate drastically. Other health measures applied for the first time on a large scale had equally startling effects, and stemming from them, at least in part, what constitutes a significant rise in the population figures is now under way. The explosion is taking place in the least developed countries, those most possessed by the revolutionary urge to improve the physical lot of their people, and those least able to cope with the deluge of new mouths to feed. Thus, where creating a viable modern society would have been a difficult job at best, it now becomes immensely more complicated and more urgent. The rapid growth of population may well prove to be one of the greatest obstacles to economic and social progress and the maintenance of political stability in many of the less developed areas of the world.

These are some of the great problems affecting the security of the United States at both short and long range, with which the Mutual Security Program is designed to deal. The nature of the threats to the security of the United States and the stability of the free world have shifted during the 10 years of life of the MSP. We must also expect that the nature of the problems we face in 1959 will change in the years to come, and our response to the new face these problems present must also change accordingly. To meet these shifting problems, the introduction of new tools and techniques—the International Development Association for example—is well underway.

The United States can neglect or ignore only at its own ultimate peril the grave problems sketched in the preceding paragraphs. It has been clearly recognized that they constitute a threat to our security; they have been and are being dealt with. What has been the price for coping with these problems through the Mutual Security Program? For fiscal year 1959 the Congress appropriated

\$3.4 billion for all MSP activities, of which \$1.5 billion was for military assistance. This figure of \$3.4 billion was .74 percent of our Gross National Product, 4.3 percent of the Federal budget, and equal to 8.4 percent of the military appropriations for the year. To help put this sum in better perspective, during fiscal year 1959 the American people spent \$17 billion on recreation, including \$3 billion on radio and television, \$30.1 billion on the purchase and operation of automobiles, and \$4.5 billion on household furniture.

The following pages contain the record of the problems with which the Mutual Security Program contended during fiscal year 1959 and the steps taken to solve these problems. Sometimes the response failed of its purpose; far more often, however, the hard work, ingenuity, and skill of the military and civilian authors and executors of MSP, using the tools with which they were equipped, achieved the results sought for.

II. THE DRAPER COMMITTEE REPORT

In November 1958 the President appointed a committee composed of distinguished private citizens to make an "independent, objective and non-partisan analysis of the military assistance aspects of our Mutual Security Program . . ." The President indicated he was "particularly interested in your committee's critical appraisal . . . of the relative emphasis which should be given to military and economic programs . . ." ²

The report prepared in response to the President's instructions is thoughtful, detailed, and comprehensive. It goes deeply into why the Mutual Security Program exists, how it operates, and the relationship between the two major parts of the program, military aid, and economic aid. A close study of the report will be well repaid with a clear understanding of the major forces

² For names of members of the Committee, see BULLETIN of Dec. 15, 1958, p. 954. For text of the Committee's report of Mar. 17, 1959, and the President's letter of transmittal to Congress, see *ibid.*, June 1, 1959, p. 796; for text of the Committee's letters of transmittal of their reports of June 3, July 13, and Aug. 17, 1959, to the President, together with the President's letters of transmittal to Congress, see *ibid.*, July 13, 1959, p. 46, Aug. 10, 1959, p. 208, and Sept. 14, 1959, p. 390.

at work in the world today, and how they affect American security.

The report makes constructive criticisms of some aspects of MSP and offers recommendations for changes designed to cure the flaws it discerned, in both military and economic aspects of the program. These recommendations are now under intensive study in the executive branch of the Government, and certain of them have already been adopted.

The following paragraphs briefly sketch out and summarize some of the major conclusions and recommendations of the Committee.

In response to the President's request for a critical appraisal of the relative emphasis which should be given to military and economic programs, the committee observed that it knew of no continuing formula that could satisfactorily determine the relative emphasis, whether overall or in respect to any particular country.

The Committee stated that from the standpoint of U.S. interests it saw no competitive relationship between military and economic assistance, and did not consider that the Military Assistance Program (MAP) is too great in relation to the economic aid and development program.

In another recommendation of a general nature, the Committee urged a major, sustained effort to make available to the public all the facts about the program. In order to do so it recommended that:

. . . Presidential instructions be issued to the appropriate agencies to institute vigorous measures to inform the American public adequately concerning MSP; and . . . that unjustified attacks upon the program be answered publicly, promptly and forcefully. . . .

Military Assistance—Past Performance

1. The Mutual Security Program has played a significant role in deterring a third world war, in keeping many nations free, in supporting our strategic system of alliances and overseas bases, and in providing hope for economic progress among the peoples of the less developed countries.

2. The Military Assistance Program has provided cohesion, strength, and credibility to our collective security arrangements. It . . . has been one of the principal instruments abroad supporting our foreign policy objectives over this decade of clash with communism.

3. It provided a large part of the weapons, material, and other support which made possible the rearmament of Europe. For the past decade, further Communist encroachment in this vital area has thereby been denied, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization continues as an essential security bulwark of the free world.

4. It achieved the strengthening of the nations around the periphery of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

5. The Military Assistance Program influenced a shift in current Communist tactics from direct military aggression to subversion, propaganda, and economic offensives.

Military Assistance—Recommendations for the Future

1. The Committee concluded that the necessary average level of expenditures that should be marked for military assistance over the next few years is not likely to be less, in general, than that required in the recent past. Continued appropriations at the present \$1.5 or \$1.6 billion level would result in a reduction in the program by one-third of the present ratio of deliveries.³ The Committee pointed out that such a reduction would in fact amount to a fundamental change in U.S. national policy, implying a strategic retreat in the face of the Communist threat.

2. \$400 million should be made available, primarily for the NATO area, in addition to the \$1.6 billion requested for fiscal year 1960.³

3. Military assistance should be planned and proposed on a long term basis—3 and later 5 years.

4. There should be a continuing authorization for the military assistance appropriation, in order to provide a sound legislative framework for multiyear planning and programing.

5. The military assistance appropriation should be placed in the Department of Defense budget. (It has been carried heretofore as a major separate item in the budget of the Mutual Security Program, with Technical Cooperation, the Development Loan Fund, and so forth.)

³ This portion of the Committee Report was written in early 1959, during fiscal year 1959, when appropriations were \$1.5 billion. Appropriations for MAP for fiscal year 1960 were reduced by the Congress to \$1.3 billion. [Footnote in original.]

Economic Aid—Past Performance

1. The substantial expenditures made in recent years for economic assistance are justified on grounds both of enlightened self-interest and of our moral responsibility to ourselves to do what we can to help other people realize their legitimate aspirations.

2. Economic aid programs assist less developed nations in achieving economic progress and thereby promote an international climate which facilitates the realization of our own national objectives and those of the free world. At the same time, these programs decrease the opportunities for Communist political and economic domination.

3. Irrespective of the Communist threat, the economic development of these nations is a desirable end in itself. The United States cannot prosper in isolation. The strength of our economy and the survival of our free institutions are dependent upon our being a part of a community of nations which is making acceptable economic and political progress.

4. There is no implication (by the Committee) that we must continue all of our economic assistance programs indefinitely.

5. The economic development of a country is primarily its own responsibility. Aid . . . should not ordinarily be furnished and cannot achieve real results unless the recipient nation has the desire and determination to help itself.

6. Many forms of U.S. economic assistance must continue for as long as the Communist threat exists, and certainly until greater economic progress has been made in underdeveloped nations.

7. Management of our aid activities has become an extraordinarily difficult administrative undertaking. While administration and coordination of these programs has improved in recent years, there is no question that some of the criticisms made in connection with economic aid programs are justified. However, the programs must be continued and better administered not emasculated or abandoned.

Recommendations for Future Economic Aid

1. Starting in fiscal year 1961 funds for development lending under the Mutual Security Program should be made available at the rate of \$1 billion a year.

2. Continuing authorization and longer range

funding should be provided for the Development Loan Fund (DLF). (At present authorization, i.e., the continued life of DLF, has been provided by the Congress on a 2-year basis. Appropriations for the lending capital of the Fund have been made annually. These procedures make forward planning by the United States and the borrowing country extremely difficult.)

3. Continuing authorization should be provided for technical assistance. (Congressional authorization, i.e., continued life, is given to the Technical Cooperation Program on a year-to-year basis. The nature of technical cooperation (described briefly in chapter 2) is such that projects can rarely be planned and brought to completion in 1 year. Sensible and prudent planning of effective projects thus becomes very difficult.)

4. Available surplus agricultural commodities should be utilized more effectively, extensively, and flexibly than at present in support of mutual security objectives.

5. A single agency should be responsible for administering the major related economic assistance programs and activities.

III. OPERATIONS OF THE PROGRAM

Fiscal Aspects

For fiscal year 1959 the Congress appropriated \$3.448 billion for the Mutual Security Program. This figure included a supplemental appropriation of \$150 million for the Development Loan Fund. The chart on p. 164 illustrates how MSP funds were divided among major elements of the program. Table 1 illustrates the allocation of funds by region and type of assistance for fiscal year 1959.

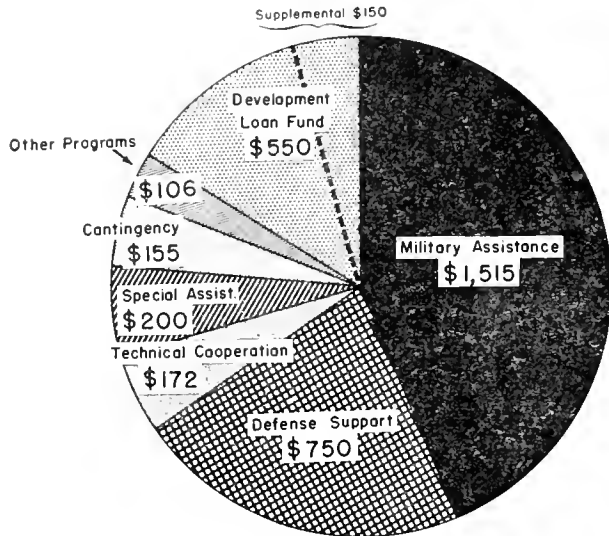
The sum appropriated by the Congress, in legislation finally approved on August 28, 1958, was 16 percent less than that requested by the President. It amounted to $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 percent of our Gross National Product in 1958, and was slightly more than was spent by the American people for radio and television sets in 1958.

With Mutual Security Program funds, aid was given to 60 countries during fiscal year 1959. The great variety of purposes it was designed to achieve are described in detail later in this report. \$1.551 billion in military assistance was provided to 38 countries, and \$807 million in defense sup-

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS

(\$ Millions)

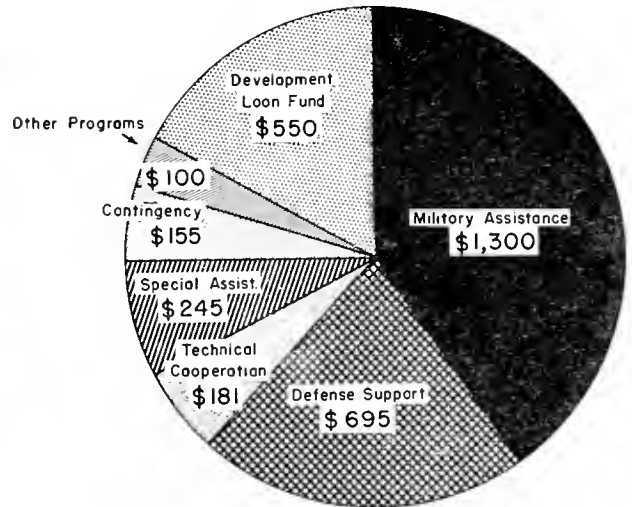
FY 1959



Total ... **\$3,448*** Million

*Includes DLF supplemental appropriation of \$150 million.

FY 1960



Total ... **\$3,226** Million

port was obligated under programs in 12 countries, all of which (with one exception—Spain) are on the periphery of the Sino-Soviet bloc. \$282 million was obligated for special assistance, and \$166 million for the Technical Cooperation Programs, carried out in 49 countries and 9 territories. The Congress appropriated \$550 million for DLF operations during the year. Against available loan capital formal loan offers of \$596 million were made, and \$522 million was obligated.

In general it should be noted that a substantial proportion of the goods and services purchased or ordered with funds appropriated by the Congress are not actually delivered during the same year for which the funds are appropriated. This is due to time necessarily consumed in planning, and in ordering, manufacturing, and final delivery of the goods or services in question. Most, although not all, of the goods and services which were ordered—that is, for which funds were obligated—in fiscal year 1958 were actually delivered in fiscal year 1959. Similarly those for which funds were obligated in fiscal year 1959 will be delivered during fiscal year 1960. In general pay-

ment for goods and services is made at the time of delivery. Therefore, most funds appropriated by the Congress for fiscal year 1959 and obligated by the MSP during fiscal year 1959, are actually paid out as expenditures during fiscal year 1960, and in subsequent years.

Operations

The operations of the MSP during fiscal year 1959 were affected by a series of crises during the first half of the fiscal year, and relatively normal operating conditions during the second half. Between July and December 1958 the Lebanon crisis occurred, the Iraq Government was overthrown by revolution, a grave crisis developed in Jordan, a coup d'etat took place in Pakistan, and the Government of Sudan fell. In addition the Berlin crisis was precipitated by the U.S.S.R. On the other side of the world, the Taiwan Strait crisis was precipitated by the Chinese Communists. This list by no means exhausts the catalog of countries in crisis and ferment during the year; some, like Tibet, had no direct impact on operations of

the MSP. Other countries, like Iran, while not inflamed by internal crisis, were subjected to the stresses and tensions created by revolutions in adjoining countries.

The second half of the year was relatively free of crises. MSP operations, after adjusting to the problems created in the first half of the year, went forward in as normal a fashion as is possible in such an immensely complicated operation.

Administratively, strenuous efforts were made to increase efficiency, both by the Washington agencies involved and their representatives in the field. The Draper Committee report, described in more detail elsewhere in this report, pointed out that "there is no more difficult administrative undertaking in the United States Government than . . . the management of the various economic assistance programs . . ." Measurable progress was made in recruiting personnel well adapted to overseas life, and in training them after recruitment. Various internal steps designed to speed up operations were taken. For example, by November 30, 1958, ICA had approved programs representing 89 percent of its fiscal year 1959 funds, compared with 26 percent a year earlier. By the end of December 1958, 38 percent of the funds available to ICA for fiscal year 1959 had been obligated, compared with 25 percent a year earlier.

Similar efforts to improve the administrative aspects of the Military Aid Program were also being taken.

Military Assistance Program (MAP)

The Military Assistance Program, for which \$1.515 billion was appropriated in fiscal year 1959, is designed to help support the collective security effort of the free world and strengthen the common defense. The MAP cooperates with 47 countries in a great variety of ways. The actual form which military assistance takes varies from region to region and country to country, taking into account different capabilities, degree of threat and strategic importance, political climate, and economic strength. In general the criteria used in deciding whether to provide military assistance are the following: (1) the importance of the force being aided to the defense of the United States, or the protection against internal subversion of an area important to the security of the United States; the degree of inability of the recipient country (political, economic, or technical) to supply its needs from its own resources; and (2) the importance of an area because of its strategic position, and/or its strategic resources; its political support for U.S. objectives, or similar objectives not necessarily directly related to the countries' military strength, but vitally important to accomplishing broad U.S. security objectives.

The lion's share of the fiscal year 1959 MAP program went to the Far East (\$695 million), and the Near East and South Asia (\$415 million). Aid to Europe amounted to \$345 million, to Latin America \$55 million, and to Africa \$12 million. These sums provided guns, aircraft, naval vessels,

TABLE 1
Distribution of Programs by Region and Category
of Assistance, Fiscal Year 1959¹
(In millions of dollars)

Region	Total program	Military assistance	Defense support	Technical cooperation	Special assistance	Other programs	DLF
Europe	\$461.6	\$345.2	\$49.9	83.0	\$33.0		\$30.5
Near East and South Asia	1,066.4	415.7	217.9	40.4	83.0	² \$23.0	286.1
Africa	171.8	12.3		15.5	102.6		41.1
Far East	1,395.8	695.3	539.5	32.6	9.1	³ .7	118.6
Latin America	159.2	55.3		35.5	24.3		41.1
Undistributed and nonregional	421.6	268.1	.4	40.6	30.2	81.1	1.2
Less prior year availability	-240.4	-240.4					
Total fiscal year 1959 program	3,436.0	1,551.5	807.7	167.6	282.2	104.8	522.2

¹ Preliminary figures. Military assistance data are program figures; other data are fiscal year 1959 obligations.

² Palestine refugees.

³ Asian Economic Development Fund.

and the training of many men (and thus the upgrading of many forces). A detailed report of the operation of MAP will be found in each of the regional sections of this report.⁴

Defense Support (DS)

Defense support (administered by the ICA) is that economic assistance required, in addition to military assistance, in order to permit a specific contribution to the common defense by another country where U.S. military aid is helping to support significant military forces. Defense support country programs are described in detail in the regional sections of this report.

Defense support stems from specific military requirements, but its content is economic. The need for defense support is determined by (1) an analysis of the economic and financial capability of the country to meet the cost of the required military effort without incurring economic instability, and (2) the country's willingness to take all reasonable measures needed to develop its own defense capacities, consistent with its political, economic, and manpower capacity to do so.

During fiscal year 1959, \$808 million was obligated for defense support—\$540 million to the Far East, \$218 million to the Near East and South Asia, and \$50 million to one European country (Spain).

Development Loan Fund (DLF)

The DLF, described in detail in a separate chapter of this report,⁴ is a new and powerful tool designed to support and encourage long range economic development in the less developed countries of the world. DLF's role is to provide capital to accelerate economic growth through direct loans and other forms of credit. For fiscal year 1959, its first full year of operation, the Congress appropriated \$550 million in capital. The DLF undertakes financing only when presented with specific development proposals, and only when financing is unavailable on reasonable terms from private investments, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the Export-Import Bank, or other free world sources. It can accept repayment in local currencies, when warranted.

⁴ Not printed here.

Technical Cooperation (TC)

Technical cooperation, which is administered by the ICA, is nothing less than an effort to convey the skills and techniques and accumulated experience of our society to those of the less developed countries which need them and want them. For the first time in history, through the U.S. Technical Cooperation programs, the U.N. Technical Assistance Program (UNTA), the Colombo Plan, the Organization of American States (OAS), and some others, the proven skills and techniques of the more advanced nations are being directed—deliberately and effectively—to attack on a broad scale the economic and social problems of the less developed countries. \$166 million was obligated for TC in 1959, of which \$21.6 million was directed to the U.S. share in UNTA, and \$1.2 million to OAS. The balance was employed for bilateral technical cooperation.

Technical cooperation activities are generally organized in the form of jointly agreed projects, and the foreign government usually bears the greater share of the cost of the project. The TC program complements special assistance: defense support, and loans from the World Bank and DLF. For example, DLF and World Bank loans frequently have resulted from preliminary economic and technical feasibility studies, undertaken under the Technical Cooperation Program. One of the best examples of such complementary effort is the Lebanon Litani Basin development program. This development program is now being carried out with an IBRD loan, after its feasibility had been demonstrated by an American survey group provided under the Technical Cooperation Program. Technical cooperation projects have assisted in the establishment of productivity centers, the drafting of investment laws, and so forth. The need for different types of projects and the feasibility of completing them varies greatly from country to country.

Special Assistance

The Special Assistance Program, for which \$282 million was obligated in fiscal year 1959 is economic aid necessary to achieve political, economic, humanitarian or other objectives of the United States in any country where the United States is not providing military assistance in support of significant military forces, and where needs for

such assistance cannot appropriately or fully be provided under technical cooperation or from the DLP. Special assistance, which is administered by the ICA, is also the source of funds for certain other programs (such as malaria eradication) which serve important U.S. interests and which are not appropriate for financing under other categories of assistance.

A common characteristic of most countries receiving special assistance is their strategic location; many of them are accessible and vulnerable to bloc penetration. During fiscal year 1959, \$102 million was provided for special assistance in the Near East-South Asia area, \$83 million in Africa, \$24 million in Latin America, \$25 million in Europe, and \$9 million in the Far East. In addition \$25.6 million was provided for malaria eradication, and \$4.3 million for support to American schools abroad. The special assistance program is described in detail in a separate chapter later in this report.⁵

Section 517 of the Mutual Security Act

The Mutual Security Act of 1958 added Section 517 to the Act of 1954, as amended. That section became operative during fiscal year 1959. It sets up certain specific planning requirements as prerequisites to agreements or grants, constituting obligations of the U.S. in excess of \$100,000, for defense support, special assistance, and certain other forms of economic assistance. The principal purpose of this section of the Act is to insure that necessary engineering, financial and other planning has been completed in advance of the obligation of U.S. funds for the final design or construction of a project. The procedures whereby this requirement is met, along with other related procedures followed in the administration of economic aid programs, are directed at avoiding the premature obligation of U.S. funds before there has been sufficient advance planning to assure that the assistance provided will effectively accomplish the purpose for which it is intended.

IV. DEFENSE EFFORT—MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Military assistance, like the several forms of economic aid which make up the balance of the Mutual Security Program, is an instrument of

U.S. foreign policy. All types of assistance provided to our allies complement each other in promoting the security and progress of the free world. This dual objective is directly reflected in the categories of aid which contribute to allied military strength and those whose primary purpose is to foster economic stability and development of the non-Communist world. Although neither category can be considered more important than the other, it is clear that security is a prerequisite to progress. Only behind the shield of common defense can the nations of the free world pursue their goals of continued independence, economic growth, and a better life for all their peoples in a world at peace.

That shield, the combined military strength of the United States and its free world partners, is in large measure the creation of the Military Assistance Program. In less than a decade, this pioneer venture in peacetime multinational military cooperation, starting almost from scratch and with no precedents to guide its development, has been instrumental in the creation of a common defense. All around the perimeter of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains allied forces which the Military Assistance Program has helped to train and equip stand ready to repel Communist probes designed to test free world ability and will to resist. These allied troops around the globe are our first line to deter, and to contain, local engagements which could all too easily explode into the ultimate disaster of total war.

Thus there emerges clear proof of the vital contribution of the Military Assistance Program to the security and defense of the United States. The relationship between military assistance, and the availability of overseas bases essential to effective deployment of our own advanced forces and missiles makes it even more strikingly apparent that national security is reinforced by collective security. The degree to which we benefit from our participation in the common defense of the free world, is sharply revealed in the following statement by the Secretary of Defense:

We intend through our Military Assistance Program to continue to build up the forces of our allies. These are the forces which in many parts of the world would have to take the initial brunt of an aggressor's attack. Dollars spent wisely on them will increase our limited war, as well as our unlimited war capabilities, and save us many dollars in our own defense expenditures. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff recently stated, with complete unanimity, that they would not want one dollar added to our own defense

⁵ Not printed here.

expenditure if that dollar had to come out of our Military Assistance Program.

The effective response of the Chinese Nationalist forces to the attempted aggression in the Taiwan Strait during the late summer of 1958 was possible only because the will to resist was backed up by military might brought into being by equipment and training provided through the Military Assistance Program. Had not such defensive strength been in existence at the time of attack, the outcome in the Taiwan Strait might have been very different. The United States might well, in fulfilling its international obligations, have had no alternative to direct intervention, with the inevitable risk of spreading conflict. Those who question the need for our support of such large forces on Taiwan and in other areas of the Far East should find adequate answer in the lesson of the Quemoy crisis. That the crisis was successfully weathered is largely attributable to the superior performance and high morale of allied forces in being—trained and equipped by the Military Assistance Program.

The existence of NATO's integrated fighting forces is attributable in large part to the Military Assistance Program, and is one of its most substantial accomplishments. It is also perhaps the single strongest bulwark against Communist aggression because the NATO forces constitute the shield which protects Western Europe—an area of more than 1 million square miles, 270 million people, great resources, and a reservoir of some of the highest technical, managerial, and cultural skills of the world. The strength of that shield is very directly related to the security of the United States itself, and it must be maintained at all costs.

The total expense of supporting the common defense efforts of our free world allies through the Military Assistance Program is neither exorbitant nor an unduly onerous burden on the national economy. In the first place, in recent years military assistance expenditures have accounted for only slightly over 5 percent of total U.S. expenditures for major national security programs. Secondly, the total spent for both military and economic aid in the Mutual Security Program has accounted for less than 5 percent of our total Federal Budget in recent years, and annually has represented less than 1 percent of our Gross National Product. Because our partners in the common defense effort have shared substantially in its

financing, our own national security has been augmented at a cost far less than that of an equivalent overall increase in the strength of our own forces. Since the beginning of the collective security undertaking our allies jointly have expended from their own defense budgets almost seven times the total amount of our military assistance.

The tangible results of these expenditures, are reassuring although not a cause for complacency. Since 1950 active army forces of our allies have increased from 3,600,000 to 4,900,000 better trained and better equipped men, ready in the event of war. Combat ships assigned to the navies of the free world have more than doubled—from 1,200 to 2,500; and aircraft available for the common defense have increased from 17,000 to over 30,000. Impressive as is this numerical index of allied accomplishments, equally important—though less easily measurable—are the intangible byproducts. Chief is the strengthened self-confidence which has sprung from a more adequate defense posture. Our partners' determination to resist has become steadily firmer as they have acquired the ability to protect themselves against the threats and probing of potential aggressors. Knowing that they do not stand alone, but that the United States will collaborate with them, they have not faltered nor fallen back in times of crisis. Their staunchness warrants confidence in the future of the whole free world.

To support the Military Assistance Program adequately is therefore undeniably in the best interests of the United States; and to neglect it seriously jeopardizes those interests and our own national security. The following analysis of the status of military assistance funds clearly reveals the inevitable outcome if neglect occurs. It is an outcome we can far less easily afford than we can afford the funds necessary to insure that the Military Assistance Program will continue in full force as an essential instrument of U.S. foreign policy.

Status of Military Assistance Funds

Although the Military Assistance Program was initiated in fiscal year 1950, it was not until fiscal years 1951 and 1952, the time of the Korean crisis, that the United States began large scale support of friendly foreign military forces to supplement the military capabilities of the United States. The military assistance appropriation for fiscal

year 1951 was \$5.223 billion and for fiscal year 1952 was \$5.267 billion. Since those years the appropriations have been gradually reduced. However, because of the long lead-time required in military procurement, the level of military assistance deliveries has remained relatively stable.

For fiscal year 1959 the Congress appropriated \$1.515 billion for military assistance. During the course of the year an additional \$15 million was provided for military assistance purposes from the President's contingency fund. Receipts from the military sales program during fiscal year 1959 totaled \$28 million. Thus additional or new funds in the amount of \$1.558 billion were made available during fiscal year 1959. That sum, plus a total of \$3.373 billion committed but not expended from prior year appropriations, provided a total of \$4.931 billion available for expenditure during fiscal year 1959. Expenditures during the

year totaled \$2.368 billion which left an unexpended balance as of June 30, 1959, of \$2.563 billion.

For fiscal year 1960 the Congress appropriated \$1.3 billion for military assistance. This smaller appropriation will result in a major reduction in the value of deliveries of goods and services that can be made in fiscal year 1960 and subsequent years. The reduced value of materials and services that will be provided to recipient forces in fiscal year 1960 will result in a slackening in the rate of improvement of the overall capability of the allied forces through postponement of planned modernization, curtailment of essential training schedules, limitation of forward planning, and in general lowering of morale. Militarily, a reduced military assistance program increases the responsibility that must be carried by U. S. forces.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings¹

Adjourned During January 1960

ICEM Executive Committee: 14th Special Session	Geneva	Jan. 5-11
U.N. ECE Steel Committee and Working Parties: 23d Session	Geneva	Jan. 11-13
GATT Group of Experts on Temporary Admission of Professional Equipment	Geneva	Jan. 11-15
U.N. Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation: 7th Session	New York	Jan. 11-25
U.N. ECOSOC Human Rights Commission: 12th Session of Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities	New York	Jan. 11-29
IAEA Board of Governors	Vienna	Jan. 12-22
GATT Panel on Antidumping Duties	Geneva	Jan. 18-22
U.N. ECE Working Group on Industrial Statistics	Geneva	Jan. 18-22
Asian National Commissions for UNESCO: Regional Meeting	Manila	Jan. 18-23
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Trade: 3d Session	Bangkok	Jan. 18-25
UNESCO Meeting on Development of Information Media in Southeast Asia	Bangkok	Jan. 18-30
U.N. ECE <i>Ad Hoc</i> Working Party on Gas Problems	Geneva	Jan. 20-22
U.N. ECE Electric Power Committee: 18th Session	Geneva	Jan. 27-29
CENTO Scientific Council	Tehran	Jan. 30-31

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Jan. 13, 1960. Following is a list of abbreviations: CCITT, Comité consultatif international télégraphique et téléphonique; CENTO, Central Treaty Organization; ECAFE, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; ECE, Economic Commission for Europe; ECOSOC, Economic and Social Council; FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency; IBE, International Bureau of Education; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ICEM, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; ILO, International Labor Organization; IMCO, Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization; SEATO, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; U.N., United Nations; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; UNICEF, United Nations Children's Fund; WHO, World Health Organization.

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings—Continued

In Session as of January 31, 1960

Political Discussions on Suspension of Nuclear Tests	Geneva	Oct. 31, 1958-
U.N. ECAFE Industry and Natural Resources Committee: Seminar on Aerial Survey Methods and Equipment.	Bangkok	Jan. 4-
WHO Executive Board: 25th Session	Geneva	Jan. 12-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 12th Session.	Bangkok	Jan. 23-
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Jan. 25-
North Pacific Fur Seal Commission: 3d Meeting	Moscow	Jan. 25-
SEATO Preparatory Conference for Heads of Universities Seminar.	Bangkok	Jan. 25-
International Lead and Zinc Study Group: 1st Meeting	Geneva	Jan. 25-
U.N. Trusteeship Council: 25th Session	New York	Jan. 25-
U.N. Economic Commission for Africa: 2d Session	Tangier	Jan. 25-
3d ICAO African-Indian Ocean Regional Air Navigation Meeting.	Rome	Jan. 26-

Scheduled February 1 Through April 30, 1960

FAO Asia-Pacific Forestry Commission: 5th Session	New Delhi	Feb. 8-
Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara.	Tananarive, Madagascar	Feb. 15-
IBE Executive Board	Geneva	Feb. 15-
GATT Panel on Subsidies and State Trading	Geneva	Feb. 15-
U.N. Commission on Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources: 2d Session.	New York	Feb. 16-
ILO Governing Body: 144th Session	Geneva	Feb. 17-
U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: 16th Session.	Karachi	Feb. 17-
FAO Group of Experts on Rice Grading and Standardization: 5th Session.	Saigon	Feb. 18-
FAO Consultative Subcommittee on the Economic Aspects of Rice: 4th Session.	Saigon	Feb. 22-
ICAO Special Communications Meeting on European-Mediterranean Rules of the Air and Air Traffic Control.	Paris	Feb. 23-
Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission: Annual Meeting	San José	Feb. 23-
U.N. Committee on Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories: 11th Session.	New York	Feb. 23-
European National Commissions for UNESCO: Regional Meeting.	Taormina, Sicily	Feb. 23-
IMCO <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Rules of Procedure	London	Feb. 26-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights: 16th Session	Geneva	Feb. 29-
FAO Meeting of Government Experts on Use of Designations, Definitions, and Standards for Milk and Milk Products.	Rome	February
IMCO Council: 3d Session	London	Mar. 2-
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences: 5th Meeting of the Technical Advisory Council.	Lima	Mar. 7-
UNICEF Executive Board and Program Committee	New York	Mar. 7-
U.N. ECAFE Conference of Asian Statisticians: 3d Session	Bangkok	Mar. 8-
GATT Committee III on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Mar. 14-
Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee	Geneva	Mar. 15-
5th ICAO North Atlantic Ocean Stations Conference	The Hague	Mar. 17-
2d U.N. Conference on Law of the Sea	Geneva	Mar. 17-
ICAO Legal Committee: Subcommittee on Aerial Collision	Paris	Mar. 21-
ICAO Subcommittee on Hire, Charter, and Interchange	Paris	Mar. 21-
ITU CCITT Working Party 43 (Data Transmission)	Geneva	Mar. 21-
U.N. ECAFE Working Party on Small-Scale Industries and Handicraft Marketing/Canning and Bottling of Fruit and Food in Cooperation with FAO.	Singapore	Mar. 21-
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Mar. 28-
GATT Intersessional Committee	Geneva	Mar. 28-
UNESCO Executive Board: 56th Session	Paris	Mar. 28-
UNESCO Meeting of Administrators on Technical and Vocational Education in Africa.	Acera	Mar. 28-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Status of Women: 14th Session	Buenos Aires	Mar. 28-
UNESCO Intergovernmental Advisory Committee on Extension of Primary Education in Latin America.	México, D.F.	March
ICAO Informal Caribbean Regional Meeting on Meteorology	Curaçao	Apr. 1-
U.N. Economic and Social Council: 29th Session	New York	Apr. 5-
International Wheat Council: Special Session	London	Apr. 5-
U.N. ECOSOC Statistical Commission: 11th Session	New York	Apr. 18-
Meeting of Experts on the Inter-American Telecommunications Network.	México, D.F.	Apr. 19-
U.N. Economic Commission for Europe: 15th Session	Geneva	Apr. 20-
ICAO Teletypewriter Panel	Montreal	Apr. 25-

ILO Petroleum Committee: 6th Session	Geneva	Apr. 25-
U.N. ECOSOC Narcotic Drugs Commission: 15th Session	Geneva	Apr. 25-
NATO Ministerial Council	Istanbul	Apr. 28-
Executive Committee of the Program of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees: 3d Session.	Geneva	April
U.N. ECOSOC Narcotic Drugs Commission: Illicit Traffic Committee.	Geneva	April

Tenth Anniversary of Colombo Plan

Statement by Secretary Herter

Press release 11 dated January 13

On behalf of the U.S. Government I wish to pay tribute to the imaginative genius of those Commonwealth ministers who, on January 14, 1950, conceived of the idea of a friendly international association which was destined to develop into the widely esteemed institution now known as the Colombo Plan.

The Colombo Plan is esteemed because its essence is a noble objective. It stimulates through friendly consultation more rapid economic development of the countries of south and south-east Asia, countries which are struggling to free themselves from the ageless burden of poverty. The United States, having undertaken numerous programs of economic cooperation through bilateral arrangements with countries of this area, was pleased to join this association of free countries shortly after its inception. Although the members extend or receive aid through bilateral arrangements, the intimate multilateral discussions among friends within the Colombo Plan system are undoubtedly of great value to all concerned. They have constituted a stimulating force and have made possible more efficient and effective fulfillment of objectives on the part of both aid-giving and aid-receiving nations.

If there is a key to the success of the Colombo Plan, I believe it may lie in the informal friendly consultative nature of its procedures. The Colombo Plan is not rigid; it does not bind members to any particular course; it is not an operating agency. It does bring friends closer in their cooperative efforts. It is an association of friendly countries and is most useful toward meeting the economic needs and national desires of the members. It has in fact become a symbol of the economic aspirations of hundreds of millions of people. My Government is proud to be a

member of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee. It is gratified that through unanimous consent the life of this organization has recently been extended. It wishes for the Colombo Plan continued success in its great mission.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

ECE Steel Committee

The Department of State announced on January 8 (press release 4) the designation of Howard J. Mullin, a vice president of the U.S. Steel Corp., as the U.S. Delegate to the 23d session of the Steel Committee of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), convening at Geneva, Switzerland, on January 11, 1960.

Assisting Mr. Mullin as Alternate U.S. Delegate will be Robert D. Woodward, an economist with the Bethlehem Steel Co.

The Steel Committee is one of the principal committees of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe and provides a forum where steel experts meet periodically to consider and discuss matters of common interest. The forthcoming meeting will discuss principally the long-term trends and problems in the steel industry and a program of future work and will review the 1959 steel market.

UNESCO Conference on Mass Communications in Southeast Asia

An eight-man U.S. delegation headed by Wilbur Schramm of Stanford University will participate in an international conference on the development of mass communications in south-east Asia, beginning January 18 at Bangkok, Thailand, the Department of State announced on January 11 (press release 6).

The 2-week meeting is the first step in a world-

wide survey of existing problems in the mass communications field being carried out by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Dr. Schramm, director of Stanford's Institute of Communication Research and an authority on mass communications, was in Washington on January 11 for talks with Department of State and other Government officials and a meeting with officials of the radio, television, and motion picture industries. Prior to leaving New York for Bangkok, he met with wire-service and other media representatives who have special interest in southeast Asia.

The remainder of the U.S. delegation will be made up of U.S. officials assigned to the southeast Asian area.

UNESCO plans similar surveys for Latin America in 1961 and for Africa in 1962.

ECE Working Party on Gas Problems

The Department of State announced on January 15 (press release 21) the designation of Hall M. Henry, president, New England Gas and Electric Association Service Corporation, Cambridge, Mass., as United States Delegate to the meeting of the Working Party on Gas Problems of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, which is scheduled to be held at Geneva, January 20-22, 1960.

The main purpose of the meeting is to discuss European fuel gas problems. Mr. Henry will be assisted by a member of the United States resident delegation at Geneva.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

Letter Dated 22 December 1959 From the Permanent Representative of India Addressed to the President of the Security Council Concerning a Pakistani Letter (S/4242). S/4249. December 28, 1959. 3 pp.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

General Assembly

Establishment and Maintenance of a United Nations Memorial Cemetery in Korea. Report of the Secretary-General on the conclusion of the agreement between the United Nations and the Republic of Korea. A/4330. December 4, 1959. 10 pp.

Question of South West Africa. Letter dated December 12, 1959, from the permanent representative of the Union of South Africa addressed to the President of the General Assembly. A/4352. December 12, 1959. 2 pp.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960. Report of the Fifth Committee. Corrigendum. A/4336/Corr. 1. December 12, 1959. 1 p.

Economic and Social Council

Economic Commission for Europe Working Party on Gas Problems. Report on Economic Problems of Underground Storage of Gas. E/ECE/362. August 26, 1959. 47 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Note on Measures Required for the Control of the Infectious Diseases of Livestock, Particularly Rinderpest in the North-East Region of Africa. E/CN.14/31. November 10, 1959. 4 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. International Economic Assistance to Africa: A Review of Current Contributions. Memorandum by the Executive Secretary. E/CN.14/23. November 12, 1959. 31 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Measures Needed To Ensure More Effective Control of Locusts in Africa. Executive Secretary's report on his inquiries. E/CN.14/32 and Corr. 1. November 16, 1959. 11 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Information Paper on Technical Assistance Activities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Prepared by the IBRD. E/CN.14/26. November 17, 1959. 4 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Annotated Provisional Agenda. E/CN.14/22. November 18, 1959. 5 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Report by the Executive Secretary on His Exploration of Means of Aiding Governments in North Africa To Develop Their Esparto Grass Reserves. E/CN.14/33. November 18, 1959. 5 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Report by the Executive Secretary on His Exploration of Means of Aiding Governments in North Africa To Develop Their Sea Fisheries. E/CN.14/34. November 18, 1959. 7 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. The Impact of the European Economic Community on African Trade. E/CN.14/29. November 20, 1959. 31 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Information Paper on Technical Assistance Provided to Countries and Territories of the ECA Region Under the Expanded and Regular Programmes. Prepared by the TAB secretariat. E/CN.14/27. December 1, 1959. 31 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Programme of Work and Priorities 1960 and 1961. Memorandum by the Executive Secretary. E/CN.14/36. December 1, 1959. 21 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Information Paper on UNICEF Aid to Child Health and Welfare Projects in Africa. Prepared by the United Nations Children's Fund. E/CN.14/41. December 4, 1959. 12 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Report on the Facilities Available for the Training of Africans in Economics, Statistics and Related Fields of Study. Prepared by UNESCO. E/CN.14/35 and Add. 1. December 7, 1959. 95 pp.

Commission on the Status of Women. Women in Public Services and Functions. Report by the Secretary-General. E/CN.6/354. December 8, 1959. 75 pp.

Technical Assistance. Report of the Technical Assistance Committee. E/3312. December 9, 1959. 22 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Sugar

International sugar agreement of 1958. Done at London December 1, 1958. Entered into force provisionally January 1, 1959; definitively for the United States October 9, 1959.

Ratifications deposited: Guatemala, December 11, 1959; Ghana, March 4, 1959; Panama, March 18, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1960.

Notification of approval: Sweden, November 18, 1959.¹

Trade and Commerce

Protocol relating to negotiations for the establishment of new schedule III—Brazil—to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva December 31, 1958.²

Signatures: Ceylon, October 31, 1959; the United Kingdom, November 6, 1959; Federation of Malaya and Peru, November 16, 1959.

BILATERAL

Argentina

Agreement relating to investment guaranties under section 413(b)(4) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 847; 22 U.S.C. 1933). Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1959. Entered into force provisionally December 22, 1959; enters into force definitively on the date of receipt of a note by the United States stating the agreement has been approved by Argentina in accordance with its constitutional procedures.

Belgium

Agreement concerning American military cemeteries, with annex. Signed at Brussels November 27, 1959. Entered into force November 27, 1959.

Agreement regarding the erection of certain memorials in Belgium by the American Battle Monuments Commission. Signed at Paris October 4, 1929 (46 Stat. 2732). *Terminated:* November 27, 1959, by agreement concerning American military cemeteries (*supra*).

Agreement relating to the interment of American nationals in Belgium, as amended. Effected by exchange of notes at Brussels June 6 and July 23, 1947 (TIAS 1672, 1969, and 3239).

Terminated: November 27, 1959, by agreement concerning American military cemeteries (*supra*).

Haiti

Agreement for the exchange of third-party messages between radio amateurs of the United States and Haiti.

¹ With a reservation.

² Not in force.

Effected by exchange of notes at Port-au-Prince January 1 and 6, 1960. Entered into force January 6, 1960.

India

Agreement further supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of November 13, 1959, as supplemented (TIAS 4354). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington January 8, 1960. Entered into force January 8, 1960.

Israel

Agricultural commodities agreement under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 455; 7 U.S.C. 1701-1709), with agreed minute. Signed at Washington January 7, 1960. Entered into force January 7, 1960.

Italy

Agreement amending and extending the agreement of June 28, 1954 (TIAS 3150), with Italy for a technical cooperation program for the Trust Territory of Somaliland. Effected by exchange of letters at Rome December 24, 1959. Entered into force December 24, 1959.

Turkey

Agricultural commodities agreement under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 455; 7 U.S.C. 1701-1709), with exchanges of notes. Signed at Ankara December 22, 1959. Entered into force December 22, 1959.

Venezuela

Arrangement for exchange of communications between amateur stations on behalf of third parties. Effected by exchange of notes at Caracas November 12, 1959. Entered into force November 12, 1959; operative December 12, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

ICA Institute Opens Fourth Session

The Department of State announced on January 11 (press release 8) that the International Cooperation Administration on that day had opened the fourth in its series of institutes in program planning for selected ICA employees. The 5-month course is conducted for ICA at Washington by the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. Nineteen ICA staff members are attending the institute.

The training is designed to improve the participants' effectiveness in dealing with complex technical and economic problems in countries to which they will be assigned. The principles of economic development, including the role of the Mutual Security Program as well as the relationship of political and cultural factors, are included in the curriculum. Lecture courses are given by the Johns Hopkins faculty and by guest lecturers from other universities, international institutions, and U.S. Government agencies.

Post at Yaoundé, Cameroun, Raised to Embassy

The Department of State announced on January 5 (press release I) that the American consulate general at Yaoundé, Cameroun, was elevated to an Embassy on January 1, 1960, upon formal attainment of independence by the former United Nations trust territory under French administration. Cameroun obtained its independence as a result of a resolution of the United Nations resumed 13th General Assembly passed on March 13, 1959,¹ declaring that the trusteeship agreement would cease to be in force on January 1.

The United States first opened a consulate at Yaoundé in June 1957. This was raised to a consulate general on April 10, 1959.

Bolard More has been named Chargé d'Affaires.

Recess Appointments

The President on January 4 appointed Dennis A. Fitzgerald to be Deputy Director for Operations of the International Cooperation Administration in the Department of State.

Designations

Edwin McCammou Martin as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, effective January 7. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 14 dated January 14.)

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

You and Your Passport. Pub. 6828. Department and Foreign Service Series 88. 10 pp. 5¢.

A leaflet containing information of interest to any person who plans to go abroad.

The Biographic Register, 1959. Pub. 6838. Department and Foreign Service Series 89. 804 pp. \$4.50.

¹ U.N. doc. A/RES/1349(XIII); for text, see BULLETIN of Apr. 13, 1959, p. 534.

A publication containing biographies for certain employees of the Department of State, the United States Mission to the United Nations, the International Cooperation Administration, and the United States Information Agency. Biographies are included also for the Foreign Agricultural Service of the Department of Agriculture.

Southeast Asia: Area of Challenge, Change, and Progress. Pub. 6861. Far Eastern Series 82. 15 pp. 15¢.

Another issue in the popular *Background* series, this pamphlet discusses the importance, land, peoples, economic situation, and individual countries of the area.

Your Department of State. Pub. 6877. Department and Foreign Service Series 91. 14 pp. 15¢.

An illustrated pamphlet describing the origin, functions, organization, and principal officers of the Department; a revision of the original pamphlet.

Cultural Diplomacy. Pub. 6887. International Information and Cultural Series 70. 50 pp. 25¢.

An illustrated publication which helps to describe the important role cultural diplomacy is playing in our relations with other countries. It reviews the many kinds of exchange activities carried out under the International Educational Exchange Program during fiscal year 1958.

How Foreign Policy Is Made. Pub. 6892. General Foreign Policy Series 143. 20 pp. 10¢.

A revised pamphlet containing a series of questions and answers on the formulation of our foreign policy.

International Educational Exchange Program—July 1–December 31, 1958. Pub. 6893. International Information and Cultural Series 71. 14 pp. Limited distribution.

The 22d semiannual report to Congress describing the many kinds of exchange activities carried out during the first half of fiscal year 1959.

Technical Cooperation—Joint Fund Program. TIAS 4334. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Israel, amending agreement of May 9, 1952, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tel Aviv June 26, 1959, and at Jerusalem September 24, 1959. Entered into force September 24, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4335. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreements between the United States of America and Indonesia, amending agreement of May 29, 1959. Exchange of notes—Signed at Djakarta October 1, 1959. Entered into force October 1, 1959.

Air Transport Services. TIAS 4336. 8 pp. 10¢. Agreement between the United States of America and France, extending and amending agreement of March 27, 1946, as amended and extended. Exchange of notes—Dated at Paris August 27, 1959. Entered into force August 27, 1959. And extension agreement. Exchange of notes—Dated at Paris July 23, 1959. Entered into force July 23, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4337. 13 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Colombia. Exchange of notes—Signed at Bogotá October 6, 1959. Entered into force October 6, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4338. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and India, amending agreements of August 29, 1956, as amended, June 23, 1958, and September 26, 1958. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington October 1 and 28, 1959. Entered into force October 28, 1959.

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*Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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Vol. XLII, No. 1076

February 8, 1960

PRIME MINISTER KISHI VISITS WASHINGTON FOR SIGNING OF TREATY OF MUTUAL CO-OPERATION AND SECURITY BETWEEN THE U.S. AND JAPAN • *Texts of Joint Communique, Remarks, and Treaty and Related Documents* 179

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLII, No. 1076 • PUBLICATION 6938

February 8, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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Prime Minister Kishi Visits Washington for Signing of Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the U.S. and Japan

Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi of Japan, accompanied by Foreign Minister Aichiro Fujiyama and a delegation of 36 Japanese officials, made an informal visit at Washington, D.C., January 17-21 to participate in the signing on January 19 of a Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States of America and Japan. Following are texts of a joint communique, the treaty and related documents, and remarks made on various occasions during the visit.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, JANUARY 19

White House press release dated January 19

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan conferred at the White House today prior to the formal signing of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States. Their discussions were devoted chiefly to a broad and comprehensive review of current international developments, and to an examination of Japanese-American relations. Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Fujiyama and American Secretary of State Herter also took part in the White House talks. Later the Prime Minister and his party conferred with the Secretary of State on matters of mutual concern to the two countries.

I.

The President and the Prime Minister first discussed the international situation. The President told the Prime Minister of the profound impression made upon him during his recent trip to South Asia, the Near East, Africa and Europe¹ by the overwhelming desire throughout these

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Dec. 28, 1959, p. 931, and Jan. 11, 1960, p. 46.

areas for early realization of the goals of the United Nations, international peace, respect for human rights, and a better life. In discussing the international situation, the President stated his determination to exert every effort at the impending Summit meeting² to achieve meaningful progress toward these goals. The Prime Minister expressed full agreement and support for the President's determination.

In this connection, the President and the Prime Minister agreed that disarmament, with the essential guarantees of inspection and verification, is a problem of urgent and central importance to all nations, whose resolution would contribute greatly to reducing the burden of armaments and the risk of war. They expressed the further hope that early agreement can be reached on an adequately safeguarded program for the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests. They concluded that the world is entering a period affording important opportunities which they have every intention of exploring most seriously, but only on the basis of tested performance not merely promises. Both leaders recognized that all of man's intellect, wisdom and imagination must be brought into full play to achieve a world at peace under justice and freedom. They expressed the conviction that, during this period and particularly until all nations abide faithfully by the purposes and principles of the U.N. and forego the resort to force, it is essential for free nations to maintain by every means their resolution, their unity and their strength.

II.

The President and the Prime Minister considered the security relationship between the United States and Japan in the light of their evaluation

² For background, see *ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1960, p. 77.

of the current international situation and declared that this close relationship is essential to the achievement of peace in justice and freedom. They are convinced that the partnership and cooperation between their two nations is strengthened by the new treaty which has been drawn up on the basis of the principles of equal sovereignty and mutual cooperation that characterize the present relationship between the two countries. Both leaders look forward to the ratification of the treaty and to the celebration of this year of the centennial of Japan's first diplomatic mission to the United States as further demonstrations of the strength and continuity of Japanese-American friendship.

In reviewing relations between Japan and the United States since their last meeting in June of 1957,³ the President and the Prime Minister expressed particular gratification at the success of efforts since that time to develop the new era in relations between the two countries, based on common interest, mutual trust, and the principles of cooperation.

Both the President and the Prime Minister looked ahead to continued close cooperation between the two countries within the framework of the new Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. They are convinced that the treaty will materially strengthen peace and security in the Far East and advance the cause of peace and freedom throughout the world. They are convinced also that the treaty will foster an atmosphere of mutual confidence. In this connection, the Prime Minister discussed with the President the question of prior consultation under the new treaty. The President assured him that the United States Government has no intention of acting in a manner contrary to the wishes of the Japanese Government with respect to the matters involving prior consultation under the treaty.

The President and the Prime Minister also discussed the situation in Asia. They reaffirmed their belief that they should maintain close contact and consultation with relation to future developments in this area. They agreed that Japan's increasing participation in international discussion of the problems of Asia will be in the interest of the free world.

³ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1957, p. 51.

III.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the expansion of trade among free nations, the economic progress and elevation of living standards in less developed countries are of paramount importance, and will contribute to stability and progress so essential to the achievement of peace in the world.

The President and the Prime Minister exchanged views on the European economic and trade communities and on the role that can be played by the industrialized Free World countries in the economic development of the less developed areas. Both leaders called particular attention to the urgent desire of peoples in the less developed areas of the world for the economic advancement without which they cannot preserve their freedom. They stressed the role which increasingly must be played by the industrialized nations of the free world in assisting the progress of the less developed areas. The President particularly referred to the increasing role the Japanese people are playing in the economic development of free Asia.

In considering economic relations between the United States and Japan, the President and the Prime Minister recognized that trade between their two nations is of great benefit to both countries, noting that the United States is the largest purchaser of Japanese exports, and Japan is the second largest buyer of American goods. They expressed gratification at the growth of mutually profitable trade between the two countries. They reaffirmed their conviction that the continued and orderly expansion of world trade, through the avoidance of arbitrary and new unnecessary trade restrictions, and through active measures to remove existing obstacles, is essential to the well-being and progress of both countries.

The Prime Minister stressed the importance of the United States and Japan consulting on a continuing basis with regard to economic matters of mutual interest. The President expressed full agreement to this view.

IV.

The President expressed his particular gratification that the Prime Minister could come to Washington on this occasion so important in United States-Japanese relations. The Prime

Minister expressed his appreciation for the opportunity to meet again with the President.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that their talks will contribute to the continued strengthening of the United States-Japanese partnership.

WELCOMING REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT NIXON¹

Mr. Prime Minister, it is my honor and privilege to welcome you again to our Nation's capital on the occasion of this visit.

I do not need to tell you that you are always welcome in our country as the representative of a great people and as a true and loyal friend of the United States. But I believe that this occasion is a particularly historic and significant one. At a time in history when the relations between nations are very complex and sometimes difficult, we are reminded by this visit, and the reason for it, of the really exciting record of achievement in good relations between the United States and your country.

On Tuesday you and Secretary Herter will sign a new treaty of mutual cooperation and security between the United States and Japan. This treaty will mark the culmination of great progress in relations between our countries in the 2 years since you last visited this capital. And we know, too, that it will mark the opening of a new era of even greater cooperation and mutual progress together. I think it is only appropriate at this time to pay tribute to the leadership in your country and in ours which has made this record of progress possible. The leaders of our two countries have recognized that we have true identity of interests in a divided world. And I can say that millions of Americans respect and honor you for the courageous leadership that you have given for the cause of peace and freedom for your people and for all the world.

May I say that I am sure that, in your much too brief time here in our Nation's capital, the meetings you will have with our President, with the Secretary of State, will bring even closer ties of cooperation and friendship for the years to come.

¹Made at Washington, D.C., on Jan. 17 upon the arrival of Prime Minister Kishi (press release 23).

President Eisenhower Accepts Invitation To Visit Japan

White House press release dated January 20

Prime Minister Kishi, on behalf of the Government of Japan, extended an invitation to the President to visit Japan on the occasion of the Japanese-American Centennial. The President accepted the invitation with the greatest of pleasure and proposed that he visit Japan about June 20, following his forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union.

President Eisenhower took this opportunity to express his hope that Their Imperial Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess will pay a visit to the United States on the occasion of the Centennial, and the Prime Minister stated that he will endeavor to bring about the desired visit.

TOASTS AT WHITE HOUSE LUNCHEON, JANUARY 19

White House press release dated January 19

President Eisenhower

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Foreign Minister, and distinguished guests: It is a very great personal honor to welcome here in Washington the Prime Minister of Japan and his associates in government. They are here to sign, with us, a treaty of mutual cooperation and security.

This year is the centennial of an occasion very similar to this one. A predecessor of mine, 100 years ago, welcomed to this city the first Japanese diplomatic mission to the United States—indeed, the first diplomatic mission that in modern times the Japanese had sent abroad.

During those hundred years tremendous changes have taken place. In our technology, in science, the changes have been such as to be revolutionary. And in the thinking of our two peoples there has been likewise a great change. We have come to the realization that we were not, each of us, truly independent of ourselves and of others but that there is among the nations—certainly the nations of the free world—a great and growing interdependence.

In 1860 Japan was just emerging from an isolation centuries old and almost complete in its character. The United States was living in an isolation of a different kind. We were so protected by

two vast ocean areas that we had no real interest in the rest of the world and certainly felt ourselves to be immune from the quarrels and struggles and problems and even the privations that others experienced.

We have come a long way from that time. In 1960 our two countries represented here today are leaders in an effort to bring the free nations of the world into a closer cooperation through which they may achieve a better security for themselves and for realizing for all people the peace in freedom that they seek. The signing of this treaty this afternoon will, all of us hope, mark one significant step in progress toward that goal.

I am hopeful that all of you present, after we have had our coffee in the Blue Room, will be guests at that signing, which will take place in the East Room immediately after we leave the Blue Room.

It has been a particular delight for me to have Mr. Kishi, an old friend of mine, here representing his country this morning. We had a chance, because of this visit, to remark upon the tremendous changes, the tremendous progress that has been made in the last 2 years in the relations between our two countries. We agreed that there is ground for great confidence that these relations will be sound and will grow ever stronger.

Now, of course, for both of us it would have been a little bit more enjoyable and possibly even more profitable to have had these conversations on the golf course. But in spite of the uncooperative character of the season, we did have these talks, and both of us agreed that they have been not only interesting but fruitful.

And it is in that belief and conviction that I propose a toast to the monarch whose able Prime Minister is our honored guest today.

Gentlemen and Madam, will you please join me in raising our glasses to His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan.

Prime Minister Kishi

Unofficial translation

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and other honorable guests: Today I and my associates have the privilege of discussing political affairs with the President, for which I offer thanks from the bottom of my heart. Further, the President's generous toast

has touched me deeply, for which I am also thankful.

In the 2½ years which have passed since I first met with the President to discuss matters of mutual concern and mutual cooperation we have seen great progress toward achieving a position of equality and mutual trust. That we have done so is a blessing for the peoples of both our countries. Moreover it also contributes in a great degree toward the achievement of that peace in the world which all peoples wish for.

We all know that the President works constantly, with all of his energies, toward achieving peace in the world, with justice and freedom. Not only we in Japan but the peoples of the entire world are well aware of this, and we all praise you for your activities, Mr. President. We pray for your success in your purposes.

As the President has already explained, my purpose in coming to the United States at this time is to sign the new treaty of mutual cooperation and security between Japan and the United States. But this year, as the President has also indicated, marks the first—the end of the first century since the first amicable diplomatic contact between our two countries.

Throughout that hundred years, never, with the exception of a brief few, do I believe that we have had relations of anything less than a mutually profitable nature. I hope that in the coming hundred years we will achieve even more progress toward a new relationship based on trust and cooperation.

I think that what we are doing today is significant for both the peace of the world and for the prosperity of the peoples of the world. I hope that our friendship continues in this way through the next century, without even a few years such as those which blotted our relations in the past.

I hope that the work we do here today will gain for us more than the hundred years of peaceful and cooperative relations that my predecessors gained. I know that we will continue to work hard to achieve this.

In reply to the remarks of the President I would like to thank him from the bottom of my heart. I would like to toast the health of the President and pray that he may continue to work so energetically for the peace of the world and for the prosperity of all of the American people.

Thank you.

President Eisenhower

White House press release dated January 19

The signing today of the treaty of mutual cooperation and security between Japan and the United States is truly a historical occasion at which I am honored to be present. This treaty represents the fulfillment of the goal set by Prime Minister Kishi and myself in June of 1957 to establish an indestructible partnership between our two countries in which our relations would be based on complete equality and mutual understanding. The treaty likewise reflects the closeness and breadth of our relations in the political and economic as well as security fields.

It is equally fitting that the treaty of mutual cooperation and security should be signed in the hundredth year after the first treaty between our two countries came into effect. On May 22, 1860, the first Japanese delegation to the United States exchanged ratifications of the treaty of amity and commerce between our two countries. The subsequent hundred years have brought unbelievable progress and increasing prosperity to both our countries. It is my fervent hope that the new treaty signed today will usher in a second hundred years of prosperity and the peace in freedom which the peoples of our countries and of all countries so earnestly desire.

Secretary Herter

Press release 24 dated January 19

It is a great honor and privilege for me to represent the United States as the principal signatory of this new treaty of mutual cooperation and security with Japan. The significance of this occasion for both our countries is demonstrated by the presence of the highest officials of both Governments, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan, as well as delegations from the Legislatures of both nations.

I am confident that the treaty we are signing today will establish, in the political, economic, and security fields, the basis for close cooperation to our mutual benefit for many years to come. It will also serve as notice of our solidarity to those who would attack or subvert the freedom which is our most precious possession.

Unofficial translation

For Japan and the United States this is a truly significant and historic occasion. The new treaty of mutual cooperation and security which we are about to sign constitutes the basic structure of partnership between our countries and a basis for effective cooperation, not only in the field of security but also in the broader political and economic fields. The consummation of this treaty in the centennial year of our diplomatic and commercial relations is indeed a happy augury for the future.

Henceforth our common efforts should be devoted to making our partnership a living and dynamic instrument for peace under justice and freedom and for human progress throughout the world. I am sure that we are making a most auspicious start into the second century of Japanese-American relations.

Foreign Minister Fujiyama

Unofficial translation

This is truly an auspicious event. It will go down in history, I am sure, as a great and important milestone in the full century of relations between Japan and the United States. The treaty we have signed brings us together in closer association than any pact ever concluded between our two countries.

I am glad and proud of the part I have personally had in the making of this treaty. As the chief negotiator for Japan, I know what this treaty is and what it is for. It is an open compact for all the world to see as a treaty pledging our countries to serve as partners in the cause of a secure peace under justice and freedom. It reflects the sentiments and the aspirations of both our peoples.

On this occasion I should express my highest respects and appreciation to the representatives of the United States for the great understanding and zeal shown by them in working closely with us to make a treaty of which both our countries may be truly proud. I address these sentiments particularly to the late Secretary Dulles, with whose understanding the negotiations were initiated, to Secretary Herter, who took a personal hand in leading the negotiations for his Government to this happy consummation, and to Amba-

sador [Douglas] MacArthur [II], who showed a deep appreciation of Japan's hopes and aspirations throughout the negotiations.

This is a day of fulfillment. But, at the same time, this is only the beginning of our real task—to breathe life into this treaty. Dedicated as we both are to the spirit of partnership, peace, and progress, I am confident that we shall succeed in our endeavor.

FAREWELL REMARKS BY UNDER SECRETARY MERCHANT⁵

Mr. Prime Minister, we have come to the end of a friendly and fruitful visit. We have had an opportunity to renew old friendships and to discuss many matters of common concern. You are leaving us to visit our mutual friend and our good and close neighbor, Canada, where I know a warm reception awaits you.

Your visit to Washington and the treaty of mutual cooperation and security we have signed during this visit are an auspicious start to the celebration this year of the 100th anniversary of the first visit to Washington by plenipotentiaries representing Japan. We will work closely with you to symbolize by this anniversary celebration our common dedication to the ideals that unite free peoples everywhere.

I hope you leave us, as we leave you, with the conviction that we are in closer agreement than ever in our aspirations for peace and security and in the ways and means that must be employed by the community of free nations to achieve these aspirations. You should also know that you are always welcome to our shores.

Goodby and Godspeed.

TREATY AND RELATED DOCUMENTS

Press release 25 dated January 19

Text of Treaty

TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND JAPAN

The United States of America and Japan,

Desiring to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship traditionally existing between them, and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law,

⁵ Made at Washington, D.C., on Jan. 21 upon the departure of Mr. Kishi (press release 28 dated Jan. 20).

Desiring further to encourage closer economic cooperation between them and to promote conditions of economic stability and well-being in their countries,

Reaffirming their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments,

Recognizing that they have the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense as affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations,

Considering that they have a common concern in the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East,

Having resolved to conclude a treaty of mutual cooperation and security,

Therefore agree as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

The Parties will endeavor in concert with other peace-loving countries to strengthen the United Nations so that its mission of maintaining international peace and security may be discharged more effectively.

ARTICLE II

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between them.

ARTICLE III

The Parties, individually and in cooperation with each other, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop, subject to their constitutional provisions, their capacities to resist armed attack.

ARTICLE IV

The Parties will consult together from time to time regarding the implementation of this Treaty, and, at the request of either Party, whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East is threatened.

ARTICLE V

Each Party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

ARTICLE VI

For the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan.

The use of these facilities and areas as well as the status of United States armed forces in Japan shall be governed by a separate agreement, replacing the Administrative Agreement under Article III of the Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan, signed at Tokyo on February 28, 1952, as amended,⁶ and by such other arrangements as may be agreed upon.

ARTICLE VII

This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE VIII

This Treaty shall be ratified by the United States of America and Japan in accordance with their respective constitutional processes and will enter into force on the date on which the instruments of ratification thereof have been exchanged by them in Tokyo.

ARTICLE IX

The Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan⁷ signed at the city of San Francisco on September 8, 1951 shall expire upon the entering into force of this Treaty.

ARTICLE X

This Treaty shall remain in force until in the opinion of the Governments of the United States of America and Japan there shall have come into force such United Nations arrangements as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Japan area.

However, after the Treaty has been in force for ten years, either Party may give notice to the other Party of its intention to terminate the Treaty, in which case the Treaty shall terminate one year after such notice has been given.

⁶ Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2492 and 2848; for text of treaty and protocol, see BULLETIN of Mar. 10, 1952, p. 382, and Nov. 2, 1953, p. 595.

⁷ TIAS 2491; for text, see BULLETIN of Sept. 17, 1951, p. 464.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty.

DONE in duplicate at Washington in the English and Japanese languages, both equally authentic, this 19th day of January, 1960.

For the United States of America:

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR 2ND
J GRAHAM PARSONS

For Japan:

NORUSUKE KISHII
AICHIRO FUJIYAMA
MITSUJIRO ISHII
TADASHI ADACHI
KOICHIRO ASAKAI

Agreed Minute to the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security

Japanese Plenipotentiary:

While the question of the status of the islands administered by the United States under Article 3 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan⁸ has not been made a subject of discussion in the course of treaty negotiations, I would like to emphasize the strong concern of the Government and people of Japan for the safety of the people of these islands since Japan possesses residual sovereignty over these islands. If an armed attack occurs or is threatened against these islands, the two countries will of course consult together closely under Article IV of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. In the event of an armed attack, it is the intention of the Government of Japan to explore with the United States measures which it might be able to take for the welfare of the islanders.

United States Plenipotentiary:

In the event of an armed attack against these islands, the United States Government will consult at once with the Government of Japan and intends to take the necessary measures for the defense of these islands, and to do its utmost to secure the welfare of the islanders.

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1960.

C. A. H.
N. K.

Agreement Under Article VI of the Treaty

AGREEMENT UNDER ARTICLE VI OF THE TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND JAPAN, REGARDING FACILITIES AND AREAS AND THE STATUS OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES IN JAPAN

The United States of America and Japan, pursuant to Article VI of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan signed at Washington on January 19, 1960, have entered into this Agreement in terms as set forth below:

⁸ TIAS 2490; for text, see BULLETIN of Aug. 27, 1951, p. 349.

In this Agreement the expression—

(a) "members of the United States armed forces" means the personnel on active duty belonging to the land, sea or air armed services of the United States of America when in the territory of Japan.

(b) "civilian component" means the civilian persons of United States nationality who are in the employ of, serving with, or accompanying the United States armed forces in Japan, but excludes persons who are ordinarily resident in Japan or who are mentioned in paragraph 1 of Article XIV. For the purposes of this Agreement only, dual nationals, United States and Japanese, who are brought to Japan by the United States shall be considered as United States nationals.

(c) "dependents" means

- (1) Spouse, and children under 21;
- (2) Parents, and children over 21, if dependent for over half their support upon a member of the United States armed forces or civilian component.

ARTICLE II

1. (a) The United States is granted, under Article VI of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, the use of facilities and areas in Japan. Agreements as to specific facilities and areas shall be concluded by the two Governments through the Joint Committee provided for in Article XXV of this Agreement. "Facilities and areas" include existing furnishings, equipment and fixtures necessary to the operation of such facilities and areas.

(b) The facilities and areas of which the United States has the use at the time of expiration of the Administrative Agreement under Article III of the Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan, shall be considered as facilities and areas agreed upon between the two Governments in accordance with subparagraph (a) above.

2. At the request of either Government, the Governments of the United States and Japan shall review such arrangements and may agree that such facilities and areas shall be returned to Japan or that additional facilities and areas may be provided.

3. The facilities and areas used by the United States armed forces shall be returned to Japan whenever they are no longer needed for purposes of this Agreement, and the United States agrees to keep the needs for facilities and areas under continual observation with a view toward such return.

4. (a) When facilities and areas are temporarily not being used by the United States armed forces, the Government of Japan may make, or permit Japanese nationals to make, interim use of such facilities and areas provided that it is agreed between the two Governments through the Joint Committee that such use would not be harmful to the purposes for which the facilities and areas are normally used by the United States armed forces.

(b) With respect to facilities and areas which are to be used by United States armed forces for limited periods of time, the Joint Committee shall specify in the agreements covering such facilities and areas the extent to which the provisions of this Agreement shall apply.

1. Within the facilities and areas, the United States may take all the measures necessary for their establishment, operation, safeguarding and control. In order to provide access for the United States armed forces to the facilities and areas for their support, safeguarding and control, the Government of Japan shall, at the request of the United States armed forces and upon consultation between the two Governments through the Joint Committee, take necessary measures within the scope of applicable laws and regulations over land, territorial waters and airspace adjacent to, or in the vicinities of the facilities and areas. The United States may also take necessary measures for such purposes upon consultation between the two Governments through the Joint Committee.

2. The United States agrees not to take the measures referred to in paragraph 1 in such a manner as to interfere unnecessarily with navigation, aviation, communication, or land travel to or from or within the territories of Japan. All questions relating to frequencies, power and like matters used by apparatus employed by the United States designed to emit electric radiation shall be settled by arrangement between the appropriate authorities of the two Governments. The Government of Japan shall, within the scope of applicable laws and regulations, take all reasonable measures to avoid or eliminate interference with telecommunications electronics required by the United States armed forces.

3. Operations in the facilities and areas in use by the United States armed forces shall be carried on with due regard for the public safety.

ARTICLE IV

1. The United States is not obliged, when it returns facilities and areas to Japan on the expiration of this Agreement or at an earlier date, to restore the facilities and areas to the condition in which they were at the time they became available to the United States armed forces, or to compensate Japan in lieu of such restoration.

2. Japan is not obliged to make any compensation to the United States for any improvements made in the facilities and areas or for the buildings or structures left thereon on the expiration of this Agreement or the earlier return of the facilities and areas.

3. The foregoing provisions shall not apply to any construction which the Government of the United States may undertake under special arrangements with the Government of Japan.

ARTICLE V

1. United States and foreign vessels and aircraft operated by, for, or under the control of the United States for official purposes shall be accorded access to any port or airport of Japan free from toll or landing charges. When cargo or passengers not accorded the exemptions of this Agreement are carried on such vessels and aircraft, notification shall be given to the appropriate Japanese authorities, and their entry into and departure from Japan shall be according to the laws and regulations of Japan.

2. The vessels and aircraft mentioned in paragraph 1, United States Government-owned vehicles including

armor, and members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents shall be accorded access to and movement between facilities and areas in use by the United States armed forces and between such facilities and areas and the ports or airports of Japan. Such access to and movement between facilities and areas by United States military vehicles shall be free from toll and other charges.

3. When the vessels mentioned in paragraph 1 enter Japanese ports, appropriate notification shall, under normal conditions, be made to the proper Japanese authorities. Such vessels shall have freedom from compulsory pilotage, but if a pilot is taken pilotage shall be paid for at appropriate rates.

ARTICLE VI

1. All civil and military air traffic control and communications systems shall be developed in close coordination and shall be integrated to the extent necessary for fulfillment of collective security interests. Procedures, and any subsequent changes thereto, necessary to effect this coordination and integration will be established by arrangement between the appropriate authorities of the two Governments.

2. Lights and other aids to navigation of vessels and aircraft placed or established in the facilities and areas in use by United States armed forces and in territorial waters adjacent thereto or in the vicinity thereof shall conform to the system in use in Japan. The United States and Japanese authorities which have established such navigation aids shall notify each other of their positions and characteristics and shall give advance notification before making any changes in them or establishing additional navigation aids.

ARTICLE VII

The United States armed forces shall have the use of all public utilities and services belonging to, or controlled or regulated by the Government of Japan, and shall enjoy priorities in such use, under conditions no less favorable than those that may be applicable from time to time to the ministries and agencies of the Government of Japan.

ARTICLE VIII

The Government of Japan undertakes to furnish the United States armed forces with the following meteorological services in accordance with arrangements between the appropriate authorities of the two Governments:

(a) Meteorological observations from land and ocean areas including observations from weather ships.

(b) Climatological information including periodic summaries and the historical data of the Meteorological Agency.

(c) Telecommunications service to disseminate meteorological information required for the safe and regular operation of aircraft.

(d) Seismographic data including forecasts of the estimated size of tidal waves resulting from earthquakes and areas that might be affected thereby.

ARTICLE IX

1. The United States may bring into Japan persons who are members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents, subject to the provisions of this Article.

2. Members of the United States armed forces shall be exempt from Japanese passport and visa laws and regulations. Members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents shall be exempt from Japanese laws and regulations on the registration and control of aliens, but shall not be considered as requiring any right to permanent residence or domicile in the territories of Japan.

3. Upon entry into or departure from Japan members of the United States armed forces shall be in possession of the following documents:

(a) personal identity card showing name, date of birth, rank and number, service, and photograph; and

(b) individual or collective travel order certifying to the status of the individual or group as a member or members of the United States armed forces and to the travel ordered.

For purposes of their identification while in Japan, members of the United States armed forces shall be in possession of the foregoing personal identity card which must be presented on request to the appropriate Japanese authorities.

4. Members of the civilian component, their dependents, and the dependents of members of the United States armed forces shall be in possession of appropriate documentation issued by the United States authorities so that their status may be verified by Japanese authorities upon their entry into or departure from Japan, or while in Japan.

5. If the status of any person brought into Japan under paragraph 1 of this Article is altered so that he would no longer be entitled to such admission, the United States authorities shall notify the Japanese authorities and shall, if such person be required by the Japanese authorities to leave Japan, assure that transportation from Japan will be provided within a reasonable time at no cost to the Government of Japan.

6. If the Government of Japan has requested the removal from its territory of a member of the United States armed forces or civilian component or has made an expulsion order against an ex-member of the United States armed forces or the civilian component or against a dependent of a member or ex-member, the authorities of the United States shall be responsible for receiving the person concerned within its own territory or otherwise disposing of him outside Japan. This paragraph shall apply only to persons who are not nationals of Japan and have entered Japan as members of the United States armed forces or civilian component or for the purpose of becoming such members, and to the dependents of such persons.

ARTICLE X

1. Japan shall accept as valid, without a driving test or fee, the driving permit or license or military driving permit issued by the United States to a member of the

United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents.

2. Official vehicles of the United States armed forces and the civilian component shall carry distinctive numbered plates or individual markings which will readily identify them.

3. Privately owned vehicles of members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents shall carry Japanese number plates to be acquired under the same conditions as those applicable to Japanese nationals.

ARTICLE XI

1. Save as provided in this Agreement, members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents shall be subject to the laws and regulations administered by the customs authorities of Japan.

2. All materials, supplies and equipment imported by the United States armed forces, the authorized procurement agencies of the United States armed forces, or by the organizations provided for in Article XV, for the official use of the United States armed forces or for the use of the members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents, and materials, supplies and equipment which are to be used exclusively by the United States armed forces or are ultimately to be incorporated into articles or facilities used by such forces, shall be permitted entry into Japan; such entry shall be free from customs duties and other such charges. Appropriate certification shall be made that such materials, supplies and equipment are being imported by the United States armed forces, the authorized procurement agencies of the United States armed forces, or by the organizations provided for in Article XV, or, in the case of materials, supplies and equipment to be used exclusively by the United States armed forces or ultimately to be incorporated into articles or facilities used by such forces, that delivery thereof is to be taken by the United States armed forces for the purposes specified above.

3. Property consigned to and for the personal use of members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents, shall be subject to customs duties and other such charges, except that no duties or charges shall be paid with respect to:

(a) Furniture and household goods for their private use imported by the members of the United States armed forces or civilian component when they first arrive to serve in Japan or by their dependents when they first arrive for reunion with members of such forces or civilian component, and personal effects for private use brought by the said persons upon entrance.

(b) Vehicles and parts imported by members of the United States armed forces or civilian component for the private use of themselves or their dependents.

(c) Reasonable quantities of clothing and household goods of a type which would ordinarily be purchased in the United States for everyday use for the private use of members of the United States armed forces, civilian component, and their dependents, which are mailed into Japan through United States military post offices.

4. The exemptions granted in paragraphs 2 and 3 shall apply only to cases of importation of goods and shall not be interpreted as refunding customs duties and domestic excises collected by the customs authorities at the time of entry in cases of purchases of goods on which such duties and excises have already been collected.

5. Customs examination shall not be made in the following cases:

(a) Units of the United States armed forces under orders entering or leaving Japan;

(b) Official documents under official seal and official mail in United States military postal channels;

(c) Military cargo shipped on a United States Government bill of lading.

6. Except as such disposal may be authorized by the United States and Japanese authorities in accordance with mutually agreed conditions, goods imported into Japan free of duty shall not be disposed of in Japan to persons not entitled to import such goods free of duty.

7. Goods imported into Japan free from customs duties and other such charges pursuant to paragraphs 2 and 3, may be re-exported free from customs duties and other such charges.

8. The United States armed forces, in cooperation with Japanese authorities, shall take such steps as are necessary to prevent abuse of privileges granted to the United States armed forces, members of such forces, the civilian component, and their dependents in accordance with this Article.

9. (a) In order to prevent offenses against laws and regulations administered by the customs authorities of the Government of Japan, the Japanese authorities and the United States armed forces shall assist each other in the conduct of inquiries and the collection of evidence.

(b) The United States armed forces shall render all assistance within their power to ensure that articles liable to seizure by, or on behalf of, the customs authorities of the Government of Japan are handed to those authorities.

(c) The United States armed forces shall render all assistance within their power to ensure the payment of duties, taxes, and penalties payable by members of such forces or of the civilian component, or their dependents.

(d) Vehicles and articles belonging to the United States armed forces seized by the customs authorities of the Government of Japan in connection with an offense against its customs or fiscal laws or regulations shall be handed over to the appropriate authorities of the force concerned.

ARTICLE XII

1. The United States may contract for any supplies or construction work to be furnished or undertaken in Japan for purposes of, or authorized by, this Agreement, without restriction as to choice of supplier or person who does the construction work. Such supplies or construction work may, upon agreement between the appropriate authorities of the two Governments, also be procured through the Government of Japan.

2. Materials, supplies, equipment and services which are required from local sources for the maintenance of the

United States armed forces and the procurement of which may have an adverse effect on the economy of Japan shall be procured in coordination with, and, when desirable, through or with the assistance of, the competent authorities of Japan.

3. Materials, supplies, equipment and services procured for official purposes in Japan by the United States armed forces, or by authorized procurement agencies of the United States armed forces upon appropriate certification shall be exempt from the following Japanese taxes:

- (a) Commodity tax
- (b) Travelling tax
- (c) Gasoline tax
- (d) Electricity and gas tax.

Materials, supplies, equipment and services procured for ultimate use by the United States armed forces shall be exempt from commodity and gasoline taxes upon appropriate certification by the United States armed forces. With respect to any present or future Japanese taxes not specifically referred to in this Article which might be found to constitute a significant and readily identifiable part of the gross purchase price of materials, supplies, equipment and services procured by the United States armed forces, or for ultimate use by such forces, the two Governments will agree upon a procedure for granting such exemption or relief therefrom as is consistent with the purposes of this Article.

4. Local labor requirements of United States armed forces and of the organizations provided for in Article XV shall be satisfied with the assistance of the Japanese authorities.

5. The obligations for the withholding and payment of income tax, local inhabitant tax and social security contributions, and, except as may otherwise be mutually agreed, the conditions of employment and work, such as those relating to wages and supplementary payments, the conditions for the protection of workers, and the rights of workers concerning labor relations shall be those laid down by the legislation of Japan.

6. Should the United States armed forces or as appropriate an organization provided for in Article XV dismiss a worker and a decision of a court or a Labor Relations Commission of Japan to the effect that the contract of employment has not terminated become final, the following procedures shall apply:

(a) The United States armed forces or the said organization shall be informed by the Government of Japan of the decision of the court or Commission;

(b) Should the United States armed forces or the said organization not desire to return the worker to duty, they shall so notify the Government of Japan within seven days after being informed by the latter of the decision of the court or Commission, and may temporarily withhold the worker from duty;

(c) Upon such notification, the Government of Japan and the United States armed forces or the said organization shall consult together without delay with a view to finding a practical solution of the case;

(d) Should such a solution not be reached within a period of thirty days from the date of commencement of

the consultations under (c) above, the worker will not be entitled to return to duty. In such case, the Government of the United States shall pay to the Government of Japan an amount equal to the cost of employment of the worker for a period of time to be agreed between the two Governments.

7. Members of the civilian component shall not be subject to Japanese laws or regulations with respect to terms and conditions of employment.

8. Neither members of the United States armed forces, civilian component, nor their dependents, shall by reason of this Article enjoy any exemption from taxes or similar charges relating to personal purchases of goods and services in Japan chargeable under Japanese legislation.

9. Except as such disposal may be authorized by the United States and Japanese authorities in accordance with mutually agreed conditions, goods purchased in Japan exempt from the taxes referred to in paragraph 3, shall not be disposed of in Japan to persons not entitled to purchase such goods exempt from such tax.

ARTICLE XIII

1. The United States armed forces shall not be subject to taxes or similar charges on property held, used or transferred by such forces in Japan.

2. Members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents shall not be liable to pay any Japanese taxes to the Government of Japan or to any other taxing agency in Japan on income received as a result of their service with or employment by the United States armed forces, or by the organizations provided for in Article XV. The provisions of this Article do not exempt such persons from payment of Japanese taxes on income derived from Japanese sources, nor do they exempt United States citizens who for United States income tax purposes claim Japanese residence from payment of Japanese taxes on income. Periods during which such persons are in Japan solely by reason of being members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, or their dependents shall not be considered as periods of residence or domicile in Japan for the purpose of Japanese taxation.

3. Members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents shall be exempt from taxation in Japan on the holding, use, transfer *inter se*, or transfer by death of movable property, tangible or intangible, the presence of which in Japan is due solely to the temporary presence of these persons in Japan, provided that such exemption shall not apply to property held for the purpose of investment or the conduct of business in Japan or to any intangible property registered in Japan. There is no obligation under this Article to grant exemption from taxes payable in respect of the use of roads by private vehicles.

ARTICLE XIV

1. Persons, including corporations organized under the laws of the United States, and their employees who are ordinarily resident in the United States and whose presence in Japan is solely for the purpose of executing contracts with the United States for the benefit of the

United States armed forces, and who are designated by the Government of the United States in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 below, shall, except as provided in this Article, be subject to the laws and regulations of Japan.

2. The designation referred to in paragraph 1 above shall be made upon consultation with the Government of Japan and shall be restricted to cases where open competitive bidding is not practicable due to security considerations, to the technical qualifications of the contractors involved, or to the unavailability of materials or services required by United States standards, or to limitations of United States law.

The designation shall be withdrawn by the Government of the United States:

(a) upon completion of contracts with the United States for the United States armed forces;

(b) upon proof that such persons are engaged in business activities in Japan other than those pertaining to the United States armed forces; or

(c) when such persons are engaged in practices illegal in Japan.

3. Upon certification by appropriate United States authorities as to their identity, such persons and their employees shall be accorded the following benefits of this Agreement:

(a) Rights of accession and movement, as provided for in Article V, paragraph 2;

(b) Entry into Japan in accordance with the provisions of Article IX;

(c) The exemption from customs duties, and other such charges provided for in Article XI, paragraph 3, for members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents;

(d) If authorized by the Government of the United States the right to use the services of the organizations provided for in Article XV;

(e) Those provided for in Article XIX, paragraph 2, for members of the armed forces of the United States, the civilian component, and their dependents;

(f) If authorized by the Government of the United States, the right to use military payment certificates, as provided for in Article XX;

(g) The use of postal facilities provided for in Article XXI;

(h) Exemption from the laws and regulations of Japan with respect to terms and conditions of employment.

4. Such persons and their employees shall be so described in their passports and their arrival, departure and their residence while in Japan shall from time to time be notified by the United States armed forces to the Japanese authorities.

5. Upon certification by an authorized officer of the United States armed forces, depreciable assets except houses, held, used, or transferred, by such persons and their employees exclusively for the execution of contracts referred to in paragraph 1 shall not be subject to taxes or similar charges of Japan.

6. Upon certification by an authorized officer of the United States armed forces, such persons and their em-

ployees shall be exempt from taxation in Japan on the holding, use, transfer by death, or transfer to persons or agencies entitled to tax exemption under this Agreement, of movable property, tangible or intangible, the presence of which in Japan is due solely to the temporary presence of these persons in Japan, provided that such exemption shall not apply to property held for the purpose of investment or the conduct of other business in Japan or to any intangible property registered in Japan. There is no obligation under this Article to grant exemption from taxes payable in respect of the use of roads by private vehicles.

7. The persons and their employees referred to in paragraph 1 shall not be liable to pay income or corporation taxes to the Government of Japan or to any other taxing agency in Japan on any income derived under a contract made in the United States with the Government of the United States in connection with the construction, maintenance or operation of any of the facilities or areas covered by this Agreement. The provisions of this paragraph do not exempt such persons from payment of income or corporation taxes on income derived from Japanese sources, nor do they exempt such persons and their employees who, for United States income tax purposes, claim Japanese residence, from payment of Japanese taxes on income. Periods during which such persons are in Japan solely in connection with the execution of a contract with the Government of the United States shall not be considered periods of residence or domicile in Japan for the purposes of such taxation.

8. Japanese authorities shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction over the persons and their employees referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article in relation to offenses committed in Japan and punishable by the law of Japan. In those cases in which the Japanese authorities decide not to exercise such jurisdiction they shall notify the military authorities of the United States as soon as possible. Upon such notification the military authorities of the United States shall have the right to exercise such jurisdiction over the persons referred to as is conferred on them by the law of the United States.

ARTICLE XV

1. (a) Navy exchanges, post exchanges, messes, social clubs, theaters, newspapers and other non-appropriated fund organizations authorized and regulated by the United States military authorities may be established in the facilities and areas in use by the United States armed forces for the use of members of such forces, the civilian component, and their dependents. Except as otherwise provided in this Agreement, such organizations shall not be subject to Japanese regulations, license, fees, taxes or similar controls.

(b) When a newspaper authorized and regulated by the United States military authorities is sold to the general public, it shall be subject to Japanese regulations, license, fees, taxes or similar controls so far as such circulation is concerned.

2. No Japanese tax shall be imposed on sales of merchandise and services by such organizations, except as provided in paragraph 1(b), but purchases within Japan

of merchandise and supplies by such organizations shall be subject to Japanese taxes.

3. Except as such disposal may be authorized by the United States and Japanese authorities in accordance with mutually agreed conditions, goods which are sold by such organizations shall not be disposed of in Japan to persons not authorized to make purchases from such organizations.

4. The organizations referred to in this Article shall provide such information to the Japanese authorities as is required by Japanese tax legislation.

ARTICLE XVI

It is the duty of members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents to respect the law of Japan and to abstain from any activity inconsistent with the spirit of this Agreement, and, in particular, from any political activity in Japan.

ARTICLE XVII

1. Subject to the provisions of this Article,

(a) the military authorities of the United States shall have the right to exercise within Japan all criminal and disciplinary jurisdiction conferred on them by the law of the United States over all persons subject to the military law of the United States;

(b) the authorities of Japan shall have jurisdiction over the members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents with respect to offenses committed within the territory of Japan and punishable by the law of Japan.

2. (a) The military authorities of the United States shall have the right to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over persons subject to the military law of the United States with respect to offenses, including offenses relating to its security, punishable by the law of the United States, but not by the law of Japan.

(b) The authorities of Japan shall have the right to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents with respect to offenses, including offenses relating to the security of Japan, punishable by its law but not by the law of the United States.

(c) For the purposes of this paragraph and of paragraph 3 of this Article a security offense against a State shall include

- (i) treason against the State;
- (ii) sabotage, espionage or violation of any law relating to official secrets of that State, or secrets relating to the national defense of that State.

3. In cases where the right to exercise jurisdiction is concurrent the following rules shall apply:

(a) The military authorities of the United States shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction over members of the United States armed forces or the civilian component in relation to

- (i) offenses solely against the property or security of the United States, or offenses solely against the person or property of another member of the

United States armed forces or the civilian component or of a dependent;

- (ii) offenses arising out of any act or omission done in the performance of official duty.

(b) In the case of any other offense the authorities of Japan shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction.

(c) If the State having the primary right decides not to exercise jurisdiction, it shall notify the authorities of the other State as soon as practicable. The authorities of the State having the primary right shall give sympathetic consideration to a request from the authorities of the other State for a waiver of its right in cases where that other State considers such waiver to be of particular importance.

4. The foregoing provisions of this Article shall not imply any right for the military authorities of the United States to exercise jurisdiction over persons who are nationals of or ordinarily resident in Japan, unless they are members of the United States armed forces.

5. (a) The military authorities of the United States and the authorities of Japan shall assist each other in the arrest of members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, or their dependents in the territory of Japan and in handing them over to the authority which is to exercise jurisdiction in accordance with the above provisions.

(b) The authorities of Japan shall notify promptly the military authorities of the United States of the arrest of any member of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, or a dependent.

(c) The custody of an accused member of the United States armed forces or the civilian component over whom Japan is to exercise jurisdiction shall, if he is in the hands of the United States, remain with the United States until he is charged by Japan.

6. (a) The military authorities of the United States and the authorities of Japan shall assist each other in the carrying out of all necessary investigations into offenses, and in the collection and production of evidence, including the seizure and, in proper cases, the handing over of objects connected with an offense. The handing over of such objects may, however, be made subject to their return within the time specified by the authority delivering them.

(b) The military authorities of the United States and the authorities of Japan shall notify each other of the disposition of all cases in which there are concurrent rights to exercise jurisdiction.

7. (a) A death sentence shall not be carried out in Japan by the military authorities of the United States if the legislation of Japan does not provide for such punishment in a similar case.

(b) The authorities of Japan shall give sympathetic consideration to a request from the military authorities of the United States for assistance in carrying out a sentence of imprisonment pronounced by the military authorities of the United States under the provisions of this Article within the territory of Japan.

8. Where an accused has been tried in accordance with the provisions of this Article either by the military authorities of the United States or the authorities of Japan

and has been acquitted, or has been convicted and is serving, or has served, his sentence or has been pardoned, he may not be tried again for the same offense within the territory of Japan by the authorities of the other State. However, nothing in this paragraph shall prevent the military authorities of the United States from trying a member of its armed forces for any violation of rules of discipline arising from an act or omission which constituted an offense for which he was tried by the authorities of Japan.

9. Whenever a member of the United States armed forces, the civilian component or a dependent is prosecuted under the jurisdiction of Japan he shall be entitled:

- (a) to a prompt and speedy trial;
- (b) to be informed, in advance of trial, of the specific charge or charges made against him;
- (c) to be confronted with the witnesses against him;
- (d) to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, if they are within the jurisdiction of Japan;
- (e) to have legal representation of his own choice for his defense or to have free or assisted legal representation under the conditions prevailing for the time being in Japan;
- (f) if he considers it necessary, to have the services of a competent interpreter; and
- (g) to communicate with a representative of the Government of the United States and to have such a representative present at his trial.

10. (a) Regularly constituted military units or formations of the United States armed forces shall have the right to police any facilities or areas which they use under Article II of this Agreement. The military police of such forces may take all appropriate measures to ensure the maintenance of order and security within such facilities and areas.

(b) Outside these facilities and areas, such military police shall be employed only subject to arrangements with the authorities of Japan and in liaison with those authorities and in so far as such employment is necessary to maintain discipline and order among the members of the United States armed forces.

11. In the event of hostilities to which the provisions of Article V of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security apply, either the Government of the United States or the Government of Japan shall have the right, by giving sixty days' notice to the other, to suspend the application of any of the provisions of this Article. If this right is exercised, the Governments of the United States and Japan shall immediately consult with a view to agreeing on suitable provisions to replace the provisions suspended.

12. The provisions of this Article shall not apply to any offenses committed before the entry into force of this Agreement. Such cases shall be governed by the provisions of Article XVII of the Administrative Agreement under Article III of the Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan, as it existed at the relevant time.

ARTICLE XVIII

1. Each Party waives all its claims against the other Party for damage to any property owned by it and used

by its land, sea or air defense services, if such damage—

(a) was caused by a member or an employee of the defense services of the other Party in the performance of his official duties; or

(b) arose from the use of any vehicle, vessel or aircraft owned by the other Party and used by its defense services, provided either that the vehicle, vessel or aircraft causing the damage was being used for official purposes, or that the damage was caused to property being so used.

Claims for maritime salvage by one Party against the other Party shall be waived, provided that the vessel or cargo salvaged was owned by a Party and being used by its defense services for official purposes.

2. (a) In the case of damage caused or arising as stated in paragraph 1 to other property owned by either Party and located in Japan, the issue of the liability of the other Party shall be determined and the amount of damage shall be assessed, unless the two Governments agree otherwise, by a sole arbitrator selected in accordance with subparagraph (b) of this paragraph. The arbitrator shall also decide any counter-claims arising out of the same incident.

(b) The arbitrator referred to in subparagraph (a) above shall be selected by agreement between the two Governments from amongst the nationals of Japan who hold or have held high judicial office.

(c) Any decision taken by the arbitrator shall be binding and conclusive upon the Parties.

(d) The amount of any compensation awarded by the arbitrator shall be distributed in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5(e)(i),(ii) and (iii) of this Article.

(e) The compensation of the arbitrator shall be fixed by agreement between the two Governments and shall, together with the necessary expenses incidental to the performance of his duties, be defrayed in equal proportions by them.

(f) Nevertheless, each Party waives its claim in any such case up to the amount of 1,400 United States dollars or 504,000 yen. In the case of considerable variation in the rate of exchange between these currencies the two Governments shall agree on the appropriate adjustments of these amounts.

3. For the purposes of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article the expression "owned by a Party" in the case of a vessel includes a vessel on bare boat charter to that Party or requisitioned by it on bare boat terms or seized by it in prize (except to the extent that the risk of loss or liability is borne by some person other than such Party).

4. Each Party waives all its claims against the other Party for injury or death suffered by any member of its defense services while such member was engaged in the performance of his official duties.

5. Claims (other than contractual claims and those to which paragraphs 6 or 7 of this Article apply) arising out of acts or omissions of members or employees of the United States armed forces done in the performance of official duty, or out of any other act, omission or occurrence for which the United States armed forces are legally responsible, and causing damage in Japan to third parties,

other than the Government of Japan, shall be dealt with by Japan in accordance with the following provisions:

(a) Claims shall be filed, considered and settled or adjudicated in accordance with the laws and regulations of Japan with respect to claims arising from the activities of its Self-Defense Forces.

(b) Japan may settle any such claims, and payment of the amount agreed upon or determined by adjudication shall be made by Japan in yen.

(c) Such payment, whether made pursuant to a settlement or to adjudication of the case by a competent tribunal of Japan, or the final adjudication by such a tribunal denying payment, shall be binding and conclusive upon the Parties.

(d) Every claim paid by Japan shall be communicated to the appropriate United States authorities together with full particulars and a proposed distribution in conformity with subparagraphs (e) (i) and (ii) below. In default of a reply within two months, the proposed distribution shall be regarded as accepted.

(e) The cost incurred in satisfying claims pursuant to the preceding subparagraphs and paragraph 2 of this Article shall be distributed between the Parties as follows:

(i) Where the United States alone is responsible, the amount awarded or adjudged shall be distributed in the proportion of 25 percent chargeable to Japan and 75 percent chargeable to the United States.

(ii) Where the United States and Japan are responsible for the damage, the amount awarded or adjudged shall be distributed equally between them. Where the damage was caused by the defense services of the United States or Japan and it is not possible to attribute it specifically to one or both of those defense services, the amount awarded or adjudged shall be distributed equally between the United States and Japan.

(iii) Every half-year, a statement of the sums paid by Japan in the course of the half-yearly period in respect of every case regarding which the proposed distribution on a percentage basis has been accepted, shall be sent to the appropriate United States authorities, together with a request for reimbursement. Such reimbursement shall be made, in yen, within the shortest possible time.

(f) Members or employees of the United States armed forces, excluding those employees who have only Japanese nationality, shall not be subject to any proceedings for the enforcement of any judgment given against them in Japan in a matter arising from the performance of their official duties.

(g) Except in so far as subparagraph (e) of this paragraph applies to claims covered by paragraph 2 of this Article, the provisions of this paragraph shall not apply to any claim arising out of or in connection with the navigation or operation of a ship or the loading, carriage, or discharge of a cargo, other than claims for death or personal injury to which paragraph 4 of this Article does not apply.

6. Claims against members or employees of the United States armed forces (except employees who are nationals of or ordinarily resident in Japan) arising out of tortious acts or omissions in Japan not done in the performance of

official duty shall be dealt with in the following manner:

(a) The authorities of Japan shall consider the claim and assess compensation to the claimant in a fair and just manner, taking into account all the circumstances of the case, including the conduct of the injured person, and shall prepare a report on the matter.

(b) The report shall be delivered to the appropriate United States authorities, who shall then decide without delay whether they will offer an *ex gratia* payment, and if so, of what amount.

(c) If an offer of *ex gratia* payment is made, and accepted by the claimant in full satisfaction of his claim, the United States authorities shall make the payment themselves and inform the authorities of Japan of their decision and of the sum paid.

(d) Nothing in this paragraph shall affect the jurisdiction of the courts of Japan to entertain an action against a member or an employee of the United States armed forces unless and until there has been payment in full satisfaction of the claim.

7. Claims arising out of the unauthorized use of any vehicle of the United States armed forces shall be dealt with in accordance with paragraph 6 of this Article, except in so far as the United States armed forces are legally responsible.

8. If a dispute arises as to whether a tortious act or omission of a member or an employee of the United States armed forces was done in the performance of official duty or as to whether the use of any vehicle of the United States armed forces was unauthorized, the question shall be submitted to an arbitrator appointed in accordance with paragraph 2(b) of this Article, whose decision on this point shall be final and conclusive.

9. (a) The United States shall not claim immunity from the jurisdiction of the courts of Japan for members or employees of the United States armed forces in respect of the civil jurisdiction of the courts of Japan except to the extent provided in paragraph 5(f) of this Article.

(b) In case any private movable property, excluding that in use by the United States armed forces, which is subject to compulsory execution under Japanese law, is within the facilities and areas in use by the United States armed forces, the United States authorities shall, upon the request of Japanese courts, possess and turn over such property to the Japanese authorities.

(c) The authorities of the United States and Japan shall cooperate in the procurement of evidence for a fair hearing and disposal of claims under this Article.

10. Disputes arising out of contracts concerning the procurement of materials, supplies, equipment, services and labor by or for the United States armed forces, which are not resolved by the parties to the contract concerned, may be submitted to the Joint Committee for conciliation, provided that the provisions of this paragraph shall not prejudice any right which the parties to the contract may have to file a civil suit.

11. The term "defense services" used in this Article is understood to mean for Japan its Self-Defense Forces and for the United States its armed forces.

12. Paragraphs 2 and 5 of this Article shall apply only to claims arising incident to non-combat activities.

13. The provisions of this Article shall not apply to any claims which arose before the entry into force of this Agreement. Such claims shall be dealt with by the provisions of Article XVIII of the Administrative Agreement under Article III of the Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan.

ARTICLE XIX

1. Members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents, shall be subject to the foreign exchange controls of the Government of Japan.

2. The preceding paragraph shall not be construed to preclude the transmission into or outside of Japan of United States dollars or dollar instruments representing the official funds of the United States or realized as a result of service or employment in connection with this Agreement by members of the United States armed forces and the civilian component, or realized by such persons and their dependents from sources outside of Japan.

3. The United States authorities shall take suitable measures to preclude the abuse of the privileges stipulated in the preceding paragraph or circumvention of the Japanese foreign exchange controls.

ARTICLE XX

1. (a) United States military payment certificates denominated in dollars may be used by persons authorized by the United States for internal transactions within the facilities and areas in use by the United States armed forces. The Government of the United States will take appropriate action to insure that authorized personnel are prohibited from engaging in transactions involving military payment certificates except as authorized by United States regulations. The Government of Japan will take necessary action to prohibit unauthorized persons from engaging in transactions involving military payment certificates and with the aid of United States authorities will undertake to apprehend and punish any person or persons under its jurisdiction involved in the counterfeiting or uttering of counterfeit military payment certificates.

(b) It is agreed that the United States authorities will apprehend and punish members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, or their dependents, who tender military payment certificates to unauthorized persons and that no obligation will be due to such unauthorized persons or to the Government of Japan or its agencies from the United States or any of its agencies as a result of any unauthorized use of military payment certificates within Japan.

2. In order to exercise control of military payment certificates the United States may designate certain American financial institutions to maintain and operate, under United States supervision, facilities for the use of persons authorized by the United States to use military payment certificates. Institutions authorized to maintain military banking facilities will establish and maintain such facilities physically separated from their Japanese commercial banking business, with personnel whose sole duty is to maintain and operate such facilities. Such

facilities shall be permitted to maintain United States currency bank accounts and to perform all financial transactions in connection therewith including receipt and remission of funds to the extent provided by Article XIX, paragraph 2, of this Agreement.

ARTICLE XXI

The United States may establish and operate, within the facilities and areas in use by the United States armed forces, United States military post offices for the use of members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents, for the transmission of mail between United States military post offices in Japan and between such military post offices and other United States post offices.

ARTICLE XXII

The United States may enroll and train eligible United States citizens residing in Japan, who apply for such enrollment, in the reserve organizations of the armed forces of the United States.

ARTICLE XXIII

The United States and Japan will cooperate in taking such steps as may from time to time be necessary to ensure the security of the United States armed forces, the members thereof, the civilian component, their dependents, and their property. The Government of Japan agrees to seek such legislation and to take such other action as may be necessary to ensure the adequate security and protection within its territory of installations, equipment, property, records and official information of the United States, and for the punishment of offenders under the applicable laws of Japan.

ARTICLE XXIV

1. It is agreed that the United States will bear for the duration of this Agreement without cost to Japan all expenditures incident to the maintenance of the United States armed forces in Japan except those to be borne by Japan as provided in paragraph 2.

2. It is agreed that Japan will furnish for the duration of this Agreement without cost to the United States and make compensation where appropriate to the owners and suppliers thereof all facilities and areas and rights of way, including facilities and areas jointly used such as those at airfields and ports, as provided in Articles II and III.

3. It is agreed that arrangements will be effected between the Governments of the United States and Japan for accounting applicable to financial transactions arising out of this Agreement.

ARTICLE XXV

1. A Joint Committee shall be established as the means for consultation between the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan on all matters requiring mutual consultation regarding the implementation of this Agreement. In particular, the Joint Committee shall serve as the means for consultation in determining the facilities and areas in Japan which are required for the use of the United States in carrying out

the purposes of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

2. The Joint Committee shall be composed of a representative of the Government of the United States and a representative of the Government of Japan, each of whom shall have one or more deputies and a staff. The Joint Committee shall determine its own procedures, and arrange for such auxiliary organs and administrative services as may be required. The Joint Committee shall be so organized that it may meet immediately at any time at the request of the representative of either the Government of the United States or the Government of Japan.

3. If the Joint Committee is unable to resolve any matter, it shall refer that matter to the respective Governments for further consideration through appropriate channels.

ARTICLE XXVI

1. This Agreement shall be approved by the United States and Japan in accordance with their legal procedures, and notes indicating such approval shall be exchanged.

2. After the procedure set forth in the preceding paragraph has been followed, this Agreement will enter into force on the date of coming into force of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, at which time the Administrative Agreement under Article III of the Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan, signed at Tokyo on February 28, 1952, as amended, shall expire.

3. The Government of each Party to this Agreement undertakes to seek from its legislature necessary budgetary and legislative action with respect to provisions of this Agreement which require such action for their execution.

ARTICLE XXVII

Either Government may at any time request the revision of any Article of this Agreement, in which case the two Governments shall enter into negotiation through appropriate channels.

ARTICLE XXVIII

This Agreement, and agreed revisions thereof, shall remain in force while the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security remains in force unless earlier terminated by agreement between the two Governments.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Agreement.

DONE at Washington, in duplicate, in the English and Japanese languages, both texts equally authentic, this 19th day of January, 1960.

For the United States of America :

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR 2ND
J GRAHAM PARSONS

For Japan :

NOBUSUKE KISHI
AICHIRO FUJIYAMA
MITSUJIRO ISHII
TADASHI ADACHI
KOICHIRO ASAKAI

Agreed Minutes to Agreement Under Article VI

AGREED MINUTES TO THE AGREEMENT UNDER ARTICLE VI OF THE TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND JAPAN, REGARDING FACILITIES AND AREAS AND THE STATUS OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES IN JAPAN

The Plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and Japan wish to record the following understanding which they have reached during the negotiations for the Agreement under Article VI of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan, Regarding Facilities and Areas and the Status of United States Armed Forces in Japan, signed today :

Article III

The measures that may be taken by the United States under paragraph 1 shall, to the extent necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Agreement, include, *inter alia*, the following :

1. To construct (including dredging and filling), operate, maintain, utilize, occupy, garrison and control the facilities and areas ;

2. To remove buildings or structures, make alterations, attach fixtures, or erect additions thereto and to construct any additional buildings or structures together with auxiliary facilities ;

3. To improve and deepen the harbors, channels, entrances and anchorages, and to construct or maintain necessary roads and bridges affording access to such facilities and areas ;

4. To control (including measures to prohibit) in so far as may be required by military necessity for the efficient operation and safety of the facilities and areas, anchorages, moorings, landings, takeoffs and operation of ships and waterborne craft, aircraft and other vehicles on water, in the air or on land comprising, or in the vicinity of, the facilities and areas ;

5. To construct on rights of way utilized by the United States such wire and radio communications facilities, including submarine and subterranean cables, pipe lines and spur tracks from railroads, as may be required for military purposes ; and

6. To construct, install, maintain and employ in any facility or area any type of installation, weapon, substance, device, vessel or vehicle on or under the ground, in the air or on or under the water that may be requisite or appropriate, including meteorological systems, aerial and water navigation lights, radio and radar apparatus and electronic devices.

Article I

1. "United States and foreign vessels -operated by, for, or under the control of the United States for official purposes" mean United States public vessels and chartered vessels (bare boat charter, voyage charter and time charter). Space charter is not included. Commercial cargo and private passengers are carried by them only in exceptional cases.

2. The Japanese ports mentioned herein will ordinarily mean "open ports".

3. The exemption from making "appropriate notification" will be applicable only to exceptional cases where such is required for security of the United States armed forces or similar reasons.

4. The laws and regulations of Japan will be applicable except as specifically provided otherwise in this Article.

Article VII

The problem of telecommunications rates applicable to the United States armed forces will continue to be studied in the light of, *inter alia*, the statements concerning Article VII recorded in the official minutes of the Tenth Joint Meeting for the Negotiation of the Administrative Agreement signed on February 28, 1952, which are hereby incorporated by reference.

Article IX

The Government of Japan will be notified at regular intervals, in accordance with procedures to be agreed between the two Governments, of numbers and categories of persons entering and departing.

Article XI

1. The quantity of goods imported under paragraph 2 by the organizations provided for in Article XV for the use of the members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, and their dependents shall be limited to the extent reasonably required for such use.

2. Paragraph 3(a) does not require concurrent shipment of goods with travel of owner nor does it require single loading or shipment.

3. The term "military cargo" as used in paragraph 5(c) is not confined to arms and equipment but refers to all cargo shipped to the United States armed forces on a United States Government bill of lading, the term "military cargo" being used to distinguish cargo shipped to the United States armed forces from cargo shipped to other agencies of the United States Government.

4. The United States armed forces will take every practicable measure to ensure that goods will not be imported into Japan by or for the members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, or their dependents, the entry of which would be in violation of Japanese customs laws and regulations. The United States armed forces will promptly notify the Japanese customs authorities whenever the entry of such goods is discovered.

5. The Japanese customs authorities may, if they consider that there has been an abuse or infringement in connection with the entry of goods under Article XI, take up the matter with the appropriate authorities of the United States armed forces.

6. The words "The United States armed forces shall render all assistance within their power etc." in paragraph 9 (b) and (c) refer to reasonable and practicable measures by the United States armed forces.

Article XII

1. The United States armed forces will furnish the Japanese authorities with appropriate information as far in advance as practicable on anticipated major changes in their procurement program in Japan.

2. The problem of a satisfactory settlement of difficulties with respect to procurement contracts arising out of differences between United States and Japanese economic laws and business practices will be studied by the Joint Committee or other appropriate persons.

3. The procedures for securing exemptions from taxation on purchases of goods for ultimate use by the United States armed forces will be as follows:

a. Upon appropriate certification by the United States armed forces that materials, supplies and equipment consigned to or destined for such forces, are to be used, or wholly or partially used up, under the supervision of such forces, exclusively in the execution of contracts for the construction, maintenance or operation of the facilities and areas referred to in Article II or for the support of the forces therein, or are ultimately to be incorporated into articles or facilities used by such forces, an authorized representative of such forces shall take delivery of such materials, supplies and equipment directly from manufacturers thereof. In such circumstances the collection of commodity and gasoline taxes shall be held in abeyance.

b. The receipt of such materials, supplies and equipment in the facilities and areas shall be confirmed by an authorized officer of the United States armed forces to the Japanese authorities.

c. Collection of commodity and gasoline taxes shall be held in abeyance until

(1) The United States armed forces confirm and certify the quantity or degree of consumption of the above referred to materials, supplies and equipment, or

(2) The United States armed forces confirm and certify the amount of the above referred to materials, supplies, and equipment which have been incorporated into articles or facilities used by United States armed forces.

d. materials, supplies, and equipment certified under e(1) or (2) shall be exempt from commodity and gasoline taxes in so far as the price thereof is paid out of United States Government appropriations or out of funds contributed by the Japanese Government for disbursement by the United States.

4. The Government of the United States shall ensure that the Government of Japan is reimbursed for costs incurred under relevant contracts between appropriate authorities of the Government of Japan and the organizations provided for in Article XV in connection with the employment of workers to be provided for such organizations.

5. It is understood that the term "the legislation of Japan" mentioned in paragraph 5, Article XII includes decisions of the courts and the Labor Relations Commissions of Japan, subject to the provisions of paragraph 6, Article XII.

6. It is understood that the provisions of Article XII, paragraph 6 shall apply only to discharges for security reasons including disturbing the maintenance of military discipline within the facilities and areas used by the United States armed forces.

7. It is understood that the organizations referred to in Article XV will be subject to the procedures of para-

graph 6 on the basis of mutual agreement between the appropriate authorities.

Article XIII

With respect to Article XIII, paragraph 2 and Article XIV, paragraph 7, income payable in Japan as a result of service with or employment by the United States armed forces or by the organizations provided for in Article XV, or under contract made in the United States with the United States Government, shall not be treated or considered as income derived from Japanese sources.

Article XV

The facilities referred to in paragraph 1 may be used by other officers and personnel of the United States Government ordinarily accorded such privileges abroad.

Article XVII

Re paragraph 1(a) and paragraph 2(a) :

The scope of persons subject to the military laws of the United States shall be communicated, through the Joint Committee, to the Government of Japan by the Government of the United States.

Re paragraph 2(c) :

Both Governments shall inform each other of the details of all the security offenses mentioned in this subparagraph and the provisions governing such offenses in the existing laws of their respective countries.

Re paragraph 3(a) (ii) :

Where a member of the United States armed forces or the civilian component is charged with an offense, a certificate issued by or on behalf of his commanding officer stating that the alleged offense, if committed by him, arose out of an act or omission done in the performance of official duty, shall, in any judicial proceedings, be sufficient evidence of the fact unless the contrary is proved.

The above statement shall not be interpreted to prejudice in any way Article 318 of the Japanese Code of Criminal Procedure.

Re paragraph 3(c) :

1. Mutual procedures relating to waivers of the primary right to exercise jurisdiction shall be determined by the Joint Committee.

2. Trials of cases in which the Japanese authorities have waived the primary right to exercise jurisdiction, and trials of cases involving offenses described in paragraph 3(a)(ii) committed against the State or nationals of Japan shall be held promptly in Japan within a reasonable distance from the places where the offenses are alleged to have taken place unless other arrangements are mutually agreed upon. Representatives of the Japanese authorities may be present at such trials.

Re paragraph 4 :

Dual nationals, United States and Japanese, who are subject to the military law of the United States and are brought to Japan by the United States shall not be considered as nationals of Japan, but shall be considered

as United States nationals for the purposes of this paragraph.

Re paragraph 5 :

1. In case the Japanese authorities have arrested an offender who is a member of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, or a dependent subject to the military law of the United States with respect to a case over which Japan has the primary right to exercise jurisdiction, the Japanese authorities will, unless they deem that there is adequate cause and necessity to retain such offender, release him to the custody of the United States military authorities provided that he shall, on request, be made available to the Japanese authorities, if such be the condition of his release. The United States authorities shall, on request, transfer his custody to the Japanese authorities at the time he is indicted by the latter.

2. The United States military authorities shall promptly notify the Japanese authorities of the arrest of any member of the United States armed forces, the civilian component or a dependent in any case in which Japan has the primary right to exercise jurisdiction.

Re paragraph 9 :

1. The rights enumerated in items (a) through (e) of this paragraph are guaranteed to all persons on trial in Japanese courts by the provisions of the Japanese Constitution. In addition to these rights, a member of the United States armed forces, the civilian component or a dependent who is prosecuted under the jurisdiction of Japan shall have such other rights as are guaranteed under the laws of Japan to all persons on trial in Japanese courts. Such additional rights include the following which are guaranteed under the Japanese Constitution :

(a) He shall not be arrested or detained without being at once informed of the charge against him or without the immediate privilege of counsel; nor shall he be detained without adequate cause; and upon demand of any person such cause must be immediately shown in open court in his presence and the presence of his counsel;

(b) He shall enjoy the right to a public trial by an impartial tribunal;

(c) He shall not be compelled to testify against himself;

(d) He shall be permitted full opportunity to examine all witnesses;

(e) No cruel punishments shall be imposed upon him.

2. The United States authorities shall have the right upon request to have access at any time to members of the United States armed forces, the civilian component, or their dependents who are confined or detained under Japanese authority.

3. Nothing in the provisions of paragraph 9(g) concerning the presence of a representative of the United States Government at the trial of a member of the United States armed forces, the civilian component or a dependent prosecuted under the jurisdiction of Japan, shall be so construed as to prejudice the provi-

sions of the Japanese Constitution with respect to public trials.

Re paragraphs 10(a) and 10(b) :

1. The United States military authorities will normally make all arrests within facilities and areas in use by and guarded under the authority of the United States armed forces. This shall not preclude the Japanese authorities from making arrests within facilities and areas in cases where the competent authorities of the United States armed forces have given consent, or in cases of pursuit of a flagrant offender who has committed a serious crime.

Where persons whose arrest is desired by the Japanese authorities and who are not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States armed forces are within facilities and areas in use by the United States armed forces, the United States military authorities will undertake, upon request, to arrest such persons. All persons arrested by the United States military authorities, who are not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States armed forces, shall immediately be turned over to the Japanese authorities.

The United States military authorities may, under due process of law, arrest in the vicinity of a facility or area any person in the commission or attempted commission of an offense against the security of that facility or area. Any such person not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States armed forces shall immediately be turned over to the Japanese authorities.

2. The Japanese authorities will normally not exercise the right of search, seizure, or inspection with respect to any persons or property within facilities and areas in use by and guarded under the authority of the United States armed forces or with respect to property of the United States armed forces wherever situated, except in cases where the competent authorities of the United States armed forces consent to such search, seizure, or inspection by the Japanese authorities of such persons or property.

Where search, seizure, or inspection with respect to persons or property within facilities and areas in use by the United States armed forces or with respect to property of the United States armed forces in Japan is desired by the Japanese authorities, the United States military authorities will undertake, upon request, to make such search, seizure, or inspection. In the event of a judgment concerning such property, except property owned or utilized by the United States Government or its instrumentalities, the United States will turn over such property to the Japanese authorities for disposition in accordance with the judgment.

Article XIX

Payment in Japan by the United States armed forces and by those organizations provided in Article XV to persons other than members of the United States armed forces, civilian component, their dependents and those persons referred to in Article XIV shall be effected in accordance with the Japanese Foreign Exchange Control Law and regulations. In these transactions the basic rate of exchange shall be used.

Article XXI

United States military post offices may be used by other officers and personnel of the United States Government ordinarily accorded such privileges abroad.

Article XXIV

It is understood that nothing in this Agreement shall prevent the United States from utilizing, for the defrayment of expenses which are to be borne by the United States under this Agreement, dollar or yen funds lawfully acquired by the United States.

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1960.

C.A.H.
N.K.

Exchange of Notes Incorporating Agreed Consultation Formula

JAPANESE NOTE

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1960.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honour to refer to the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America signed today, and to inform Your Excellency that the following is the understanding of the Government of Japan concerning the implementation of Article VI thereof:

Major changes in the deployment into Japan of United States armed forces, major changes in their equipment, and the use of facilities and areas in Japan as bases for military combat operations to be undertaken from Japan other than those conducted under Article V of the said Treaty, shall be the subjects of prior consultation with the Government of Japan.

I should be appreciative if Your Excellency would confirm on behalf of your Government that this is also the understanding of the Government of the United States of America.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

NOBUSUKE KISHI

His Excellency
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State
of the United States of America.

UNITED STATES REPLY

JANUARY 19, 1960

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Note of today's date, which reads as follows:

[text of Japanese note]

I have the honor to confirm on behalf of my Government that the foregoing is also the understanding of the Government of the United States of America.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER
*Secretary of State of the
United States of America*

His Excellency
NOBUSUKE KISHI,
Prime Minister of Japan.

Exchange of Notes Providing for Continuance in Effect of Acheson-Yoshida Exchange of Notes

UNITED STATES NOTE

JANUARY 19, 1960

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan signed at the city of San Francisco on September 8, 1951, the exchange of notes effected on the same date⁹ between Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, Prime Minister of Japan, and Mr. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State of the United States of America, and the Agreement Regarding the Status of the United Nations Forces in Japan signed at Tokyo on February 19, 1954,¹⁰ as well as the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan signed today. It is the understanding of my Government that:

1. The above-mentioned exchange of notes will continue to be in force so long as the Agreement Regarding the Status of the United Nations Forces in Japan remains in force.

2. The expression "those facilities and areas the use of which is provided to the United States of America under the Security Treaty between Japan and the United States of America" in Article V, paragraph 2 of the above-mentioned Agreement is understood to mean the facilities and areas the use of which is granted to the United States of America under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

3. The use of the facilities and areas by the United States armed forces under the Unified Command of the United Nations established pursuant to the Security Council Resolution of July 7, 1950, and their status in Japan are governed by arrangements made pursuant to the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

I should be grateful if Your Excellency could confirm on behalf of your Government that the understanding of my Government stated in the foregoing numbered paragraphs is also the understanding of your Government and that this understanding shall enter into operation on the date of the entry into force of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security signed at Washington January 19, 1960.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER
*Secretary of State of the
United States of America*

His Excellency
NOBUSUKE KISHI,
Prime Minister of Japan.

February 8, 1960

JAPANESE REPLY

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1960.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Note of today's date, which reads as follows:

[text of United States note]

I have the honour to confirm on behalf of my Government that the foregoing is also the understanding of the Government of Japan.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

NOBUSUKE KISHI

His Excellency
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
*Secretary of State
of the United States of America.*

Exchange of Notes Providing for the Settlement of Certain Claims Against the United States Forces by Former Employees

UNITED STATES NOTE

JANUARY 19, 1960

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to paragraph 6(d) of Article XII of the Agreement under Article VI of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan, Regarding Facilities and Areas and the Status of United States Armed Forces in Japan, signed today. The second sentence of the said paragraph provides that "in such case the Government of the United States shall pay to the Government of Japan an amount equal to the cost of employment of the worker for a period of time to be agreed between the two Governments."

I wish to propose on behalf of the Government of the United States that the period of time mentioned above shall not exceed one year after the notification provided for in paragraph 6(b) of Article XII of the above-cited Agreement, and may be determined in the consultations under paragraph 6(c) of Article XII above on the basis of mutually agreeable criteria.

If the proposal made herein is acceptable to the Government of Japan, this Note and Your Excellency's reply to that effect shall be considered as constituting an agreement between the two Governments.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER
*Secretary of State of the
United States of America*

His Excellency
NOBUSUKE KISHI,
Prime Minister of Japan.

⁹ For texts of notes, see *ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1951, p. 465.

¹⁰ TIAS 2995.

WASHINGTON, *January 19, 1960.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Note of today's date, which reads as follows:

[text of United States note]

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that the Government of Japan accepts the above proposal of the Government of the United States, and to confirm that your Note and this reply are considered as constituting an agreement between the two Governments.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

NOBUSUKE KISHI

His Excellency
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State
of the United States of America.

Exchange of Notes Revising References to the Security Treaty in the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement

UNITED STATES NOTE

JANUARY 19, 1960

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan signed today. It is the understanding of the Government of the United States of America that references to the Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan, signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951, and to the Administrative Agreement under Article III of the Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan, appearing in the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement between the United States of America and Japan,¹¹ signed at Tokyo on March 8, 1954, shall be considered to be references to the corresponding provisions, if any, of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and of the Agreement under Article VI of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan, Regarding Facilities and Areas and the Status of United States Armed Forces in Japan.

I should be appreciative if Your Excellency would confirm on behalf of your Government that this is also the understanding of the Government of Japan and that this understanding shall enter into operation on the date of the entry into force of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER
Secretary of State of the
United States of America

His Excellency
NOBUSUKE KISHI,
Prime Minister of Japan.

¹¹ TIAS 2957; for text, see BULLETIN of Apr. 5, 1954, p. 520.

WASHINGTON, *January 19, 1960.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Note of today's date, which reads as follows:

[text of United States note]

I have further the honour to confirm on behalf of my Government that the foregoing is also the understanding of the Government of Japan.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

NOBUSUKE KISHI

His Excellency
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State
of the United States of America.

Exchange of Notes Re Establishment of the Security Consultative Committee

JAPANESE NOTE

WASHINGTON, *January 19, 1960.*

DEAR SECRETARY HERTER: I wish to refer to the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America signed today. Under Article IV of the Treaty, the two Governments will consult together from time to time regarding the implementation of the Treaty, and, at the request of either Government, whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East is threatened. The exchange of notes under Article VI of the Treaty specifies certain matters as the subjects of prior consultation with the Government of Japan.

Such consultations will be carried on between the two Governments through appropriate channels. At the same time, however, I feel that the establishment of a special committee which could as appropriate be used for these consultations between the Governments would prove very useful. This committee, which would meet whenever requested by either side, could also consider any matters underlying and related to security affairs which would serve to promote understanding between the two Governments and contribute to the strengthening of cooperative relations between the two countries in the field of security.

Under this proposal the present "Japanese-American Committee on Security" established by the Governments of the United States and Japan on August 6, 1957,¹² would be replaced by this new committee which might be called "The Security Consultative Committee". I would also recommend that the membership of this new committee be the same as the membership of the "Japanese-American Committee on Security", namely on the Japanese side, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who will preside on the Japanese side, and the Director General of the Defense Agency, and on the United States side, the United States

¹² For background, see *ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1957, p. 350.

Ambassador to Japan, who will serve as Chairman on the United States side, and the Commander-in-Chief, Pacific, who will be the Ambassador's principal advisor on military and defense matters. The Commander, United States Forces, Japan, will serve as alternate for the Commander-in-Chief, Pacific.

I would appreciate very much your views on this matter.
Most sincerely,

NOBUSUKE KISHI

His Excellency
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
*Secretary of State
of the United States of America.*

UNITED STATES REPLY

JANUARY 19, 1960

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: The receipt is acknowledged of your Note of today's date suggesting the establishment of "The Security Consultative Committee". I fully agree to your proposal and share your view that such a committee can contribute to strengthening the cooperative relations between the two countries in the field of security. I also agree to your proposal regarding the membership of this committee.

Most sincerely,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

His Excellency
NOBUSUKE KISHI,
Prime Minister of Japan.

U.S. Denies Change in Policy Toward Iran

Department Statement

Press release 30 dated January 22

The Department of State has categorically denied that there is any substance whatsoever to the report contained in an article appearing in the *Christian Science Monitor* on January 15. Specifically it is denied, as alleged in the article, that the United States is considering a change in policy toward Iran, which would supposedly entail encouraging opposition elements as a result of allegedly growing internal dissatisfaction with the present Government and its policies.

The United States has the closest and most cordial relations with the present Government of Iran, which, under the able leadership of the Shah, is striving effectively to maintain Iran's independence and to improve conditions within the country.

Law Day, 1960

A PROCLAMATION¹

WHEREAS one of the greatest heritages of American citizenship is a government of law before which all men stand as equals, and the dedication of our people to freedom under law has made possible the remarkable growth and development of our society in all its aspects; and

WHEREAS respect for justice under law is vital and abiding only when its roots are grounded in our many traditions of religion, ethics, and philosophy with their common teaching concerning law as the foundation of our social order; and

WHEREAS the widest possible understanding of these basic truths will contribute to the Nation's moral and spiritual strength, and a reaffirmation of faith in the rule of law in the daily lives of all Americans will serve to demonstrate to the peoples of the world that this Nation seeks only fairness and justice in its relations with other nations; and

WHEREAS the observance of Law Day is designed to foster this deeper respect for law and an awareness of its essential place in American life, as well as to encourage the efforts now being made to bring about an extension of law as an instrument of world peace and orderly progress in all international relationships for the future benefit of mankind:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Sunday, May 1, 1960, as Law Day in the United States of America.

I urge the people of the United States to observe Law Day with appropriate ceremonies as a public demonstration of their devotion to the rule of law as the keystone of peace and order in our national and international life.

I also urge the members of the legal profession to bring the objectives of Law Day to public attention in all appropriate ways, through religious and educational institutions, by private organizations and public bodies, and through the media of public information.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 31st day of December in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and [SEAL] fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fourth.



By the President:
DOUGLAS DILLON,
Acting Secretary of State.

¹No. 3330; 25 *Fed. Reg.* 139.

Budget Message of the President (Excerpts)¹

To the Congress of the United States:

With this message, transmitting the Budget of the United States for the fiscal year 1961, I invite the Congress to join with me in a determined effort to achieve a substantial surplus. This will make possible a reduction in the national debt. The proposals in this budget demonstrate that this objective can be attained while at the same time maintaining required military strength and enhancing the national welfare.

This budget attests to the strength of America's economy. At the same time, the budget is a test of our resolve, as a nation, to allocate our resources prudently, to maintain the Nation's security, and to extend economic growth into the future without inflation.

In highlight, this budget proposes:

1. Revenues of \$84 billion and expenditures of \$79.8 billion, leaving a surplus of \$4.2 billion. This surplus should be applied to debt reduction, which I believe to be a prime element in sound fiscal policy for the Nation at this time.

2. New appropriations for the military functions of the Department of Defense amounting to \$40.6 billion, and expenditures of \$41 billion. These expenditures, which will be slightly higher than the 1960 level, will provide the strong and versatile defense which we require under prevailing world conditions.

3. Increased appropriations (including substantial restoration of congressional reductions in the 1960 budget), and a virtual doubling of expenditures, for nonmilitary space projects under the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. This furthers our plans to keep

moving ahead vigorously and systematically with our intensive program of scientific exploration and with the development of the large boosters essential to the conquest of outer space.

4. Nearly \$4.2 billion in new appropriations for mutual security programs, an increase of about \$950 million above appropriations for the current year, with an increase of \$100 million in expenditures. This increase in program is needed to accelerate economic and technical assistance, chiefly through the Development Loan Fund, and to strengthen free world forces, in particular the forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with advanced weapons and equipment.

5. A record total of expenditures, \$1.2 billion, for water resources projects under the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. In addition to funds for going work, this amount provides for the initiation of 42 new high-priority projects, which will require \$38 million in new appropriations for 1961, and will cost a total of \$496 million over a period of years.

6. Substantially higher expenditures in a number of categories which under present laws are relatively uncontrollable, particularly \$9.6 billion for interest; \$3.9 billion to help support farm prices and income; \$3.8 billion for veterans compensation and pensions; and \$2.4 billion in aid to State and local governments for public assistance and employment security activities. The aggregate increase in these relatively uncontrollable expenditures is more than \$1 billion over 1960.

7. Research and development expenditures of \$8.4 billion—well over one-half of the entire Nation's expenditures, public and private, for these purposes—in order to assure a continuing strong and modern defense and to stimulate basic research and technological progress.

¹H. Doc. 255, 86th Cong., 2d sess., transmitted on Jan. 18. The message, with summary budget statements, is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (\$1.50).

8. Recommendations for prompt legislative action to increase taxes on highway and aviation fuels, and to raise postal rates. These measures are needed to place on the users a proper share of the rising costs of the Federal airways and postal service, and to support the highway program at an increased level.

9. Recommendations to extend for another year present corporation income and excise tax rates.

10. A constructive legislative program to achieve improvements in existing laws relating to governmental activities and to initiate needed actions to improve and safeguard the interests of our people.

In short, this budget and the proposals it makes for legislative action provide for significant advances in many aspects of national security and welfare. The budget presents a balanced program which recognizes the priorities appropriate within an aggregate of Federal expenditures that we can soundly support.

I believe that the American people have made their wishes clear: The Federal Government should conduct its financial affairs with a high sense of responsibility, vigorously meeting the Nation's needs and opportunities within its proper sphere while at the same time exercising a prudent discipline in matters of borrowing and spending, and in incurring liabilities for the future.

Budget Totals

During the present fiscal year we have made encouraging progress in achieving sound fiscal policy objectives. The deficit of \$12.4 billion in fiscal 1959, which was largely caused by the recession, is expected to be followed by a surplus of \$217 million in the current year. To safeguard this small surplus, I am directing all Government departments and agencies to exercise strict controls over the expenditure of Federal funds. Even so, the slender margin of surplus can be attained only if economic growth is not interrupted.

For the fiscal year 1961, I am proposing a budget surplus of \$4.2 billion to be applied to debt retirement. In my judgment this is the only sound course. Unless some amounts are applied to the reduction of debt in prosperous periods, we can expect an ever larger public debt if future emergencies or recessions again produce deficits.

In times of prosperity, such as we anticipate in the coming year, sound fiscal and economic policy requires a budget surplus to help counteract inflationary pressures, to ease conditions in capital and credit markets, and to increase the supply of savings available for the productive investment so essential to continued economic growth.

The budget recommendations for 1961 lay the groundwork for a sound and flexible fiscal policy in the years ahead. A continuance of economic prosperity in 1962 and later years can be expected to bring with it further increases in Federal revenues. If expenditures are held to the levels I am proposing for 1961 and reasonable restraint is exercised in the future, higher revenues in later

BUDGET EXPENDITURES

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Function	1959 actual	1960 estimate	1961	
			Estimate	Percent of total
Major national security	\$46,426	\$45,650	\$45,568	57.1
International affairs and finance	3,780	2,066	2,242	2.8
Commerce and housing	3,421	3,002	2,709	3.4
Agriculture and agricul- tural resources	6,529	5,113	5,623	7.0
Natural resources	1,669	1,785	1,938	2.4
Labor and welfare	4,421	4,441	4,569	5.7
Veterans services and benefits	5,174	5,157	5,471	6.9
Interest	7,671	9,385	9,585	12.0
General government	1,606	1,711	1,911	2.4
Allowance for contingen- cies		75	200	.3
Total	80,697	78,383	79,816	100.0

years will give the next administration and the next Congress the choice they should rightly have in deciding between reductions in the public debt and lightening of the tax burden, or both. Soundly conceived tax revision can then be approached on a comprehensive and orderly basis, rather than by haphazard piecemeal changes, and can be accomplished within a setting of economic and fiscal stability.

Budget expenditures in 1961 are estimated at \$79.8 billion, which is \$1.4 billion more than the 1960 level. The total increase is attributable to (1) an increase of more than \$1 billion in relatively uncontrollable expenditures for farm price supports fixed by law, interest on the public debt, veterans compensation and pensions, and public assistance grants, and (2) an increase of about

\$500 million in expenditures because of commitments made in prior years for Federal housing programs, for civil public works projects and other construction, for loans under the mutual security program, and for other programs.

New activities and expansion of certain other programs have been included on a selective basis of need. These increases are offset by reductions in other existing programs, including the proposed elimination of the postal deficit.

New obligational authority recommended for the fiscal year 1961 totals \$79.4 billion. This is \$306 million less than the amounts already enacted and recommended for 1960, and \$401 million less than estimated expenditures in 1961.

Budget receipts under existing and proposed legislation are expected to rise substantially to \$84 billion in 1961. This compares with the revised estimate of \$78.6 billion for 1960 and actual receipts of \$68.3 billion in 1959.

REVIEW OF MAJOR FUNCTIONS

The following sections of this message discuss the legislative and budget recommendations for 1961 in terms of the major purposes which they fulfill. The following table compares the estimated expenditures for each of the nine major functional categories with the actual figures for 1959 and the latest estimate for 1960.

The expenditure totals for 1960 and 1961 include expenditures under both existing and proposed legislation. The allowance for contingencies is intended to provide for unforeseen increases in existing programs, and for proposed new programs not separately itemized.

The figures for 1961 allocate to the separate programs for the first time the dollar equivalent of expenditures for U.S. Government programs of foreign currencies received from the sale abroad of surplus U.S. agricultural commodities under Public Law 480.

Major National Security

Our national objective remains as before—peace with justice for all peoples. Our hope is that the heavy burden of armaments on the world may be lightened.

But we should not delude ourselves. In this era of nuclear weapons and intercontinental mis-

siles, disarmament must be safeguarded and verifiable. The problems involved in achieving reductions of armaments with safety and justice to all nations are tremendous. Yet we must face up to these problems, for the only alternative is a world living on the edge of disaster.

While seeking the true road to peace and disarmament we must remain strong. Our aim at this time is a level of military strength which, together with that of our allies, is sufficient to deter wars, large or small, while we strive to find a way to reduce the threat of war. This budget, in my judgment, does that.

Expenditures of the Department of Defense in 1961 will continue to emphasize the modernization of our Armed Forces. Military assistance for our allies under the mutual security program will also reflect the growing importance of modern weapons and missiles in the continued strengthening of the free world defense forces. The Atomic Energy Commission is continuing its weapons program on a high level and will move forward with research and development on the peaceful applications of atomic energy. Expenditures for stockpiling and for expansion of defense production will decline further, since most of the stockpile objectives have been met.

Department of Defense—Military.—New appropriations of \$40,577 million are recommended for the military functions of the Department of Defense for 1961. Expenditures in 1961 are estimated at \$40,995 million. These amounts exclude funds for the development of the Saturn space project which I have proposed be transferred to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Strategy and tactics of the U.S. military forces are now undergoing one of the greatest transitions in history. The change of emphasis from conventional-type to missile-type warfare must be made with care, mindful that the one type of warfare cannot be safely neglected in favor of the other. Our military forces must be capable of contending successfully with any contingency which may be forced upon us, from limited emergencies to all-out nuclear general war.

Forces and military personnel strength.—This budget will provide in the fiscal year 1961 for the continued support of our forces at approximately the present level—a year-end strength of 2,489,000 men and women in the active forces. The forces

MAJOR NATIONAL SECURITY

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	Budget expenditures			Recom- mended new obli- gational authority for 1961
	1959 actual	1960 estimate	1961 estimate	
Department of De- fense—Military: Military functions: Military personnel: Present pro- grams.....	\$11,801	\$11,959	\$12,124	\$11,813
Proposed legis- lation, retire- ment pay.....			22	24
Operation and maintenance.....	10,381	10,137	10,321	10,527
Procurement.....	11,410	13,943	13,602	13,085
Research, develop- ment, test, and evaluation.....	2,859	3,680	3,917	3,910
Construction.....	1,948	1,670	1,359	1,188
Revolving funds.....	-169	-444	-350	30
Subtotal.....	41,233	40,945	40,995	40,577
Military assistance.....	2,340	1,800	1,750	2,000
Atomic energy.....	2,541	2,675	2,689	2,666
Stockpiling and expan- sion of defense pro- duction.....	312	230	134	39
Total.....	46,426	45,650	45,568	45,282

¹ Additional obligational authority available by transfer: \$350 million.

² Compares with new obligational authority of \$45,517 million enacted for 1959 and \$44,749 million (including \$25 million in anticipated supplemental appropriations) estimated for 1960.

to be supported include an Army of 14 divisions and 870,000 men; a Navy of 517 active ships and 619,000 men; a Marine Corps of 3 divisions and 3 air wings with 175,000 men; and an Air Force of 91 combat wings and 825,000 men.

If the reserve components are to serve effectively in time of war, their basic organization and objectives must conform to the changing character and missions of the active forces. Quality and combat readiness must take precedence over mere numbers. Under modern conditions, this is especially true of the ready reserve. I have requested the Secretary of Defense to reexamine the roles and missions of the reserve components in relation to those of the active forces and in the light of the changing requirements of modern warfare.

Last year the Congress discontinued its previously imposed minimum personnel strength limitations on the Army Reserve. Similar restrictions on the strength of the Army National Guard contained in the 1960 Department of Defense Appropria-

tion Act should likewise be dropped. I strongly recommend to the Congress the avoidance of mandatory floors on the size of the reserve components so that we may have the flexibility to make adjustments in keeping with military necessity.

I again propose a reduction in the Army National Guard and Army Reserve—from their present strengths of 400,000 and 300,000, respectively, to 360,000 and 270,000 by the end of the fiscal year 1961. These strengths are considered adequate to meet the essential roles and missions of the reserves in support of our national security objectives.

Strategic forces.—The deterrent power of our Armed Forces comes from both their nuclear retaliatory capability and their capability to conduct other essential operations in any form of war. The first capability is represented by a combination of manned bombers, carrier-based aircraft, and intercontinental and intermediate range missiles. The second capability is represented by our deployed ground, naval, and air forces in essential forward areas, together with ready reserves capable of effecting early emergency reinforcement.

The Strategic Air Command is the principal element of our long-range nuclear capability. One of the important and difficult decisions which had to be made in this budget concerned the role of the B-70, a long-range supersonic bomber. This aircraft, which was planned for initial operational use about 1965, would be complementary to but likewise competitive with the four strategic ballistic missile systems, all of which are scheduled to become available earlier. The first Atlas ICBM's are now operational, the first two Polaris submarines are expected to be operational this calendar year, and the first Titan ICBM's next year. The Minuteman solid-fueled ICBM is planned to be operational about mid-1963. By 1965, several or all of these systems will have been fully tested and their reliability established.

Thus, the need for the B-70 as a strategic weapon system is doubtful. However, I am recommending that development work on the B-70 airframe and engines be continued. It is expected that in 1963 two prototype aircraft will be available for flight testing. By that time we should be in a much better position to determine the value of that aircraft as a weapon system.

I am recommending additional acquisitions of the improved version of the B-52 (the B-52II with the new turbofan engine) and procurement of the B-58 supersonic medium bomber, together with the supporting refueling tankers in each case. These additional modern bombers will replace some of the older B-47 medium bombers; one B-52 can do the work of several B-47's which it will replace. Funds are also included in this budget to continue the equipping of the B-52 wings with the Hound Dog air-to-surface missile.

In the coming fiscal year additional quantities of Atlas, Titan, and Polaris missiles also will be procured. I am recommending funds for 3 additional Polaris submarines to be started in the coming fiscal year and for the advance procurement of long leadtime components on 3 more—making a total of 15 Polaris submarines and the appropriate number of missiles. Funds to continue the development and to initiate production of the first operational quantities of the Minuteman are also included in this budget.

Thus, four strategic ballistic missile systems will be in development and production during the coming fiscal year. These, together with the manned bomber force, the carrier-based aircraft, the intermediate range ballistic missiles, and the tactical aircraft deployed abroad, ensure our continued capability to retaliate effectively in the event of an attack upon ourselves or our allies.

In order to ensure, insofar as practicable, the safety and readiness of these forces, we have substantially completed the dispersal of Strategic Air Command aircraft and the construction of alert facilities. These measures will permit a large portion of all our manned bombers and supporting tankers to get off the ground within 15 minutes after receiving warning of an attack.

I have also authorized the Department of Defense to begin to acquire a standby airborne alert capability for the heavy bombers. This will entail the procurement of extra engines and spare parts, and the training of the heavy bomber wings with the ability to conduct an airborne alert. It is neither necessary nor practical to fly a continuous airborne alert at this time. Such a procedure would, over a relatively short period of time, seriously degrade our overall capability to respond to attack. What I am recommending is a capability to fly such an alert if the need should arise and to maintain that alert for a reasonable period

of time until the situation which necessitated it becomes clarified.

Attention is also being given to the safety and readiness of our land-based strategic missile forces. Except for the first several squadrons, strategic missiles will be dispersed in hardened underground sites. Measures are also being taken to shorten the reaction time of liquid-fueled missiles. The Minuteman, because it will be solid fueled, will have a quick reaction time and will lend itself to mobile use. The solid-fueled Polaris to be carried in submarines at sea is by its very nature highly invulnerable.

Air defense forces.—Much progress has been made in increasing the effectiveness of the North American Air Defense Command organized in 1957 as an integrated command of the United States and Canadian forces. The U.S. military elements—consisting of parts of all of our armed services—are integrated with Canada's Air Defence Command for maintaining an air defense capability for the entire North American Continent.

While we pay increasing attention to the growing threat of a potential enemy's ballistic missiles we should not lose sight of the fact that for the time being the manned bomber is the major threat. Although some \$17 billion has already been invested in defense systems against manned bombers, excluding the cost of personnel and operation and maintenance, certain segments have yet to be completed. These were described in the Department of Defense air defense plan presented to the Congress last year. The funds recommended in this budget will substantially complete the programs outlined in that plan. Specifically, the last major elements of the Nike-Hercules surface-to-air missile program will be financed in 1961 and the Bomarc interceptor missile program will approach completion. The related radar warning, electronic control, and communication systems will also be further equipped and modernized.

In response to the increasing missile threat, we are pressing to completion a new system for the detection of ballistic missile attack—the ballistic missile early warning system. Construction has been under way for the last two years and the first segment is expected to be in operation in about a year.

To provide for an active defense against ballistic missile attack, I am recommending the con-

tinued development of the Nike-Zeus system, but it will not be placed in production during the coming fiscal year during which further testing will be carried out.

The Nike-Zeus system is one of the most difficult undertakings ever attempted by this country. The technical problems involved in detecting, tracking, and computing the course of the incoming ballistic missile and in guiding the intercepting Zeus missile to its target—all within a few minutes—are indeed enormous.

Much thought and study have been given to all of these factors and it is the consensus of my technical and military advisers that the system should be carefully tested before production is begun and facilities are constructed for its deployment. Accordingly, I am recommending sufficient funds in this budget to provide for the essential phases of such testing. Pending the results of such testing, the \$137 million appropriated last year by the Congress for initial production steps for the Nike-Zeus system will not be used.

Sea control forces.—Control of sea and ocean areas and sea lanes of communication is an integral element in the maintenance of our national security. The naval forces which carry the primary responsibility for this mission will consist of 817 combatant and support ships, 16 attack carrier air groups, 11 antisubmarine air groups, and 41 patrol and warning air squadrons.

From new construction and conversion programs started in prior years, the Navy will receive during fiscal year 1961 an unusually large number of modern ships. These will include the fifth and sixth *Forrestal*-class attack carriers, the first nuclear-powered cruiser, nine guided missile destroyers, seven guided missile frigates, and six nuclear-powered submarines. Three more Polaris ballistic missile submarines and a converted guided missile cruiser will also be commissioned.

For the coming fiscal year I am recommending the construction of 20 new ships and conversions or modernizations of 15 others. Included among the new ships is an attack carrier. It is planned to construct this carrier with a conventional rather than a nuclear powerplant.

While it is generally agreed that a nuclear-powered attack carrier has certain military advantages, such as extended range and endurance at high sustained speeds, these advantages are not overriding as in the case of a submarine. In a submarine, nuclear power provides the critical

advantage of almost unlimited operation, submerged at high speeds. This enables nuclear-powered submarines to carry out missions which no conventionally powered submarine, no matter how modern, could accomplish.

The advantages of nuclear power with respect to the carrier, however, are not comparable. The primary requirement in a carrier is up-to-date facilities to operate, safely and effectively, the most modern naval aircraft. Use of a conventional powerplant will in no way prevent a carrier from functioning as a completely modern and mobile base for fleet aircraft for its foreseeable life. The additional \$130 million which a nuclear-powered carrier would cost can be used to much greater advantage for other purposes. I therefore strongly urge the Congress to support this request for a conventionally powered aircraft carrier.

Tactical forces.—Elements of the ground, naval, and air forces comprise the tactical forces which are available to deal with cold war emergencies and limited war situations, in addition to performing essential tasks in the event of general war. Recommendations made in this budget provide funds for modernization and improvement in the effectiveness of our tactical forces.

Increased emphasis has been given in this budget to improving the mobility and firepower of the 14 Army divisions and other active combat elements of the Army and the 3 Marine Corps divisions. Additional quantities of new rifles and machineguns employing the standard NATO ammunition will be procured, as will combat and tactical vehicles of all kinds, including the new M60 tank, the M113 armored personnel carrier, self-propelled howitzers, trucks and jeeps. In recognition of the value of artillery in both nuclear and nonnuclear warfare, an entire new family of self-propelled artillery is introduced with this budget. This new artillery is lighter, more mobile, and, utilizing new ammunition, will have greater range than that of types currently available.

The Army and Marine Corps will also buy a wide variety of guided missiles and rockets such as: Sergeant, Honest John, Little John, and Lacrosse for medium and close range ground fire support; Davy Crockett for an integral infantry-unit close-range atomic support weapon; and Hawk and Redeye for defense of field forces against air attack. Army aircraft procurement

proposed for 1961 is more than 35 percent higher than for the current year, and includes funds for surveillance aircraft and for utility and medium cargo helicopters.

The tactical forces of the Army are supported by the tactical air wings of the Air Force which will also be provided with an increased capability under these budget recommendations. Funds are provided for increased procurement of F-105 supersonic all-weather fighter bombers. These aircraft, with their low-altitude handling characteristics and large carrying capacities for both nuclear and nonnuclear weapons, will strengthen significantly the air support available to the Army ground units.

The three Marine divisions are tactically supported by three Marine aircraft wings, which will also receive quantities of new aircraft.

Military assistance.—The ability of the free world to deter aggression depends on the combined strength and determination of many countries. The total forces of the countries receiving aid under the military assistance program include about 5 million Army troops, 2,200 combatant ships, and over 25,000 aircraft, about half of which are jet. These forces make a vital contribution to the security of the free world, including the United States.

A committee of distinguished private citizens, the President's Committee to Study the United States Military Assistance Program, conducted an extensive and comprehensive analysis of the mutual security program during the last year. I have previously transmitted the reports of the Committee to the Congress.² Many of the significant findings and recommendations of this group have been put into effect by the executive agencies; others are in the process of implementation. The military assistance program has been budgeted in 1961 with other activities and programs of the Department of Defense, and major changes are being made in the management, organization, and programming of military assistance.

Last spring I mentioned the possibility of requesting a supplemental appropriation as sug-

gested by the Committee largely to expedite modernization of NATO forces. However, in view of the time factor involved in securing a separate authorization and appropriation for 1960, a supplemental request this year is not practical.

The new obligational authority of \$2 billion recommended for fiscal year 1961 for the military assistance program will provide the training and quantities of materiel required to support the forces in the countries receiving aid. Because of the long leadtime required for many items, procurement must be started in 1961 in order to provide the necessary deliveries in future years. During recent years, deliveries have been maintained only by drawing down the backlog of undelivered items by an amount ranging from \$500 to \$800 million per year. The backlog has now been reduced to the point where adequate deliveries in the future must depend on new appropriations.

The defense of Western Europe in this era of modern weapons is costly and must be accomplished through the combined efforts of all NATO countries. Many of these countries have now assumed the financial responsibility for producing or purchasing conventional arms and equipment which the United States previously supplied. At the same time, the 1961 military assistance program squarely faces the pressing need for new and costly weapons for which the free world still looks for help from the United States. In addition, it provides for an intensified training effort to assure effective use and maintenance of the new equipment by allied forces.

This budget also provides for military assistance to countries which are building defenses against aggression and subversion in other parts of the world. These countries border on aggressive regimes, or are confronted with strong internal subversive elements. Many of them have joined in mutual defense organizations such as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), or with the United States in bilateral defense agreements. Assistance to these countries, most of which are in the Near East and the Far East, emphasizes primarily the strengthening of conventional forces in keeping with the nature of the threat in each area.

²The Composite Report of the President's Committee To Study the United States Military Assistance Program is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. The price for vol. I is 60 cents, for vol. II (Annexes) \$1.

Atomic energy activities.—In 1961 the expenditures for the Atomic Energy Commission are expected to remain at the 1960 level of about \$2.7 billion. Substantial increases for research and development activities will be offset by reductions in procurement of uranium ore concentrates from United States and Canadian producers. These reductions will bring ore supplies into better balance with production requirements.

Development and production of nuclear weapons in 1961 will remain at the high levels of previous years. The vigorous development of military reactors for a variety of propulsion and power uses will continue. When the land-based prototype reactor for a destroyer is placed into operation in 1961 along with four other naval prototype reactors now operating, nuclear powerplants will be available for major types of naval combatant ships. Emphasis in naval reactor development in 1961 will be placed primarily on development of improved and longer lived reactor fuel. The development of nuclear ramjet engines for missiles, of nuclear aircraft engines, and of nuclear electric powerplants for use at remote military bases will be carried forward.

Peaceful uses of atomic energy.—Expenditures in 1961 for development of civilian electric power from atomic energy are estimated at \$250 million. Of this amount, \$185 million is for research and development and \$65 million is for construction of civilian power reactors and related development facilities. The estimated expenditures include amounts from proposed new appropriations of \$40 million for assistance to private and public power groups in developing and building demonstration nuclear powerplants, and alternatively for such direct Government construction as may be considered necessary. The number, type, and size of reactors built and the nature of the assistance provided will be determined by the Commission after considering the state of technology and the cooperation proposed by industry.

Expenditures by the Commission for research in the physical and life sciences in 1961 will again increase substantially to over \$210 million. This level of research will help the United States to continue its leadership in the study of the behavior of the basic matter of the universe and the effects of radiation on man and his environment. The largest part of the increase will be used to

place in operation in the next 18 months three new particle accelerators in the multibillion electron-volt energy range, including the alternating gradient synchrotron at Brookhaven National Laboratory.

In support of the civilian space program, the Atomic Energy Commission will continue development of nuclear-powered rockets and small, long-lived nuclear power sources for space vehicles. Development work on thermonuclear power and on applications of nuclear explosives to a variety of civilian uses will continue in 1961.

Stockpiling and defense production expansion.—Most of the objectives for the stockpile of strategic and critical materials have been met. Receipts of materials under contracts to promote expansion of defense production are continuing at a reduced rate, as the number of such contracts still in effect declines. Hence, expenditures for stockpiling and expansion of defense production are estimated to decline from \$230 million in 1960 to \$134 million in 1961.

Amendments to outstanding contracts are now being negotiated where practicable, so as to minimize the delivery of materials no longer required for stockpiling. Arrangements are also under way to dispose of materials excess to stockpile objectives whenever disposal will not seriously disrupt markets or adversely affect our international relations.

International Affairs and Finance

The United States is continuing to support programs to maintain world peace and to improve economic conditions throughout the free world. In helping to improve economic conditions, we are being joined in larger measure by our friends in the free world who have now reached a high level of prosperity after recovering from the ravages of war. Accordingly, multilateral programs are being expanded. At the same time, the pressing need for economic development requires the continuation of substantial economic assistance under the mutual security program.

Expenditures for international affairs and finance are estimated to be \$2.2 billion in the fiscal year 1961. This amount is \$177 million higher than estimated expenditures for 1960, mainly because of larger disbursements by the Development Loan Fund under prior commitments.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND FINANCE

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	Budget expenditures			Recom- mended new obliga- tional authority for 1961
	1959 actual	1960 estimate	1961 estimate	
Economic and technical development:				
Mutual security— economic:				
Development Loan Fund.....	\$66	\$175	\$300	\$700
Technical coopera- tion.....	169	170	175	206
Defense support.....	881	740	730	721
Special assistance.....	257	250	255	268
Other.....	120	105	110	101
Contingencies.....	30	110	130	175
Subtotal, mutual security—eco- nomic.....	1,524	1,550	1,700	2,175
International Mon- etary Fund sub- scription.....	1,375			
Inter-American De- velopment Bank.....		80		
Export-Import Bank.....	390	-56	-7	
Emergency relief abroad and other.....	113	140	131	116
Conduct of foreign af- fairs:				
Administration of foreign affairs.....	211	205	197	205
Philippine claims: Present program.....	24			
Proposed legisla- tion.....			49	49
Other.....	2	5	3	2
Foreign information and exchange ac- tivities:				
United States Infor- mation Agency.....	109	110	124	121
Department of State, exchange of per- sons.....	22	24	36	36
President's special in- ternational pro- gram.....	8	7	8	9
Total.....	3,780	2,066	2,242	42,745

¹ Compares with new obligational authority of \$6,982 million enacted for 1959 and \$2,697 million (including \$49 million of anticipated supplemental appropriations) estimated for 1960. The 1959 authorization included \$3,175 million for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and \$1,375 million for the International Monetary Fund.

Mutual security program. Through the mutual security program as a whole the United States helps promote stability and economic growth in less-developed countries and helps strengthen the defenses of the free world. For these purposes new obligational authority of \$1,175 million is recommended in fiscal year 1961, an increase of \$949

million over the amount enacted for 1960 (of which \$700 million is for military assistance). Expenditures are estimated to be \$3,450 million, an increase of \$100 million over 1960.

The military assistance portion of this program is carried in the Department of Defense chapter and has been discussed in the major national security section of this message. Economic assistance is discussed in the following paragraphs in this section.

Development Loan Fund.—The Development Loan Fund was established in 1957 in order to provide capital to less-developed countries, when capital is not available from other sources. The capital is provided on favorable terms, often including the option to repay in the borrower's own currency. By the end of the fiscal year 1960, the Fund will have made commitments for an estimated 148 loans totaling some \$1,400 million. More than three-fourths of the projects it is financing are for roads, railroads, electric power generation, and industry, including industrial development banks. Because many of these projects require several years for construction, expenditures have thus far been relatively small. However, in the fiscal year 1961 they are estimated to be \$300 million, an increase of \$125 million over 1960. New obligational authority of \$700 million is requested for 1961, an increase of \$150 million over the amount enacted for 1960. This will provide the loan funds essential to our foreign policy objective of assisting in the economic growth of the less-developed countries of the free world.

Technical cooperation.—Technical and administrative skills are no less important for the newly developing countries than capital. Through the technical cooperation program, American experts are sent abroad to transmit the skills required in a modern economy and foreign technicians are brought to the United States for training.

For the fiscal year 1961, new obligational authority of \$206 million is requested, which is \$25 million over the amount enacted for 1960, in order to permit an increase in the bilateral programs. It will also permit a higher contribution to the United Nations technical assistance program and the related special fund; as other governments increase their contributions for the United Nations programs, the United States contribution, which is two fifths of the total, also increases.

MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program	Budget expenditures			Recommended new obligational authority for 1961
	1959 actual	1960 estimate	1961 estimate	
Military assistance . . .	\$2, 310	\$1, 800	\$1, 750	\$2, 000
Economic (including technical) assistance . . .	1, 524	1, 550	1, 700	2, 175
Total, mutual security	3, 864	3, 350	3, 450	4, 175

¹ Compares with new obligational authority of \$3,448 million enacted for 1959 (\$1,515 million military, \$1,933 million economic) and \$3,226 million enacted for 1960 (\$1,300 million military, \$1,926 million economic).

Defense support.—Many of the less-developed countries participating in the common defense maintain large military forces whose cost imposes a severe strain upon their limited economic resources. In order to help maintain political and economic stability and to prevent the cost of necessary defensive forces from unduly hindering economic development, the United States provides economic aid principally by supplying commodities for consumption and raw materials and machinery for industrial production. For the fiscal year 1961, new obligational authority of \$724 million is requested, an increase of \$29 million over the amount enacted for 1960.

Special assistance.—New obligational authority of \$268 million is requested for economic assistance to promote economic and political stability in various countries of the free world where the United States is not supporting military forces, and for certain other special programs. In several instances, this assistance indirectly relates to military bases maintained by the United States.

The appropriation recommended for special assistance in 1961 is \$23 million above the amount enacted for 1960. Additional programs are proposed to help improve conditions in Africa, largely for education, public health, and administration.

Increased funds will also be devoted to certain worldwide health programs in conjunction with the World Health Organization of the United Nations. The largest of these is the malaria eradication program, now in its fourth year. In addition numerous public health projects are supported through technical cooperation.

Other mutual security programs.—Other programs include assistance to refugees and escapees; grants of atomic research equipment, including reactors, to the less-developed countries for training and research in nuclear physics; support of the NATO science program; and the United States contribution to the United Nations Children's Fund. For the fiscal year 1961, new obligational authority of \$101 million is requested, an increase of \$1 million above the amounts enacted for 1960.

Contingencies.—Experience has shown that economic and military assistance is also required in some international situations which cannot be foreseen or for which it is not possible to estimate

in advance the specific amount needed. To cover situations of this type, new obligational authority of \$175 million is requested.

Other economic and technical development.—More resources from countries of the free world are being channeled into economic development by increasing the capital funds of international organizations. In the past year the capital of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was doubled and that of the International Monetary Fund increased by half.

The Inter-American Development Bank, with planned total resources of \$1 billion, including \$450 million from the United States, is expected to begin operations before the close of this fiscal year. Expenditures of \$80 million are estimated in the fiscal year 1960 as the first installment of the U.S. cash investment in the Bank. In addition, guarantee authority of \$200 million will be made available, on the basis of which the Bank can sell its bonds to private investors.

Last October the Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development unanimously approved in principle a U.S. proposal for an International Development Association, which will be closely affiliated with the Bank. Under this proposal, the Association will make loans on more flexible terms than the Bank is able to offer under its charter, such as loans repayable in the currency of the borrowing country. In addition, it is expected that the charter of the Association will contain provisions under which a member could provide to the Association, for use in lending operations, other member country currencies which it holds. The draft charter of

the Association is being prepared and will probably be submitted to the member governments early this year. Legislation authorizing U.S. participation and making financial provision for membership will be transmitted to the Congress at the appropriate time.

Private investment.—The United States is trying to encourage more reliance on private enterprise in foreign economic development. During the past year, the Department of State and the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce have both completed special studies on ways to increase the role of private investment and management abroad. Tax treaties, with investment incentive clauses, are now being negotiated with many countries. More trade missions are being sent abroad. Several of the less-developed countries are opening business information offices in this country. As a result of these various activities, more private investment in the less-developed areas should be forthcoming. To provide an additional incentive, U.S. taxation of income earned in the less-developed areas only should be deferred until repatriated.

Export-Import Bank.—The oldest Federal agency specializing in foreign lending and the largest in terms of foreign loan volume is the Export-Import Bank. In the fiscal year 1961 the Bank plans to devote an increasing share of its program to transactions which support economic development abroad. At the same time the Bank plans to finance its operations without requiring net budgetary expenditures by encouraging more participation by private lenders in its loan program and by using funds obtained from repayments on its large outstanding portfolio.

Eligibility for assistance.—Amendments to the Battle Act to revise the eligibility requirements for assistance to certain countries are pending before the Congress. It is highly desirable that they be enacted.

Conduct of foreign affairs.—The Department of State is making plans to strengthen further the administration of foreign affairs in the fiscal year 1961. The disarmament staff is being expanded in preparation for discussions on disarmament soon to begin in Geneva and for the continuation of the negotiations on the suspension of nuclear tests. Language training programs will also be expanded. New diplomatic and consular posts

will be opened in Africa, Latin America, South Asia, and Eastern Europe. For these and other activities, new obligational authority of \$205 million is requested for the fiscal year 1961.

Legislation is recommended to remove certain reservations on acceptance by the United States of jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (the World Court).

Legislation will be requested for payment in the fiscal year 1961 of certain war damage claims of the Philippine Government against the United States in the amount of \$73 million. These claims will be partially offset by an amount, now estimated at approximately \$24 million, owed to the United States by the Philippine Government. Pending legislation should be enacted in fiscal year 1960 to authorize compensation of \$6 million to displaced residents of the Bonin Islands.

Foreign information and exchange activities.—New obligational authority totaling \$168 million is requested for foreign information and exchange activities in the fiscal year 1961. The United States Information Agency plans to expand its programs in Africa and Latin America, including construction of a new Voice of America transmitter in Africa. The Agency will make greater use of the growing number of television facilities overseas. The expansion of domestic radio transmitting facilities, begun last year in order to improve oversea reception, will continue. Exchanges of key persons with about 80 other countries will be increased, with special emphasis on leaders and teachers.

The plans presented in this budget meet the Nation's immediate needs and will support continuing sound economic growth in the future. The achievement of these plans, however, will in the last analysis depend on the people themselves.

I believe our people have the determination to hold expenditures in check, to pay their own way without borrowing from their children, to choose wisely among priorities, and to match sound public policy with private initiative. It is that determination which is the key to continued progress and sound growth with security. It is that determination which reinforces the recommendations I have made.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

JANUARY 18, 1960.

Importance of the Space Program in International Relations

Statement by Under Secretary Merchant¹

I am appearing before your committee this morning in place of the Secretary of State, who regrets as much as I do that it was impossible for him to be with the committee today. I will be followed by a distinguished group of witnesses including Mr. Allen Dulles, Mr. George Allen, Dr. Keith Glennan, and Secretary of Defense [Thomas S.] Gates [Jr.]. Most of the questions which I imagine this committee is most interested in will, I am sure, be answered by the testimony of those who follow me. I am equally sure that the committee understands that the Department of State, interested as it is in the exploration and use of outer space, has no technical competence or operational responsibility in this field. The Department's interest is substantially concerned with how our position in this field bears on our relations with other countries.

The exploration and use of outer space have introduced a new element into the complex of factors governing relations among nations. What we do in this new field and the manner in which we do it have both actual and symbolic significance.

Although the practical potentialities of outer-space activities cannot now be fully foreseen, outer space clearly represents a field from which man may derive substantial benefits, into which man may strive to extend his power and influence, and about which conflicts may arise. All nations have an interest in the opportunities and problems thus presented.

Besides this fact, the achievements of a nation in outer space may be construed by other nations as dramatically symbolizing national capabilities

and effectiveness. The challenge to the imagination has been great. Equally great have been the skills and resources needed to respond to this challenge. Consequently achievements in outer space have been both startling and impressive.

The connotations of those achievements are inescapable. The sending of a manmade object into orbit around the earth or beyond the claim of the earth's gravity requires a very high order of scientific knowledge and skill supported by extensive technological and industrial capabilities. Furthermore, a flight into outer space which itself has no direct military importance may have military implications since the performance of space vehicles is indicative of missile capabilities in thrust and, to an extent, guidance.

Achievements of Soviet Union

By being first to achieve success in space flight, the Soviet Union has reaped great prestige. Continuing achievements have made this gain an enduring one. It has become apparent to all that the Soviet Union is capable, where it chooses to concentrate its efforts, of pioneering work in advanced and difficult fields of science and technology. It has been demonstrated that the Soviet Union is not limited to following and imitating the achievements of Western science and technology.

Although this new and justified view of Soviet capabilities is greatly to the credit of the Soviet Union, Soviet spokesmen would like the world to draw even more far-reaching conclusions. The Soviet Union would clearly like the world to conclude from its successful satellites and lunar probes that the Soviet Union has drawn abreast and even ahead of the United States in all of the broadly related fields which contribute to or derive ad-

¹Made before the House Committee on Science and Astronautics on Jan. 20 (press release 27).

vantage from such accomplishments. Further, the Soviet argument runs that these successes portray overall capabilities, including military strength, and therefore that the Soviets ride the wave of the future.

The spectacular character of Soviet achievements has undeniably overshadowed the accomplishments of the United States, and it would be dangerous to regard as insignificant the effects of Soviet claims based on its achievements.

Broad Basis of U.S. Space Program

It is not within the competence of the State Department to attempt to compare the United States and the Soviet space programs. I believe, however, that later witnesses appearing before your committee will show that, while the United States is behind the Soviet Union in total outer-space achievements, a balanced appraisal indicates substantial and significant achievements on our own part. I also believe that these witnesses will testify that our program of space science and its practical applications appears to be sounder and broader than that of the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, what we have done and are continually doing in the many fields of modern science and technology, in addition to outer space, makes absurd any contention that scientific and technological leadership on any broad front has passed to the Soviet Union.

Finally, insofar as military aspects are concerned, I think I should properly leave this aspect to be dealt with by later witnesses.

My purpose is to place in perspective the fact that, in response both to Soviet outer-space achievements and to relentless Soviet propaganda exploitation of them, the world image of the general standing of the Soviet Union has been enhanced. This is not to say that we have lost the confidence of our friends in our strength or our scientific and technological capability. There is no doubt, however, that our friends are watching our own future progress and achievements in this field.

Working Through the United Nations

I have dealt extensively with the symbolic significance of outer-space achievements because I believe we must all recognize these facts of life in the early space age. It is equally important,

however, to examine the actual opportunities and problems arising from outer-space activities, and I wish now to turn to certain objectives and characteristics of the United States outer-space program which I believe have been recognized abroad and which we ourselves should fully appreciate. These matters relate in particular to the manner in which the United States as a free society and a willing member of the international community has gone about its outer-space effort, and to the relationship between our approach and the substance of our program.

In contrast with the Soviet Union, the United States has taken an active lead in seeking international cooperation and consultation regarding the new opportunities and problems which are arising. Our approach has recognized two aspects of these matters. The first is that of consulting and cooperating in an effort to find means of assuring the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only. The second is that of consulting and cooperating in the conduct of outer-space activities and in the establishment internationally of an orderly basis for their accomplishment.

With respect to the first of these matters our approach has been consistent. Even before the launching of the first earth satellite, the President invited the Soviet Government to join in an effort to find ways to assure that outer space be used for peaceful purposes only.² Ambassador Lodge has reiterated this proposal on appropriate occasions in the United Nations. The United States has thus made clear its desire, either as a part of or separately from the more inclusive efforts to establish control of armaments, to study and explore together with the Soviet Union and other nations what might be done to accomplish this objective.

Meanwhile we have sought to proceed with more immediately attainable consultative and cooperative activities related to peaceful uses themselves. In doing so, we have recognized that outer space, by its very nature, is not the concern of one nation or of only a few. It is of interest to all.

Accordingly, as one indispensable measure to foster international consultation and cooperation, we have taken the lead in United Nations activities related to outer space. In the Thirteenth General Assembly, with the support of a number of other countries, we succeeded in having established a

² BULLETIN of Sept. 16, 1957, p. 455.

United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.³ This committee was requested by the General Assembly to study and report on appropriate areas of cooperation, the nature of emerging legal problems, and future organizational arrangements to facilitate cooperation.

The Soviet Union and certain other countries refused to participate in the pioneering work of this committee. Nevertheless, a constructive study was carried out and reported to the Fourteenth General Assembly in the fall of 1959.⁴ This study has provided an informed basis on which the General Assembly can better approach the new matters with which it will have to deal. The Department wishes to express its thanks to the members of the Congress who served as advisers to the United States delegation to the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the United Nations. We regard the *Ad Hoc* Committee's meetings as highly productive.

Following submission of this initial study to the General Assembly, we again actively sought the continuance of United Nations efforts and succeeded in reaching unanimous agreement among members of the General Assembly on establishment of a committee to examine practical measures to follow up the initial study and, in particular, to work out proposals for convening an international scientific conference for the exchange of experience in the peaceful uses of outer space.⁵ The Soviet Union agreed to take part in the work of this new committee and, indeed, proposed the international conference to which the committee will first turn its attention. I believe the ability of the United States and the Soviet Union to reach agreement on these matters is of the utmost importance.

We are now engaged in working out specific proposals and plans for the international conference and for other promising activities of the new committee. We believe strongly that the proposed conference will serve as a valuable meeting ground for people engaged in outer-space activities or interested in the results of these activities. It would usefully supplement exchanges thus far carried out in the international scientific community and should, we believe, be broader in its scope than the normal exchanges through purely scientific channels. We have welcomed as a hopeful sign

the Soviet Union's willingness now to share its experience and to participate in future activities.

In addition to these efforts to insure that the United Nations is appropriately organized to consider the problems and opportunities of the space age and is fully informed about them, one other aspect of our work within the framework of the United Nations is particularly significant. The allocation of radio frequencies represents the first practical problem of a regulatory character which confronts us in the outer-space field and constitutes an important component in providing internationally a basis for the orderly accomplishment of outer-space activities. Meeting during the fall of 1959 with over 80 other countries in the International Administrative Radio Conference of the International Telecommunication Union, the United States called attention to the need for reserving radio frequencies for space communications and radio astronomical research. Although the Conference accorded some recognition to this problem and made minimal provision for frequencies for these services, the results of the Conference can be regarded as only a first step toward resolution of a problem which will become increasingly pressing in the future and toward the general goal of adopting useful regulatory measures.

Three Operational Characteristics of U.S. Program

In the conduct of our own space program, moreover, we have also carried out in practice the principles of consultation and cooperation which we have supported in the United Nations. In doing so, we have been assisted by three "operational" characteristics of the United States program.

First, the United States program, by its nature and by virtue of our geographic position, requires a worldwide system of ground support facilities. A worldwide tracking and communications network plainly depends upon the participation of other nations and opens the way to direct cooperation. The number of countries involved in such cooperation, in various degrees, is now approaching perhaps 20.

Second, our national tradition of "openness" has provided the basis for free and prompt dissemination of the results of our scientific activities—a matter in which we have been more consistent and conscientious than the Soviet Union—and also for bringing scientists of other countries actively into the planning and conduct of scientific

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1959, p. 24.

⁴ U.N. doc. A/4141.

⁵ BULLETIN of JAN. 11, 1960, p. 64.

experiments. We have, for example, explored possible cooperative programs with the British and look forward to completing an agreement to this end. We are undertaking similar discussions with Japan and with certain other countries. In recognition of the fact that the interests of NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] go beyond defense matters, we have offered through the NATO Science Committee to incorporate in future satellites scientific experiments which may be proposed by scientists of NATO countries.

Of particular importance is the support which we have given to nongovernmental scientific organizations which are active in the field of outer space and which, indeed, represent the traditional channel for scientific cooperation. The Committee on Space Research of the International Council of Scientific Unions is prominent in this regard. We have offered to place in orbit individual experiments or a complete scientific payload recommended by COSPAR.

The openness of our outer-space program thus enables us to make possible mutually beneficial participation in outer-space activities and to benefit from results achieved by scientists of countries which are not themselves actively launching earth satellites and space probes. It has the further advantage of widely informing the international scientific community of our own progress and achievements in the field of outer space. Although security considerations may affect some aspects of outer-space programs, I believe that openness should continue to be a keynote of the United States effort.

A third characteristic of our effort has been our natural interest in the development of what may be called service or utilitarian applications of space vehicles. I refer to such information gathering and transmitting satellites as those for communications, meteorology, and navigation. The benefits of such satellites, when they become practical, will be widespread and should be widely shared. Such activities may, of course, add to the strength of our military position as well as contribute usefully to civilian activities. Furthermore, we should not overlook the possible usefulness of service satellites in contributing to the stability of international relationships and to maintaining the peace by providing information which will, for example, serve to discourage attempts at surprise attack. Closely related is the

potential use of service satellites in enforcing international arms-control agreements.

Fundamental Differences in Approach

I mention these characteristics of our outer-space effort because they promise to be of growing significance in facilitating the role of the United States in those international consultative and cooperative activities which give substance and meaning to outer space insofar as other countries are concerned and which, in turn, form a valuable support of our own effort. I have mentioned them also because they represent fundamental differences in the approach of the United States and the Soviet Union. These differences have not gone unrecognized by other countries, and our cooperative and consultative efforts have gained increasing recognition abroad. We feel that these efforts have strengthened our own position in an area where, by virtue of our free society, we enjoy greater flexibility than the Soviet Union.

The performance of the United States and the Soviet Union in outer space will inevitably be compared by the rest of the world, and I wish to leave no doubt in the committee's mind that the Department of State fully supports a strong and vigorous outer-space effort. As much as developments in any other area, the events in outer space of the past 2 years have made it clear to all that the Soviet threat is neither purely political nor short-term. The Soviet accomplishments in this field are witness to strong scientific, technical, and industrial capabilities, organizational effectiveness in concentrated effort, and they reflect growing military strength. These are sobering facts. But the danger to ourselves would come not from recognition of these facts but from refusal to recognize them.

The international power position of the United States by no means rests on activities in the field of outer space alone. These have, however, because of their dramatic impact, assumed a special significance. We are responding in the traditions of a free society. I am sure that by maintaining a broadly based, imaginative scientific and technological effort in the exploration and use of outer space we shall find proof of the capabilities and effectiveness of our free society.

If I may at this point summarize my testimony, I would first note that all nations on this globe have an interest in the opportunities and prob-

lems with which outer space and its ultimate exploration so dramatically confront us. The Soviet Union, first to achieve a spectacular success in space flight, has gained thereby great prestige. The prospect is that this lead will not be easily overcome. As one would expect, Soviet propaganda has with some success capitalized on the technological achievements of the Soviet Union by attempting to present an image of preeminent achievement not merely in science and technology but across the board, including military power.

It would be wrong and dangerous to discount either the achievement or the impact of that achievement on the minds of peoples all over this world.

What I have also said, however, is that testimony will be given to show the strength and breadth of our own space program. Our own achievements negate any contention that scientific and technical leadership on any broad front has passed to the Soviet Union. The military aspect of all this I will leave to the witnesses who follow me.

I have also noted—and I think this of great importance—that the basic approach of our country differs from that of the Soviet Union. We have emphasized from the outset consultation and cooperation with others. Even more important, we have taken the lead in the effort to establish a firm foundation for the devotion of outer space to peaceful purposes. Our leadership in the United Nations and elsewhere in this effort is undeniable, and we will continue to tread this path.

We will continue to work with other nations on the basis of our national tradition of “openness,” and we will pursue our efforts to develop space vehicles for purposes of genuine service and utility to ourselves and those who are cooperating with us.

The Department of State throws its full support to a vigorous and continuing national effort in the challenging field of outer space. Soviet accomplishments in this field testify to the capacities of the Soviet Union. As responsible members of a free society, we recognize this fact. We have, however, full confidence that through our national efforts the United States on the broad scientific front can and will demonstrate in the field of outer space the leadership which is historically associated with free men.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

- Fallout From Nuclear Weapons Tests. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Radiation of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee. Volume 1. May 5-8, 1959. 948 pp.
- To Authorize a Payment to the Government of Japan. Hearings before the Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on S. 2130. August 27 and 28, 1959. 23 pp.
- Tensions in Communist China. An analysis of internal pressures generated since 1949 prepared at the request of Senator Alexander Wiley by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. S. Doc. 66. September 11, 1959. 73 pp.
- Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean. Hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Part III, November 5, 1959. 38 pp.
- Comparisons of the United States and Soviet Economies. Hearings before the Joint Economic Committee pursuant to Sec. 5(a) of Public Law 301 (79th Congress). November 13-20, 1959. 292 pp.
- United States-Latin American Relations: Commodity Problems in Latin America. A study prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on American Republic Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by International Economic Consultants, Inc. No. 2. December 12, 1959. 96 pp. [Committee print].
- Soviet Intelligence in Asia. Hearing before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Testimony of A. Y. Kasnakheyev. December 14, 1959. 25 pp.
- United States-Latin American Relations: The Organization of American States. A study prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on American Republic Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Northwestern University. No. 3. December 24, 1959. 87 pp. [Committee print].

86th Congress, 2d Session

- The State of the Union. Address of the President before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives. H. Doc. 241. January 7, 1960. 12 pp.
- Special Study Mission to Europe. Report by members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. January 11, 1960. 34 pp. [Committee print].
- A Study of European Economic Regionalism—A New Era in Free World Economic Politics. Report of a special study mission of the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. January 11, 1960. 136 pp. [Committee print].
- United States Foreign Policy: The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy. Study prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Brookings Institution. No. 9. January 13, 1960. 191 pp. [Committee print].
- Ninth Annual Report of the Activities of the Joint Committee on Defense Production, With Material on Mobilization From Departments and Agencies. II. Rept. 1193. January 13, 1960. 340 pp.
- Agreement With the Republic of Austria Regarding the Return of Austrian Property, Rights, and Interests. Message from the President transmitting an agreement signed at Washington on January 30, 1959. S. Ex. A. January 14, 1960. 15 pp.

Progress and Prospects for European Migration, 1959-60

THIRTEENTH SESSION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND ELEVENTH SESSION OF COUNCIL OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

by George L. Warren

The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) is composed of 29 member governments. Its purpose is to facilitate the movement from overpopulated areas in Europe of migrants and refugees who would not otherwise be moved. The Council, consisting of all 29 member governments, and the Executive Committee of 9 governments meet twice annually at the headquarters in Geneva.

The Council met in its 11th session at Geneva November 12-20, 1959. The Executive Committee convened on November 4 and adjourned on November 20, 1959.¹ Phillippe Monet (France) presided as chairman at the meetings of the Council and Eric O. Baron von Boetzelaer (Netherlands) as chairman of the Executive Committee. All members of the Council were represented except Paraguay. The Dominican Republic, Peru, San Marino, the Holy See, and the United Kingdom were represented as observers. The United Nations and the United Nations specialized agencies, the High Commissioner for Refugees, the Council of Europe, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, and nongovernmental organizations interested in migration were also represented as accredited observers.

• *Mr. Warren is Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons, Department of State. He served as alternate U.S. representative to the 13th session of the ICEM Executive Committee and as principal adviser to the U.S. delegation to the 11th session of the ICEM Council.*

John W. Hanes, Jr., Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs of the Department of State, was the U.S. representative at the session of the Council. Robert S. McCollum, Deputy Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, as alternate, also represented the United States at meetings of the Executive Committee. Representative Francis E. Walter also attended as alternate U.S. representative. Senator Kenneth B. Keating, Representatives John E. Henderson and H. Allen Smith, Robert K. Gray, Secretary to the Cabinet, and Walter Sillers, Speaker of the House of Representatives of Mississippi, were other members of the U.S. delegation.

Financial Report for 1958

The financial report submitted by the Director for the year 1958, with the accompanying report of the external auditors, showed total income for administration of \$3,266,719, expenditures of \$3,195,695, and a carryover of \$71,024. Income for operations totaled \$24,291,575, expenditures were \$23,315,241, and the carryover into 1959 was \$976,331. The auditors' report made no recommendations requiring action by the Council. However, the Canadian representative questioned the adequacy of procedures of the auditors in spot checking sources outside the administration on items of accounts receivable listed in the balance sheet. The auditors replied directly that most

¹ For an article by Mr. Warren on the 10th session of the Council and the 12th session of the Executive Committee, see BULLETIN of July 13, 1959, p. 58.

of the accounts receivable involved payments by governments for operations in 1958 and that the accuracy of the items listed was adequately checked by a review of ICEM's correspondence with governments with respect to the amounts remaining unpaid on December 31, 1958. Of the total of \$2,521,825 of accounts receivable from governments on that date, \$2,060,334 had been received as of May 14, 1959. The Council adopted the report after these explanations.

Director's Report of Progress During 1959

The Director reported that of a total estimated movement of 112,670 from Europe in 1959, 81,993 had been moved by October 15. The movement of European refugees from mainland China through Hong Kong—1,375 by October 31, 1959—had been disappointing and reflected increased restrictions placed on the issuance of exit permits by the authorities on the mainland. In contrast, some 30,000 refugees had been moved overseas from Europe by the end of October, of whom 28,000 were under the mandate of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. It was expected that over 38,800 would be moved by the end of the year. Many movements of physically and socially handicapped refugees had been made possible through the response of governments to the appeals for the World Refugee Year.

The Australian Government had agreed for the first time to experiment with loans to migrants for their transport. Arrangements were already in progress to initiate the loan scheme with respect to 1,500 selected Italian migrants who were about to depart for Australia. It was planned that repayments on the loans would be collected by Australian banks for ICEM's account.

The representatives of Argentina and Brazil in commenting on the Director's report urged the administration to concentrate its attention on securing more skilled and semiskilled migrants for their countries. These are badly needed immediately in their respective economies and should receive priority in the selection of migrants, as compared with relatives of former migrants who are predominantly consumers rather than producers.

In the course of the discussion two information papers, one on "Social Security for Migrants," presented by the Italian representative, and another on "ICEM's Relations with Volun-

tary Agencies," presented by the administration, were considered and noted by the Council along with the Director's report for 1959.

Agreement on Financing Movements of Refugees

The budgets and plans of operation for 1959 and 1960 were considered together by the Council, as each budget presented essentially the same continuing problem—the raising of sufficient income to maintain the current level of movements out of Europe at approximately the level of 112,000 in each year. During the preceding 3-year period ICEM had received substantial repayments on loans for transport from refugees moved in earlier years to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. These payments were in large part concluded in 1959, and additional contributions from governments to replace this income would be needed to maintain the current level of movements. The requirements for additional income in 1959 were estimated at \$150,000 and at \$2 million for 1960.

The Executive Committee, in dealing with this problem, first explored the possibility of securing additional contributions toward the funds required to complete movements in 1959. Assisted by pledges of additional contributions of \$100,000 from Australia and \$50,000 from the Netherlands and by smaller pledges totaling approximately \$50,000 from other governments made during the session, the Executive Committee envisaged the possibility that the funds required for 1959 would be forthcoming before the end of the year after all the members of the Council had been apprised of the situation. As added assurance, however, the Executive Committee recommended, and the Council approved, the application of such funds as might be required from the contingency reserve of \$500,000 established in 1956 and 1957 to meet unusual requirements in transport income in any given year of operation.

In view of the fact that one-third of the shortfall of per capita income in meeting transport costs in 1959—approximately \$700,000—resulted from movements of refugees which had not in many instances generated compensatory per capita contributions, the Executive Committee recommended, and the Council agreed, that expenditures for the movement of normal migrants and for the movement of refugees be presented separately in the budget for 1960. The purpose of this

action was to encourage all governments to contribute to the movement of refugees in 1960, whereas emigration and immigration countries would be expected to bear the responsibility for providing adequate funds for the movement of normal migrants. In previous years Western European governments, not particularly interested in emigration from their particular countries, had refrained on grounds of principle from participating financially in ICEM's operations.

The ready acceptance by all member governments of responsibility to contribute to the movement of refugees was one of the main achievements of the session. The Council was pleased to have the assurance of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees that he would assist in every way possible to bring ICEM's needs for funds for the movement of refugees to the attention of governments during the World Refugee Year.

As one of its final actions the Council adopted a resolution appealing especially to all governments to contribute to the movement of refugees in 1960. The total cost of moving 37,000 refugees in 1960 was estimated at \$7,478,770.

The 1960 and 1961 Budgets

Governments were not prepared at the session of the Council to make firm pledges of contributions for 1960, particularly in view of the need for increased contributions. On the other hand, the Director stated that in the absence of firm pledges at the session he would be obliged to delay arrangements for movements in 1960 that were already in process in November 1959. Many governments were in turn concerned that the level of movements might thereby be reduced and were inclined to be more optimistic that adequate funds would be forthcoming to maintain the current level of movements.

This problem was finally resolved by adoption by the Council of recommendations by the Executive Committee that (1) the current level of movements be maintained by the Director during the first quarter of 1960; (2) the Executive Committee be convened in emergency session early in January 1960 to review pledges of contributions received and to adjust the plan of operations for the balance of the year as required by the income available or in sight at the time; and (3) the budget for 1960 be approved as presented by the Director with the knowledge that amendments

thereto might be required at the 12th session of the Council in April 1960 as a result of the Executive Committee review in January. The budget for 1960 adopted by the Council provided for the expenditure of \$3,089,500 for administration and \$32,261,582 for operations.

During the course of the discussion on the 1960 budget in the Council, a number of important statements bearing upon the working relations existing between the administration and their governments were made by the representatives of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, and the Netherlands. Argentina and Brazil desired that more emphasis be placed on the selection of skilled and semi-skilled migrants for their countries than on the movement of relatives joining earlier migrants. Australia and the Netherlands were concerned about maintaining the flow of migrants to or from their respective countries. The Council invited the Executive Committee to review these statements at its January meeting to determine what improvements in operations could be made in response to the respective government interventions.

The Council noted without detailed study the Director's forecast of 117,250 movements from Europe and 3,250 movements of European refugees from Hong Kong in 1961. The financial requirements for the 1961 program were estimated at \$3,100,000 for administration and \$33,273,830 for operations.

Pilot Projects

The Director reported that the training course for 10 specially selected migration officials approved by the Council at the ninth session had been successfully completed in Canada and that the officials attending the course were already back at work at their respective posts in different government administrations. He expressed the hope that a similar course could be organized within the next 2 years.

The Italian representative reported that the preparatory work for the opening of the vocational training center for migrants in Italy, also approved at the ninth session, had been completed and that over 300 migrants would soon begin actual training in preparation for emigration to Latin American countries.

Further progress was reported in the planning of the proposed farm training school for immigrants in Argentina, but action by the Council on the project was deferred at the suggestion of the

U.S. representative to provide further opportunity for the Argentine and U.S. representatives to discuss the details and possible methods of financing the project.

Ecuador Elected Member of ICEM

On recommendation of the Executive Committee, the Council unanimously elected the Government of Ecuador as a member of ICEM. Ecuador had previously agreed to accept the constitution of ICEM and to contribute 0.12 percent of ICEM's budget for administration.

Executive Committee for 1960

Following the voluntary withdrawal of Germany as a candidate for reelection to the Executive Committee in 1960 to make possible the election of Spain, the Council elected the following governments as members of the Executive Committee in 1960: Argentina, Australia, Canada, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, United States, and Venezuela. Germany stated her confident expectation that she would be re-elected in 1961 as the result of the voluntary withdrawal of some other member of the Executive Committee in that year.

The Organization of American States was added to the list of recognized observers at Council sessions by formal action of the Council.

Twelfth Session

The Council adjourned its 11th session on November 20, 1959, and accepted the invitation of the Government of Italy to convene its 12th session at Naples on or about May 5, 1960. Appropriate ceremonies commemorating the movement of the one millionth migrant from Europe under ICEM's auspices will take place during the 12th session of the Council.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

ECE Committee on Electric Power

The Department of State announced on January 22 (press release 29) that Jarvis D. Davenport, president, Sturgis Water Works Co., Sturgis, S. Dak., has been designated as the U.S.

Delegate to the 18th session of the Committee on Electric Power of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), which will convene at Geneva January 27, 1960.

The Electric Power Committee was established in 1917 and is one of the principal subsidiary bodies of the ECE. Its studies include economic questions concerning transmission of electric power and rural electrification. This session will review technical studies of the production and distribution of electric power in Europe, elect a secretariat chairman, and consider a work program for the coming year.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Economic and Social Council

- Economic Commission for Africa. Survey of Resources: Review of Geology and Mineral Investigation in Africa. Prepared by UNESCO. E/CN.14/30 and Corr. 1. December 10, 1959. 108 pp.
- Commission on Human Rights. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. Measures Taken by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the Preparation of International Instruments Relating to Discrimination in Education. E/CN.4/Sub. 2/201 and Add. 1. December 16, 1959. 28 pp.
- Commission on the Status of Women. Information Concerning the Status of Women in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Report by the Secretary-General. E/CN.6/355. December 17, 1959. 35 pp.
- Commission on the Status of Women. Consent to Marriage, Age of Marriage and Registration of Marriages. Report by the Secretary-General. E/CN.6/356. December 21, 1959. 67 pp.
- Economic Commission for Africa. Meeting of Experts on Techniques of Development Programming in Africa 30 November to 5 December 1959 in Addis Ababa. Report by Executive Secretary. E/CN.14/42. December 23, 1959. 18 pp.
- Commission on the Status of Women. Information Concerning the Status of Women in Trust Territories. E/CN.6/352/Add. 1. December 29, 1959. 9 pp.
- Commission on Human Rights. Declaration on the Right of Asylum: Comments of Governments. Note by the Secretary-General. E/CN.4/793. January 4, 1960. 7 pp.
- Commission on Human Rights. Declaration of the Right of Asylum: Comments of Non-governmental Organizations. Note by the Secretary-General. E/CN.4/794. January 6, 1960. 11 pp.
- Statistical Commission. The Standard International Trade Classification and the 1955 Brussels Tariff Nomenclature: Proposal for Combining the Two Systems. Memorandum by the Secretary-General. E/CN.3/261. January 7, 1960. 116 pp.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Aviation

Convention on international civil aviation. Done at Chicago December 7, 1944. Entered into force April 4, 1947. TIAS 1591.

Adherence deposited (with a statement): Panama, January 18, 1960.

Property

Convention for the protection of industrial property. Signed at London June 2, 1934. Entered into force August 1, 1938. 53 Stat. 1748.

Notification by Australia of extension on February 5, 1960 to: Papua, Norfolk Islands, Trust Territory of New Guinea.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1958 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1960. TIAS 4390.

Notifications of approval: Japan, November 24, 1959; Thailand, December 3, 1959; Finland, December 4, 1959.

Whaling

Amendments to paragraphs 1(a), 4(1), 5, 6(3), 7(a), 16, and 17(c) of the schedule annexed to the international whaling convention of 1946 (TIAS 1849). Adopted at the 11th meeting of the International Whaling Commission, London, June 22–July 1, 1959. Entered into force October 4, 1959, with exception of amendment to paragraph 4(1).

Entered into force: Amendment to paragraph 4(1), except for Iceland, January 3, 1960.

BILATERAL

Chile

Agreement extending agreement for a cooperative program of general geological and mineralogical investigations of the uranium resources of Chile (TIAS 3912). Effected by exchange of notes at Santiago November 18 and December 18, 1959. Entered into force December 18, 1959.

Greece

Agricultural commodities agreement under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 455; 7 U.S.C. 1701–1709), with related notes. Signed at Athens January 7, 1960. Entered into force January 7, 1960.

Japan

Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, with agreed minute and exchange of notes. Signed at Washington January 19, 1960. Enters into force on the date of exchange of ratifications.

Agreement under article VI of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security regarding facilities and areas and the status of United States armed forces in Japan, with agreed minutes and exchange of notes providing for the settlement of certain claims against the United States forces by former employees. Signed at Washington January 19, 1960. Enters into force upon exchange of notes indicating approval by the two Governments in accordance with their legal procedures and entry into force of Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. Understanding revising references to the Security Treaty of September 8, 1951 (TIAS 2491), in the mutual defense assistance agreement of March 8, 1954 (TIAS 2957). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington January 19, 1960. Enters into force on the date of entry into force of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4339. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Netherlands, amending agreement of June 22, 1956, as amended. Signed at Washington July 22, 1959. Entered into force October 30, 1959.

Defense—Loan of Vessels to China. TIAS 4340. 7 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and China, amending agreement of January 13, 1954. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taipei September 22, 1959. Entered into force September 22, 1959.

Economic Cooperation—Informational Media Guaranty Program. TIAS 4341. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea. Exchange of notes—Signed at Seoul April 4, 1958, and September 25, 1959. Entered into force September 25, 1959.

Cultural Relations. TIAS 4342. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Guinea. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington October 28, 1959. Entered into force October 28, 1959.

Grant for Procurement of Nuclear Research and Training Equipment and Materials. TIAS 4343. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Lebanon. Exchange of notes—Signed at Beirut September 16, 1959. Entered into force September 16, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4344. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Iceland, supplementing agreement of March 3, 1959. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington November 3, 1959. Entered into force November 3, 1959.

Special Economic Assistance—Transportation of Wheat in Yemen. TIAS 4346. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Yemen, supplementing agreement of June 29 and 30, 1959. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taiz October 3 and 4, 1959. Entered into force October 4, 1959.

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No.	Date	Subject
24	1/19	Herter: Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security with Japan.
25	1/19	Text of Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security with Japan.
†26	1/20	Dean: statement on law of sea conventions.
27	1/20	Merchant: "Importance of the Space Program in International Relations."
28	1/20	Merchant: departure of Premier Kishi of Japan.
29	1/22	Delegate to ECE Electric Power Committee (rewrite).
30	1/22	U.S. policy toward Iran.
†31	1/22	1964 World's Fair.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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February 15, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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The Self-Judging Aspect of the U.S. Reservation on Jurisdiction of the International Court

Following are statements made by Secretary Herter and Attorney General William P. Rogers before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on January 27 during hearings on Senate Resolution 94.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY HERTER

Press release 41 dated January 27

I am privileged to appear this morning before the committee in connection with Senate Resolution 94. This resolution, if adopted, would eliminate the self-judging aspect of the domestic-jurisdiction reservation to the United States acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Through the self-judging aspect of this reservation, the United States reserved to itself the right to determine unilaterally whether a subject matter of litigation lies essentially within its domestic jurisdiction.

The Rule of Law

I should like to begin by speaking for a moment about the general subject of the rule of law. Stated in its most simple manner, the rule of law in international affairs refers essentially to a set of arrangements within which states can settle their unresolved differences by peaceful means and without resort to force. This conception of the rule of law was stated by the late Secretary Dulles as follows:¹

We in the United States have from the very beginning of our history insisted that there is a rule of law which is above the rule of man. That concept we derived from our English forebears. But we, as well as they, played a part in its acceptance. . . .

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 23, 1959, p. 255.

Thus our Nation since its inception has been dedicated to the principle that man in his relationship with other men should be governed by moral, or natural, law. . . .

Now we carry these concepts into the international field. We believe that the results thus obtainable, though not perfect, are nevertheless generally fair and that they are preferable to any other human order that can be devised.

A most significant development of our time is the fact that for the first time, under the charter of the United Nations, there has been a determined effort to establish law and justice as the decisive and essential substitutes for force.

Let me at this point underscore the obvious proposition that the availability of impartial adjudication and resort to it cannot provide a cure for all of the problems which beset us in the realm of international affairs. One cannot eradicate poverty or disease merely by application to an international tribunal. Moreover, even with regard to those problems which, by their nature, are justiciable, it is clear that increased resort to adjudication is merely one of a number of steps necessary to promote an international atmosphere in which the exercise of force by any state is unthinkable.

The President, writing to Senator Humphrey on November 17, 1959,² stated:

One of the great purposes of this Administration has been to advance the rule of law in the world, through actions directly by the United States Government and in concert with the governments of other countries. It is open to us to further this great purpose both through optimum use of existing international institutions and through the adoption of changes and improvements in those institutions.

Our continued participation in the United Nations and other international organizations is one way

² For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, see *ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1960, p. 128.

in which we are trying to further the rule of law. As you know, we have also been actively engaged in discussions at Geneva concerning the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests.³ We are anticipating and preparing for the broader deliberations of the 10-nation Disarmament Committee which is to convene in March.⁴

International Arbitration and Adjudication

Let me turn now to the subject of international arbitration and adjudication and begin with a little of the historical background underlying the creation of the International Court of Justice as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

The late 18th and 19th centuries saw the development of a pattern of *ad hoc* arbitration in cases in which a dispute between states could not be settled through usual diplomatic channels by negotiation, conciliation, good offices, or other means. Examples of successful arbitral settlements are furnished by the resolution of disputes arising from our treaty of peace with Great Britain of 1782-1783, the United States-Canadian boundary dispute, and the *Alabama* claims.

The Hague conventions on pacific settlement of disputes, signed in 1899 and 1907, constituted the initial attempt to regularize the arbitration system. These conventions, ratified by over 50 states including the United States, created a Permanent Court of Arbitration. This Court was actually a permanent panel of arbitrators to whom states could turn when they wished to resort to arbitration. The Court possessed no defined jurisdiction, and states which were parties to the conventions did not undertake any binding obligation to consent to the arbitration of international disputes. As in the case of *ad hoc* arbitration, it was still necessary to have an arbitral agreement in each case.

The United States also entered into a number of bilateral treaty relationships providing for the arbitration of differences. Again, under these arrangements, a special agreement was required in each case for submission of a dispute to the tribunal provided for in the treaty.

The League of Nations, created after the conclusion of World War I, envisaged the creation

of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the immediate predecessor of the present International Court of Justice. The Permanent Court was quite similar to the present Court in its structure and jurisdiction. It did not possess a defined jurisdiction binding in all cases upon states which were parties to the Court's statute. Instead, article 36 of the statute contained a so-called optional clause, under which states could make declarations accepting generally the Court's jurisdiction. This arrangement constituted a significant expansion in the scope of impartial adjudication by international tribunals. The United States, however, did not become a party to the statute of the Permanent Court.

The International Court of Justice

The San Francisco conference, held in 1945 shortly before the conclusion of the Second World War, created the United Nations Organization and constituted a new court, called the International Court of Justice, as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The records of the San Francisco conference reflect an intensive and extensive debate on the question whether the new International Court should have compulsory jurisdiction over all legal disputes arising between states members of the United Nations. Although a large number of the states present at the conference asserted that the Court should have such compulsory jurisdiction, it was decided to make the jurisdiction of the Court optional.

After the charter of the United Nations came into force, it was proposed in the Senate that the United States deposit a declaration accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the new Court. Senate Resolution 196 of the 79th Congress proposed to recognize

... as compulsory ipso facto and without special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in all legal disputes hereafter arising concerning—

- a. the interpretation of a treaty ;
- b. any question of international law ;
- c. the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation ;
- d. the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

As reported by the Foreign Relations Committee,⁵

³ For a statement by the chairman of the U.S. delegation, see *ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1960, p. 79.

⁴ For background, see *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 45.

⁵ S. Rept. 1835, 79th Cong., 2d sess.

Resolution 196 further provided that the declaration should not apply to:

a. disputes the solution of which the parties shall entrust to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future; or

b. disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States; or

c. disputes arising under a multilateral treaty, unless (1) all parties to the treaty affected by the decision are also parties to the case before the Court, or (2) the United States specially agrees to jurisdiction.

The resolution further provided that the declaration should remain in force for a period of 5 years and thereafter until the expiration of 6 months after notice of its termination.

The Self-Judging Reservation

During consideration of the resolution in the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator [Warren R.] Austin suggested that the provision withholding jurisdiction over domestic disputes be amended so as to include a self-judging reservation similar to the subsequent proposal made by Senator [Tom] Connally on the floor of the Senate. However, Senator Austin's proposal was rejected by the committee, and Resolution 196 was unanimously reported by the committee for favorable Senate action without any self-judging reservation.

The Senate began its consideration of S. Res. 196 on July 31, 1946. Shortly thereafter Senator Connally introduced his amendment, which added the words "as determined by the United States" at the end of proviso "b" of S. Res. 196, so that it would read:

disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States *as determined by the United States*.

He stated his view that such a self-judging domestic-jurisdiction reservation was necessary because the International Court might take a dangerously broad view of what was an international question and thus interfere with U.S. policy on immigration, tariffs, and matters relating to the Panama Canal. Senator Connally's amendment was adopted, and the United States, within these limits, declared itself bound by the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.⁶

⁶ For text of the declaration, see BULLETIN of Sept. 8, 1946, p. 452.

Experience With the Reservation

Criticism of the amendment was soon voiced in the United States. And it became apparent with the passage of time and the gaining of experience that the self-judging aspect of our domestic-jurisdiction reservation was disadvantageous to the United States.

In 1946 and 1947 the American Bar Association adopted resolutions urging elimination of the proviso reserving to the United States the unilateral right of determination as to what constitutes a matter essentially within its domestic jurisdiction.

The assertion by the United States that, in every case arising within the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, it reserved the unilateral right to determine whether the subject fell within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States—and thus lay beyond the jurisdiction of the Court—set an example of supercaution which was subsequently copied by several other countries. Mexico, France, Liberia, the Union of South Africa, India, Pakistan, and the Sudan proceeded to condition their acceptances of compulsory jurisdiction with self-judging domestic reservations. A similar action was taken by the United Kingdom in excluding from the Court's jurisdiction disputes which the United Kingdom determined to relate to questions affecting its national security or that of its dependent territories.

This pattern, fortunately, did not become very widespread. Indeed, the trend has more recently been reversed, with India, the United Kingdom, and France reconsidering and dropping their self-judging reservations.

Next, I should like to call attention to another unfortunate effect of the self-judging reservation. It is now apparent that a nation which has such a self-judging reservation may have seriously limited its own ability to take other nations into the Court. This is illustrated by the *Norwegian Loans* case,⁷ which was decided by the International Court of Justice in 1957.

Norway had floated public loans in France at the turn of the century. The bonds contained a promise to repay in gold or its equivalent. After devaluation of the Norwegian currency, a dispute arose as to whether Norway had to comply with the gold clause. The parties could not agree, and since Norway had accepted the compulsory juris-

⁷ I.C.J. Rept. 9 (1957).

diction of the Court in 1946 and France in 1949, the French Government instituted proceedings against Norway by application in 1955.

The French acceptance of the Court's jurisdiction contained a self-judging reservation very similar to our own. The French declaration excluded "differences relating to matters which are essentially within the national jurisdiction as understood by the Government of the French Republic." The Norwegian declaration contained no such reservation. Norway filed objections to the jurisdiction of the Court. One of these was based on the self-judging reservation of France, which Norway contended she was entitled to invoke on the basis of reciprocity. Norway claimed that the manner of repayment of the bonds was a matter essentially within the national jurisdiction of Norway, as understood by Norway. The Court upheld Norway's right to invoke her adversary's self-judging reservation and accordingly determined that it lacked jurisdiction.

It is clear that this type of reservation is inconsistent with the deeply rooted notion that no one should be a judge in his own cause. Moreover, a self-judging reservation is incompatible with the sixth paragraph of article 36 of the statute of the Court, which provides that

In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Perhaps a reason for our insistence in 1946 upon a self-judging reservation may have lain in lack of experience with the new Court in operation and a fear that it might construe its jurisdiction expansively. Now we are able to see, in looking back over the 14 years which have elapsed since 1946, that the Court has acted conservatively in the matter of jurisdiction.

Deletion of our self-judging reservation will not operate to give the International Court jurisdiction of domestic matters. There should be no misapprehension on this score. With the removal of the self-judging proviso, our declaration would continue to be subject to the reservation that it is *not* applicable to:

. . . disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America.

Secondly, article 36, paragraph 2, of the statute

of the Court specifically provides for compulsory jurisdiction only in *legal* disputes concerning:

- a. the interpretation of a treaty;
- b. any question of international law;
- c. the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- d. the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

Domestic issues are clearly beyond this jurisdiction.

Matters relating to immigration, tariffs, and the Panama Canal—mentioned in the Senate debates concerning the self-judging reservation—would not be held by the Court to be subjects of international concern, except insofar as the United States had entered into international agreements concerning them. Furthermore, even where matters relating to these subjects have been incorporated in treaties and other international agreements, the record of United States policy and action is such that we need not fear the availability of recourse to impartial international adjudication.

Thirdly, article 2(7) of the charter of the United Nations, upon which the Court's statute is predicated, provides the limitation that:

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter. . . .

Conclusions

If the Senate adopts Senate Resolution 94, the administration intends to urge other states having self-judging reservations to eliminate them. As the President said in his message on the state of the Union⁵ earlier this month,

There is pending before the Senate a resolution which would repeal our present self-judging reservation. I support that resolution and urge its prompt passage. If this is done, I intend to urge similar acceptance of the Court's jurisdiction by every member of the United Nations.

Indeed, it should be noted that the removal of our self-judging reservation would be consistent with the constructive steps recently taken by three leading free-world countries. On November 26, 1958, the United Kingdom deleted its self-judging reservation, which related to security matters.

⁵ BULLETIN OF JAN. 25, 1960, p. 11.

More recently on July 10, 1959, France filed a new declaration omitting its previous self-judging reservation. On September 14, 1959, India deposited a new declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction which, similarly, did not repeat a self-judging reservation. Once we have acted to strike our own self-judging clause, we will be in a vastly stronger position to seek the goal recently stated by the President.

As I said at the beginning of my testimony, development of a working rule of law in the world, displacing resort to force, is a supreme goal for the community of nations. We believe that increased availability of international adjudication, and the use of this means of pacific settlement, can make a meaningful contribution to the total effort of United States foreign policy.

The Department of State and the administration as a whole strongly support Senate Resolution 94. We hope for its early adoption.

STATEMENT BY ATTORNEY GENERAL ROGERS

I appreciate the opportunity to appear today to testify in support of S. Res. 94. That resolution would revise our 1946 acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice to eliminate the self-judging aspect only of our reservation of domestic matters from the Court's jurisdiction.

On June 8, 1959, the Department reported on this resolution and recommended its adoption. In his state of the Union message of January 7, 1960, the President stated his support of the resolution and urged its prompt passage. This morning, I understand, the Department of State has reviewed comprehensively the background of the resolution, its relation to the fundamental objectives of our foreign policy, and the necessity for its early passage to effectuate that policy. The Department of Justice is in full accord with the Department of State, and I shall not retrace this ground.

In 1946 the United States accepted the jurisdiction of the Court, as defined and limited in the Court's statute, but upon several conditions. One of those conditions specifically reserved from the Court's jurisdiction

disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America as determined by the United States of America.

The pending resolution would accord the advice and consent of the Senate to the elimination of the self-judging aspect of that reservation, embodied in the phrase "as determined by the United States of America."

It would not—and I underline this, as I believe there has been some misunderstanding concerning it—in any way alter our specific reservation from the Court's jurisdiction of disputes with regard to domestic matters. It would only clearly and plainly make the Court the judge of its own jurisdiction. This is fully in accord with the provision of article 36(6) of the Court's statute, to which we are a party. That section provides,

In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Soundness of Committee's Recommendation

You will recall that in 1946 this committee unanimously recommended against the inclusion of the self-judging reservation. This was done advisedly and deliberately.

The committee rested its recommendation principally on the grounds that: (1) The ultimate purpose of the resolution was to lead to general worldwide acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court in legal cases and that "a reservation of the right of decision as to what are matters essentially within domestic jurisdiction would tend to defeat the purposes which it is hoped to achieve by means of the proposed declaration"; (2) that the jurisdiction of the Court by definition was strictly limited to international matters and necessarily excluded domestic matters; (3) that if the question whether a matter was international or domestic "were left to the decision of each individual state, it would be possible to withhold any case from adjudication on the plea that it is a matter of domestic jurisdiction"; and (4) that "it is plainly the intention of the statute that such questions should be decided by the Court."

Adverse Effects of Self-Judging Reservation

Although the unanimous committee recommendation was rejected, the soundness of its view has been confirmed by experience.

First, the self-judging aspect of our reservation has tended to create doubt in the international community of the good faith of our declared in-

tention to accept the jurisdiction of the Court. So long as we insist on its retention it will be difficult to dissipate that doubt.

Second, the action of the United States in adopting a self-judging reservation set an unfortunate example which was followed by several other nations. Three of these, however, have recently dropped this type of reservation.

Third, it is, nevertheless, worth noting that more than 30 free nations have accepted the Court's statutory jurisdiction without similar reservation.

Fourth, on the basis of reciprocity, a nation, even one without a similar reservation, may be able to invoke our reservation so as to defeat the Court's jurisdiction. In the *Norwegian Loans* case, on a complaint brought against Norway by France, Norway successfully invoked France's self-judging reservation to defeat the Court's jurisdiction at the threshold. In the ever-broadening context of our worldwide interests such a result is patently inimical to those interests.

Fifth, the reservation is at war with several of our basic concepts for which we seek universal acceptance. Those concepts are that no nation shall act as judge in its own case and that a court, and not a litigant, should have the right to determine at the threshold of a case whether or not the court has jurisdiction to decide the case.

The adverse effects which were foreseen by the committee have materialized since the adoption of the reservation. The basic argument advanced, both when the reservation was initially under consideration and now, is that the reservation is necessary in order to preclude the Court from exercising a domestic jurisdiction over matters, such as immigration, tariffs, and the Panama Canal, not granted to it. It was urged, too, that this danger was enhanced because of the uncertain quality of the judges and the absence of a well-defined body of international law to be applied by the Court.

Reservation Unwarranted by Experience With Court

When the Court was new, no evidence was available to test the validity of these assumptions. Now, after 14 years of experience with the Court, these grounds do not withstand objective examination.

Although the operation of the Court has been

under close international and national scrutiny,⁹ it has not been suggested that the Court has sought to extend its jurisdiction in any case beyond the limits of its statutory grant in order to deal with matters of domestic jurisdiction.

No evidence has been adduced that any of the judges do not meet the high qualifications prescribed for the office by the Court's statute, nor has there been any evidence that the relevant principles of international law have been ascertained or applied by the Court in any different way than our own courts perform the same functions.

In short, there has been no supported challenge to either the fairness of the procedures of the Court or the integrity of its decisions. It seems fair to say that courts, like other human institutions, should be judged by their performance. On the basis of performance, fears of usurpation of domestic jurisdiction seem unfounded.

The self-judging aspect of our reservation has proved inconsistent with, and harmful to, our fundamental purpose: to encourage the rule of law through the judicial settlement of legal disputes between nations. Our reservation in this respect is unwarranted by our 14 years of experience with the Court in operation. The Department of Justice therefore renews the recommendation that this part of the reservation be eliminated at the earliest possible date.

King and Queen of Nepal To Visit United States in April

White House press release dated January 28

The White House announced on January 28 that Their Majesties King Mahendra and Queen Ratna of Nepal, who recently accepted the President's invitation to visit the United States, are scheduled to arrive at Washington on April 27.

Their Majesties will remain in Washington until the morning of April 30, when they will depart on an extensive tour of the United States.

⁹ See *Report on the Self-Judging Aspect of the United States' Domestic Jurisdiction Reservation With Respect to the International Court of Justice*, American Bar Association, Section of International and Comparative Law (August 1959) and bibliography therein.

Peace With Justice in Freedom

by Andrew H. Berding

*Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs*¹

The American people and Government sincerely desire peace. They are eager to work for peace. They are honestly determined to carry out any agreements that might be reached for peace.

This peace of which we speak must, however, be peace with honor. This, to me, has three requirements, all of them interrelated:

that we preserve our national security;

that we help preserve the security of the free world;

that we support the right of all peoples to choose for themselves the form of political, economic, and social system under which they wish to live.

Peace with honor will not be achieved if we sacrifice or blur any one of these three requirements.

This new year, the first of a new decade, will be historic in testing whether peace with justice in freedom is possible in the foreseeable future. President Eisenhower will go in May to Paris for the summit meeting with Chairman Khrushchev. He will go in June to Moscow for further talks with Mr. Khrushchev.

The forthcoming summit conference may not produce final decisions on the great problems which divide the world. We do not believe these can be settled at a blow by any conference. Rather, we should expect these problems will be the subject of a series of conferences, such as the leaders of Britain, France, and the United States have proposed to Mr. Khrushchev, and of efforts below the summit level, such as the nuclear-test-

ing conference and the 10-nation disarmament conference.

Although realistically we shall not go to this initial summit meeting with great expectations, nevertheless it should be valuable in probing Soviet intentions and attitudes.

In recent months, and particularly after Mr. Khrushchev's return from his visit to the United States, we have noted a partial change in Soviet tactics. The Soviets have seemed somewhat more amenable, less aggressive, more relaxed, less provocative.

It has therefore seemed logical to us and our allies that an attempt should be made at a summit conference to see whether this different approach offers a prospect for beginning, at least, to settle some of the major issues outstanding with the Soviet Union. These include disarmament, Germany including Berlin, and a number of items under the overall heading of East-West relations.

The Western Powers have begun intensive work in preparation for the summit meeting. No effort will be spared to arrive at Western positions which will offer fair and honest bases for agreement.

But, while Soviet tactics seem to have changed, we have been able thus far to detect no change whatever in Soviet ultimate ambitions—the creation of a Communist world. Chairman Khrushchev, in a number of statements even after he returned from the United States, has helped us to keep this in mind. He has missed no occasion to insist upon the inevitability of the triumph of communism over the free world and upon his determination to bring this about.

True, he has recently emphasized that this will not be done through war. The Soviet Union's progress in nuclear weapons and missiles may

¹ Address made before the Women's Forum on National Security at Washington, D.C., on Jan. 29 (press release 46).

have had one good result. It may have impressed upon the Soviet rulers the horrible destructiveness of modern weapons. They know that in a major war the Soviet Union would suffer devastation many, many times greater than the terrible losses they experienced in the last war. Therefore the thesis of Lenin that war is necessary to overcome capitalism has evidently been modified.

But the conflict will be waged just the same and with the same intensity as if it were military. The battlefields will be political, economic, psychological. There is every reason to believe that the Soviets will employ all means possible to triumph in all these fields.

Meaning of "Peaceful Coexistence"

This is what is meant by the Soviets when they speak of "peaceful coexistence"—a phrase used very often by Chairman Khrushchev during his visit to the United States. It is peaceful only in the sense that it implies no shooting war. All its other connotations are of conflict—conflict between two opposing camps, constant battle for victory of one over the other, ultimate total triumph and ultimate total defeat.

In a speech at Novosibirsk on October 10, 1959, Chairman Khrushchev said: "Coexistence is the extension of the struggle of two social systems. . . . We believe this is an economic, political and ideological struggle but not a military struggle." If this is the meaning of peaceful coexistence, can we take seriously Mr. Khrushchev's call for an end to the "cold war"? Certainly the American people and Government would welcome a genuine Soviet move to end the cold-war policy which lies at the root of the present disagreement between East and West and to replace it with a policy of peaceful cooperation with the rest of the world. But if the emphasis from Moscow is continually on struggle, struggle, struggle, can we believe that Mr. Khrushchev is sincere when he proclaims the end of the cold war?

The Communist reasoning goes something like this:

First, the capitalist and Communist systems (by capitalism the Soviets mean the definition given it by Marx, thus ignoring the developments of the last century) are inherently antagonistic. Their mutual struggle represents the working of an historical process.

Second, the Communist camp is not powerful enough at present to overwhelm the capitalist camp by frontal assault. At the same time the Communist camp has become so powerful that the capitalist camp can no longer overthrow it through war. Therefore the two systems will peacefully coexist until there is a decisive weakening of the capitalist camp or a decisive strengthening of the Communist camp.

Third, since the Communist system represents the wave of the future, its components cannot secede. In other words, condemnation for Yugoslavia and no independence for the satellites.

Fourth, the free flow of non-Communist ideas within the bloc is forbidden because they are poisonous; but the free world should give full access to Communist ideas because they are progressive.

Fifth, competition between the Communist system and the capitalist system can take place only outside the Communist camp, especially in less developed countries. Those countries where the capitalist system has not developed spontaneously should be helped by the bloc to bypass the capitalist stage and proceed directly to communism.

Sixth, the promotion of communism on a worldwide scale is a sacred responsibility of the pre-eminent Soviet Communist Party, as well as all Communist parties. This, however, does not represent interference in the internal affairs of other countries by the Soviet state.

This is the meaning of peaceful coexistence in the Soviet lexicon, and we need to keep it constantly in mind.

Peaceful coexistence seems to be the only concept available to the Soviets for explaining the prolonged existence of the capitalist system. More than a century ago Karl Marx predicted the collapse of capitalism. But now, lo and behold, in the second half of the 20th century, what Marx called capitalism has disappeared. In its place a great variety of systems, combining in various degrees democratic political forms and mixed economic forms, flourish around the world. In other countries new combinations are evolving, often painfully. Marx's theory, meanwhile, has nowhere proven itself in practice and has everywhere been discarded by life itself. Despite his prediction that the few would become wealthier and the many poorer, the opposite has proven true in countries which have maintained their democratic ways of life.

The United States and the free world generally would warmly welcome an improvement of their relations with the Soviet Union. We shall leave not the smallest pebble unturned to see if this is possible. We are at all times willing to meet the Soviet Government halfway, and then a little more, to achieve true peace.

Friendship Between Russian and American Peoples

There has been traditional friendship between the Russian and the American peoples. We have long cherished Russian music and literature, we admired Russian bravery and resistance in the last war, we appreciate Russian achievements in science. It is tragic that real peace does not exist between our two peoples.

Certainly there is no quarrel between the American people and the peoples of the Soviet Union. Don't we all want the same thing: self-improvement, a better life for our children, justice, an honest reward for honest labor, and the right to enjoy the fruits of what we have helped create?

The best hope for true peace lies in the prospect that modifications in Soviet behavior ultimately will develop.

What are the true bases for a just and lasting peace, for the free development of each people which is the essential condition for the free development of all? They are tolerance and good-neighborliness, honest and voluntary cooperation by all nations for the good of all, equal justice under law for all nations, respect for the fundamental human rights and for the dignity and worth of man and the equality of all nations, large and small.

Implicit in these principles is abandonment by the Soviet Union of the concept of two hostile camps and acceptance of the concept of one world. In that one world there would continue to be, as always, diverse national cultural and political and social systems, but these would not exist in a perpetual state of nonshooting warfare.

The United States is prepared to do its full part to put these principles into practice. For example, if the Soviet Union were prepared to agree to real independence for the countries of Eastern Europe, President Eisenhower has made it clear that the United States would not seek military alliances with them, would not try in any way to turn them against the Soviet Union,

and indeed would want them to have friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

President Eisenhower pointed out the right way in his address to the American people on December 23 last.² In contrast to the overtones of implacable struggle contained in peaceful co-existence, please listen to these ringing words of the President:

Our concept of the good life for humanity does not require an inevitable conflict between peoples and systems, in which one must triumph over the other. Nor does it offer merely a bare coexistence as a satisfactory state for mankind. . . .

We believe that history, the record of human living, is a great and broad stream into which should pour the richness and diversity of many cultures, from which emerge ideas and practices, ideals and purposes, valid for all. We believe each people of the human family, even the least in number and the most primitive, can contribute something to a developing world embracing all peoples, enhancing the good of all peoples.

Madam Chairman, that is the true American concept of the brotherhood of nations and peoples.

Forthcoming Negotiations

We are now in the course of what may prove long negotiations with the Soviet Union. The negotiations of the United Kingdom and the United States with the Soviet Union on the suspension of nuclear testing have been going on for well over a year. The disarmament negotiations which begin on March 15 may conceivably last for several years. The series of summit conferences proposed by Presidents Eisenhower and de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan, and accepted by Chairman Khrushchev, may likewise continue for years.

There is nothing easy and nothing rapid in negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Three points, therefore, should constantly be kept in mind:

One is the need for patience and realism. We must not demand that our leaders rush quickly into agreements with Mr. Khrushchev simply for the sake of having agreements. We must not expect too much from each stage of negotiation. The issues that divide the two sides are hard and deep, the philosophies are wide apart.

The second is the need to preserve the unity of the free world. In these months of preparation

² BULLETIN of JAN. 18, 1960, p. 75.

for the East-West summit meeting, I venture to predict that we will be reading all sorts of reports about all sorts of conflicts among the Western allies—cleavages, differences, dissensions, splits, divisions, clashes, oppositions, breaches, ruptures, breakdowns, breakups, breakaparts, breakoffs, breakaways, and what have you. There are some more words I might think of, but I won't bore you with them; you will see them in the news reports. Conflict, or the mere suspicion of it, makes news more easily than agreement.

In the preparation of various important positions it is inevitable that different points of view will be expressed and urged. It is one of the strengths of the free world that its members can advance varying points of view in the process of reaching accord. At this time last year we were preparing for the East-West foreign ministers conference at Geneva, and there were innumerable stories concentrating on cleavages among the allies. But when the Western foreign ministers met in Paris 10 days before the opening of the Geneva conference, these differing points of view had been ironed out, or were ironed out by the ministers themselves, and the Western ministers went to Geneva with an agreed-upon forward-looking position, worked out in great detail. I predict the same thing will happen again.

A third point to keep in mind is that as we search for equitable solutions that will conduce to true peace we must maintain strong defenses. Weakness on our part will not serve the cause of peace or of freedom and justice. It will undermine our negotiating position and make agreement more difficult. Almost as bad would be an appearance of weakness leading to the Soviets' assumption that we were neglecting our military defenses. Until enforceable and properly safeguarded agreements are reached, the military capability of the United States and our allies must be kept at a manifestly adequate level.

Soviet "Disarmament" Announcement

At present the Soviet Union propaganda apparatus is engaged in a campaign to put across Chairman Khrushchev's announcement on January 14 that the Soviet Government intended to reduce its armed forces over the next 1 or 2 years by 1.2 million men. It should be remembered that in the same announcement Mr. Khrushchev declared that total Soviet armed might would not

only *not* be diminished but, because of the development and production of rockets, would in fact increase.

The Soviet so-called "disarmament" equation therefore runs something like this: From 3.6 million men, which they have now, deduct 1.2 million while adding the equivalent in missile firepower of, say, 1.5 million. The Soviet Government tells the rest of the world this is disarmament. It reassures its own people, and particularly the military bureaucracy, that this is increased firepower. Everybody should be happy.

And then Soviet propaganda calls on other states to reduce their armed forces in emulation of the Soviet example. But it does not say to them, at the same time increase your overall military might. And it blandly ignores the root of the whole problem, that it was Soviet actions over the past 15 years which impelled the West to build up its armed forces after it had disbanded the great forces with which World War II was fought.

Role of Chinese Communists

Here I should like to add another word of caution. I very much fear that, in our concentration of attention on the forthcoming summit conference with Chairman Khrushchev, we shall forget another part of the world where the issues likewise are hard and deep, where the dangers are constant. I refer to the Far East.

Though there has been some lessening of tension as between Western nations and the Soviet Union, there has been no lessening of tension which the Chinese Communists are continuing to maintain in Asia. The Chinese Communist rulers still breathe fire and fury, still keep Americans imprisoned, still refuse to renounce force as an instrument of policy, still reject the reunification of Korea, still exert their evil influence against their neighbors, still portray the United States as their Enemy Number One—as they did even before they came to power in 1949. The 95th meeting between our Ambassador in Warsaw and the Chinese Communist Ambassador there took place last week, and we are just as far apart as ever.

We gain the vivid impression that the Chinese Communist rulers are reluctant to see Chairman Khrushchev engage in conversations with the Western leaders. They appear to fear he is weakening in what they think should be a merciless fight against the free world. They seem to feel,

and resent, that they are being left out of the councils of the great. But at the same time they insist that the rest of the world accept their standards rather than the reverse.

Elsewhere in the Far East the situation has distinctly improved. The last decade has seen real progress achieved in the Far East. There has been an awakening of Asian awareness to the real dangers of the Communist threat. Communist China's own actions in Tibet and against India have vividly illustrated these dangers.

The independence and freedom of our Asian friends has been maintained through our individual and collective security efforts. Our economic aid programs are helping their peoples toward a better material life. The new decade we have just entered should see further progress in economic, social, and political endeavors to meet the basic aspirations of Asian nationalism.

Last week there occurred an event of profound significance to the Pacific area, Asia, and the world—the signing of the treaty of mutual cooperation and security between Japan and the United States.³ This treaty set the seal of friendship upon the partnership for peace of the two nations. With the cooperation of the virile, ingenious, forward-looking Japanese people, we can look with greater confidence toward increased stability and economic betterment in the area.

Madam Chairman, this is the first month of a new decade which should prove decisive for the future of the world. This initial year of the decade promises to be an extraordinarily busy one, probably an augury of the whole decade. This year should give us further evidences of the astounding benefits science can bring to mankind if only good sense, restraint, tolerance, and consideration for others is manifest throughout the world.

My own hunch is that we shall have peace. This can be the uncertain, unreal peace we have now, or it can be true peace with justice. We shall never cease to assert that the former is not good enough for the men, women, and children who inhabit this globe. We shall continue unceasingly to work honorably for the latter. For it is the only basis on which mankind can prosper and be truly happy.

³ For text of the treaty, together with a communique and other related documents, see *ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1960, p. 179.

What we want and what the peoples of all the world want are much the same things. We want to construct a better world for our children, one in which they can live in security against war, privation, ignorance, and injustice. We want a world in which each nation can freely contribute its ideas and the benefit of its experience to others and can as freely draw upon the ideas and experiences of other nations. We want to cooperate with other peoples in building an international order in which each can realize its national ambitions without exploiting or threatening the well-being of others. Nations with different economic, political, and social systems, we believe, can work together fruitfully for common goals if they accept the principles of the U.N. Charter: tolerance for other nations' ways of life and voluntary cooperation for the good of all.

U.S. Restates Policy Toward Cuba

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

White House press release dated January 26

Secretary Herter and I have been giving careful consideration to the problem of relations between the Governments of the United States and Cuba. Ambassador [Philip W.] Bonsal, who is currently in Washington, shared in our discussions. We have been, for many months, deeply concerned and perplexed at the steady deterioration of those relations,¹ reflected especially by recent public statements by Prime Minister Castro of Cuba as well as by statements in official publicity organs of the Cuban Government. These statements contain unwarranted attacks on our Government and on our leading officials. These attacks involve serious charges, none of which, however, has been the subject of formal representations by the Government of Cuba to our Government. We believe these charges to be totally unfounded.

We have prepared a restatement of our policy toward Cuba, a country with whose people the people of the United States have enjoyed and expect to continue to enjoy a firm and mutually beneficial friendship.

The United States Government adheres strictly

¹ For Department statements concerning U.S.-Cuba relations, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 715, and Feb. 1, 1960, p. 158.

to the policy of nonintervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, including Cuba. This policy is incorporated in our treaty commitments as a member of the Organization of American States.

Second, the United States Government has consistently endeavored to prevent illegal acts in territory under its jurisdiction directed against other governments. United States law enforcement agencies have been increasingly successful in the prevention of such acts. The United States record in this respect compares very favorably with that of Cuba, from whose territory a number of invasions directed against other countries have departed during the past year, in several cases attended with serious loss of life and property damage in the territory of those other countries. The United States authorities will continue to enforce United States laws, including those which reflect commitments under inter-American treaties, and hope that other governments will act similarly. Our Government has repeatedly indicated that it will welcome any information from the Cuban Government or from other governments regarding incidents occurring within their jurisdiction or notice which would be of assistance to our law enforcement agencies in this respect.

Third, the United States Government views with increasing concern the tendency of spokesmen of the Cuban Government, including Prime Minister Castro, to create the illusion of aggressive acts and conspiratorial activities aimed at the Cuban Government and attributed to United States officials or agencies. The promotion of unfounded illusions of this kind can hardly facilitate the development, in the real interest of the two peoples, of relations of understanding and confidence between their Governments. The United States Government regrets that its earnest efforts over the past year to establish a basis for such understanding and confidence have not been reciprocated.

Fourth, the United States Government, of course, recognizes the right of the Cuban Government and people in the exercise of their national sovereignty to undertake those social, economic, and political reforms which, with due regard for their obligations under international law, they may think desirable. This position has frequently been stated, and it reflects a real under-

standing of and sympathy with the ideals and aspirations of the Cuban people. Similarly, the United States Government and people will continue to assert and to defend, in the exercise of their own sovereignty, their legitimate interests.

Fifth, the United States Government believes that its citizens have made constructive contributions to the economies of other countries by means of their investments and their work in those countries and that such contributions, taking into account changing conditions, can continue on a mutually satisfactory basis. The United States Government will continue to bring to the attention of the Cuban Government any instances in which the rights of its citizens under Cuban law and under international law have been disregarded and in which redress under Cuban law is apparently unavailable or denied. In this connection it is the hope of the United States Government that differences of opinion between the two Governments in matters recognized under international law as subject to diplomatic negotiations will be resolved through such negotiations. In the event that disagreements between the two Governments concerning this matter should persist, it would be the intention of the United States Government to seek solutions through other appropriate international procedures.

The above points seem to me to furnish reasonable bases for a workable and satisfactory relationship between our two sovereign countries. I should like only to add that the United States Government has confidence in the ability of the Cuban people to recognize and defeat the intrigues of international communism which are aimed at destroying democratic institutions in Cuba and the traditional and mutually beneficial friendship between the Cuban and American peoples.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR BONSAI²

I am proceeding to Washington for consultations with the Secretary of State and officers of the Department on our relations with the Government of Cuba. I do not know how long I will be in Washington. As you know, I was here earlier this month for the same purpose. My second trip in a very few weeks is due to the

²Made at Idlewild Airport, New York, N.Y., on Jan. 23 (press release 36 dated Jan. 25).

highly regrettable deterioration of the relations between our Government and the Government of Cuba. Recent public statements by the Prime Minister of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro, and statements in official publicity organs of the Cuban Government have contained unwarranted attacks on our Government and on our leading officials, including the Vice President and the Secretary of State. The situation created by those attacks will be the topic of my consultations in Washington.

However, in these consultations I will bear constantly in mind the traditional and very lively friendship and affection which exist between the Cuban and American peoples. During my year in Cuba I have had, in my capacity as a representative of the United States Government, many heartening evidences of that friendship and of its indestructibility.

I will also, in these consultations, be mindful of and sympathetic with the legitimate ideals and aspirations of the Cuban people and of their desire for improved living conditions. I believe that those aspirations and ideals are similar to our own and that the people of Cuba, like our own, have faith in the methods of democracy for their achievement.

I believe furthermore that steady social and economic progress in Cuba is not inconsistent with a due regard for the rights of private American interests there, since those interests have, generally speaking, made highly constructive contributions to the island's economy.

United States-Soviet Lend-Lease Talks Discontinued

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT

Press release 42 dated January 27

A profound difference of opinion has become apparent between the Soviet and U.S. Governments concerning the terms of reference of the negotiations which began January 11, 1960, on the unsettled Soviet lend-lease account. Following the conversations at Camp David,¹ it had been the understanding of the U.S. Government that these

¹For text of a joint communique released at the conclusion of talks between Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower at Camp David, Md., see BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

negotiations were to deal with the lend-lease settlement as a separate and independent problem. In conformity with this understanding the United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union [Llewellyn E. Thompson] sent a note to the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs on December 7, 1959, in which, after referring to "the September meetings between President Eisenhower and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., N. S. Khrushchev, at which time the Chairman agreed to a resumption of negotiations for a settlement of lend-lease," it was proposed that such negotiations begin in Washington on January 11, 1960.

In his reply of December 22, 1959, Mr. [Andrei A.] Gromyko appeared to confirm this understanding by stating that the Soviet Government "is prepared to begin negotiations in Washington on January 11, 1960 for settling the question of Lend-Lease" and by making no reference to any other subject of negotiation in this connection. However, when the negotiations actually began on January 11, 1960, it was the position of the Soviet Government that a lend-lease settlement could not be considered as a separate and independent problem but that any settlement of this question would have to be accompanied by the simultaneous conclusion of a trade agreement giving most-favored-nation treatment to the Soviet Union and the extension of long-term credits on acceptable terms to the Soviet Union. Charles E. Bohlen, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, who has represented the U.S. in these negotiations, explained during their course why the U.S. Government is not in a position at this time to negotiate on either of these subjects.

In explaining the U.S. position and in conformity with the discussions at Camp David, Mr. Bohlen made it plain that a satisfactory lend-lease settlement was an essential prerequisite before the executive branch could take up with Congress the possibility of removing some of the existing legislative restrictions which have an effect upon Soviet-U.S. trade.

The current Soviet position that a lend-lease settlement must be accompanied by simultaneous conclusion of a trade agreement and the extension of long-term credits, nevertheless, has remained unchanged.

In addition this position was further reaffirmed in most definite form by Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a conversation on January 19 with Ambassador Thompson in Mos-

cow. In view of the absence of agreement between the two Governments concerning the terms of reference of these negotiations, there would appear to be no common ground for their continuance at this time.

The U.S. Government, however, is prepared to resume negotiations for a lend-lease settlement at any time that the Soviet Government is prepared to negotiate on this as a separate and independent question.

NOTES SETTING UP NEGOTIATIONS

U.S. Note of December 7

AMERICAN EMBASSY, Moscow, December 7, 1959

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the September meetings between President Eisenhower and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., N. S. Khrushchev, at which time the Chairman agreed to a resumption of negotiations for a settlement of lend-lease.

I am instructed to state that the Government of the United States is prepared to undertake such negotiations, and proposes that they begin in Washington on January 11, 1960. Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen will conduct the negotiations for the United States.

A reply to the early convenience of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as to whether it is agreeable to this proposal, and as to whom it will designate to conduct the negotiations for its side, would be appreciated.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

LLEWELLYN E. THOMPSON

His Excellency

ANDREI A. GROMYKO

Minister of Foreign Affairs

of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Soviet Reply of December 22

Unofficial translation

Moscow, 22 December 1959

MR. AMBASSADOR: In acknowledging receipt of your note of December 7, 1959, I have the honor to state that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is prepared to begin negotiations in Washington on January 11, 1960 for settling the question of Lend-Lease. The representative of the Soviet Union at these negotiations will be M. A. Menshikov, Soviet Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in the United States.

I beg you to accept, Mr. Ambassador, the assurances of my high esteem.

A. GROMYKO

His Excellency

MR. LLEWELLYN E. THOMPSON,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America

The Rural Community in a Worldwide Setting

by Robert H. Thayer¹

I am going to ask you to concentrate your special strength, your initiative, your enthusiasm, and your energy to the job that I believe is the most important job in the world today—important for you and for me and for our children and grandchildren and all who come after them.

It is the job of establishing international mutual understanding between the people of America and the peoples of the new, sensitive areas of the world. If that job can be done and done well, there can be lasting peace in the world and peace with justice, freedom, and dignity for the individual. Since I spent 2½ years in the Communist-dictated country of Rumania,² I know only too well that peace without justice, freedom, and dignity for the individual is not peace at all and that a life under such a peace is not worth living.

What does international mutual understanding mean? It isn't complicated; it is very simple. It means getting to know people from foreign lands, the way they live, the way they dress, what they eat, what they do, the things they produce and how they produce them, and the way they think and how they express their thoughts in words or song or story. It means finding out what makes them tick and helping them to learn what makes you tick. It means recognizing that people from foreign lands have different ways of doing things and because their ways are different from yours doesn't mean that they are wrong. What may be wrong for you may be right for them and vice versa. Their customs, their reactions, their likes and dislikes won't be the same as yours; but blood runs in their veins, they are happy or sad, they laugh or they cry, they are bold or afraid, exactly as you and I are. And since they are human beings like you and me, they are perfectly understandable to you and me and perfectly capable of understanding you or me. And let me emphasize this point. Mutual understanding does

¹ Address made before Ruritan National at Louisville, Ky., on Jan. 25 (press release 33). Mr. Thayer is Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for the Coordination of International Educational and Cultural Relations.

² Mr. Thayer was American Minister to Rumania from August 1955 to December 1957.

not have to be mutual liking or mutual admiration. You need not like or admire someone to understand him. If you understand someone you dislike, you can adjust yourself to him, but dislike coupled with lack of understanding leads to situations that bring on the danger of clashes and incidents which lead to war.

I wish we could do away with the word "foreigner" or even the word "foreign" when we speak of people from other lands. There are many meanings of the word "foreign" if you look it up in the dictionary, many of them perfectly appropriate, but I am afraid we tend to think of the harsher meanings of the word, such as alien in character, not appropriate, outlandish, remote—like having a foreign body in your eye. It is curious how perfectly harmless words can gradually take on a connotation that was never intended. A foreigner is simply someone who comes from a land other than one's own; a foreigner is not someone who is strange or undesirable or even so terribly different once mutual understanding is established. But unfortunately we Americans, after years of isolation, tend to approach foreigners with a chip on our shoulders. There is a psychological bloc that we must and can overcome which handicaps us in our relations with other people.

Crusade for Mutual Understanding

Why am I asking for *your* help particularly in this situation? Did you know that two-thirds of the world's population live in small towns, villages, and rural communities? And the percentage is even higher in those sensitive areas of the world where new nations are springing into being and groping with the problems which freedom and sovereignty bring. The principal objective of all these people is exactly the same as the objective of Ruritan—to make their small towns, villages, and rural communities better places in which to live.

You here have an unusual cultural affinity with similar peoples in these sensitive areas, and as a result you have an unusual opportunity and, as citizens of the United States, an unusual responsibility. You are better equipped by background, experience, and temperament born of your environment to establish mutual understanding between the peoples of America and the peoples of these nations than anyone else in this country.

This means that you can make a very powerful contribution to the maintenance in the world of peace with justice, freedom, and individual dignity if you have the inclination and the will to do so. You can do so by enlisting in this crusade that I, on behalf of the Government of the United States, am urging all American citizens to join—a crusade not to jam the American way of life down the throats of the peoples of these new countries, but a crusade to make it possible for these peoples to understand the peoples of America and from that understanding to reap the benefits of our experience as pioneers in solving some of the very same problems with which they are faced as new nations.

It wasn't so very long ago that we began in America to suffer the pangs of the birth of a new nation, to learn how to conquer the wilderness and arid lands to feed our growing population, and to build our small towns and villages. From this experience, which, I think, no one can deny has been pretty successful, can we not help others who are on the threshold of this same experience? Of course we can. But we can only do it if we first establish mutual understanding so that we shall know these people well enough to be able to help them in a way which they won't misinterpret as being patronizing, or as imposing our will upon them, or as attempting to take them over, and so that they will know us for what we, as Americans, really are and not as the international Communists would have them believe we are.

I remember not so long ago standing outside my hotel in the city of Cluj in Rumania, a city which used to have a fine university—it still is a university town—and I was surrounded by a great mass of young people from the university, who always crowded around the car with the American flag on it and plied us with questions about America. After one of them had cross-examined me about university life in this country, I said to him, "Come on over and see what America is really like." He replied quickly, "Oh, I couldn't. I don't want to join the millions of starving unemployed in America." It was Hitler's man Goebbels who first found that if you use the lie often and long enough it begins to be believed. International communism is still following this procedure.

Fifty-eight years ago, shortly after the turn of

the century, an American Protestant minister named John House was serving as a missionary in Greece in a rural area near the city of Salonika. Like most missionaries, the Reverend House was a teacher as well as a clergyman. What impressed John House most about his students was their extreme poverty and the great difficulty their farm families were having in trying to conquer an almost barren soil.

John House borrowed money, purchased 50 acres of land in Greece, and started a school for the purpose of helping his students in their farming problems. His students learned and returned to their villages to teach others. Thus was established the American Farm School of Salonika, a permanent link between rural America and rural Greece.

Each year 500 youngsters from villages throughout Greece come to the American Farm School for training in the operations of a rural community. These young farmers are as much pioneers as were the American frontiersmen who battled their way west during the 19th century, and they are learning some of the lessons learned by American pioneers. At the American Farm School the future leaders of rural Greece are as much the inheritors of the democratic ideals and rugged individualism of the American pioneers as are all of us here tonight.

This is the type of activity that can serve as a basis for building solid ties of international understanding which no Communist ideology or totalitarian demagog will be able to sever. I know that rural America, represented by you here tonight, can lead the way in identifying the United States with the aspirations and needs of the people in rural areas throughout the world, and that is why I need your help.

Opportunities for Cultural Diplomacy

What have I, in my position as head of the Bureau of International Cultural Relations, to do with all of this, and where does the Government come in? The United States takes a leading part in the opening of communications between the people of this country and the peoples of other countries, so that they can get to know each other and respect each other's accomplishments and problems in every aspect of their lives and contribute from each other's knowledge and experience to the building of a better community.

The peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America would like to profit from our experience in their forward march. But they are not going to follow blindly the example provided by rural America, even though that example during the development of our country during the past 200 years is a magnificent one. Our experience was the result of the combination of traditional ideas of democracy, individual dignity, and basic faith in religion, mixed in proper proportions with a genius for innovation and an inexhaustible capacity for modernization. But we should recognize the fact that mutual understanding must be established first, before anyone is going to be willing to profit by our experience.

My job is to open up opportunities for this understanding through what I have been calling "cultural diplomacy." What is cultural diplomacy? It is the process of communicating the culture of one people to another people so as to bring about complete mutual understanding. It is the concentrated use of our cultural and educational resources in the field of foreign affairs for the development of that social environment which will make for enduring peace and the political common good of mankind. It is a job that cannot be accomplished by the State Department or any other agency alone. It is a job that demands the wholehearted and active participation of Americans in every area and walk of life.

Government Activities and Private Initiative

Let me show you how your Government is taking action in the development of understanding between Americans and the peoples of other countries and how you can take the initiative in this field.

In the State Department's Bureau of International Cultural Relations, which I head, we spend well over \$30 million a year in carrying out a variety of exchange programs. The biggest one is the International Educational Exchange Program, which many Americans know in terms of the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt scholarships that are awarded to students, teachers, and college professors. More than 65,000 alumni of this program in the United States and abroad are helping to enlighten their fellow citizens about foreign cultures.

During the past 2 years we have made special arrangements to extend our cultural and educational exchange programs to the Soviet-bloc coun-

tries of Eastern Europe. Last November the Soviet Union and the United States agreed to extend this program for another 2 years and to expand cooperative efforts in a variety of cultural and scientific fields.³

Under the President's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations we assist the foreign appearances of American orchestras, dance groups, theater societies, athletic organizations, and other cultural attractions. In cooperation with the United States National Commission for UNESCO we help carry out the cultural programs of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

In all of these activities Americans, whether they be students, teachers, college professors, musicians, actors, ballet dancers, or whatever else, come face to face with the people of other lands—either here or abroad—and through personal contact are able to establish the kind of relationship between human beings that alone can lay the bond of real mutual understanding.

What specifically can you do to help in this work? You are already doing a great deal. I congratulate Ruritan on its planned hospitality program for foreign visitors during 1960. I congratulate rural America for such successful programs as the International Farm Youth Exchange, the overseas programs of the Future Farmers of America, the "Farmer-to-Farmer Program" of Farmers and World Affairs, and the rural development programs of 24 American land-grant colleges. I think it significant that the counterpart of 4-H Club work in the United States has been established in 33 countries with 20,000 clubs for 625,000 boys and girls.

The basic ideals behind agricultural extension work, vocational schools, and land-grant colleges have permeated and taken root in rural areas from Viet-Nam to Turkey. I attribute these developments in a large measure to the excellent way in which rural America has taken to its heart the tens of thousands of foreign citizens who have come to the United States to be trained in the leadership of rural communities and to the enthusiasm with which our experts in rural organization have gone abroad to demonstrate the

³For text of a joint communique issued at the conclusion of negotiations, see BULLETIN of Dec. 7, 1959, p. 848; for text of cultural agreement, see *ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1959, p. 951.

techniques and communicate the ideals that have made America so strong at the "grass roots."

Developing a Universal Consciousness

I have something very simple to ask you to do. I want you to make up your minds tonight that you will bring up your children to speak at least one, if not two, languages other than our own; that you will bring them up to think it just as important to know intimately and to understand people from lands as far away as Asia as it is to know the family that lives next door. For with the jet age your next-door neighbor is not going to be a Kentuckian; your next-door neighbor is going to be from Asia and Africa and the Middle East.

Our children must learn to speak foreign languages in their schools, and we need more people who are able to speak the nonwestern languages like Hindi, Swahili, and Arabic. We need to develop a universal consciousness of other cultures that will bring Djakarta and Algeria as close to us as Wakefield, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. We need a large corps of trained students, businessmen, government workers, labor leaders, agricultural experts, and professional people who will be as much at home in Kabul, Afghanistan, and Santiago, Chile, as they are in Boonsboro, Maryland, or Ames, Iowa.

In short, we must place our communities in the context of a worldwide setting and modify our institutions accordingly.

I would like to see our elementary and high school children giving oral presentations in foreign languages as fluently as they do in English. I would like to see subjects like pan-Africanism and the European Common Market become as much a part of our lives as recreation centers and county fairs. I would like to see our local newspapers carry more news and feature stories about life in Latin America and southeast Asia.

I think all of us should strive to add world citizenship to our basic responsibilities of citizenship in our Nation, States, and local communities.

I know that the broadening of our horizons from our immediate environments to areas thousands of miles away will not be easy to accomplish. I know some people who would not be very comfortable in going from New Jersey to Nebraska or from Tennessee to Oregon, much less in trying to comprehend the social customs, religions, and ways of life of people in Morocco or Mozambique.

But this is both a jet age and an age of world leadership for the United States. We need to exercise that leadership with skill, boldness, and compassion. Our greatest asset for that task is our people—people who have the basic traditions and pioneer spirit to conquer new frontiers.

The job of perfecting communications between peoples is our big frontier as we enter the exciting decade of the 1960's. It is a frontier not only for rural America but for urban America and exurban America as well.

I urge you to discuss ways and means of establishing more extensive contacts with foreign communities. As community leaders you should examine your schools to see if they are training your children for world leadership and citizenship. Add world affairs to the discussions at your monthly Ruritan meetings. Bring your communities into the international picture.

If you will join this crusade of cultural diplomacy we will succeed in breaking down the purely psychological and artificial barriers that keep Americans and peoples of other lands apart, and we will create a climate where it is going to be possible for the wealth of our experience and success in the building of our new nation to contribute to the building of the multitude of new nations springing to life in the less developed areas of the world. And the most valuable part of this contribution will be the knowledge of how to build a nation with justice, freedom, and dignity for the individual.

Nations Invited To Participate in 1964 New York World's Fair

Press release 31 dated January 22

Department Announcement

The Department of State, on January 21, 1960, sent to the diplomatic corps in Washington, D.C., a diplomatic note from the Secretary of State enclosing an invitation from Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of the City of New York, to take an active part in the 1964 World's Fair to be held at New York City in that year in celebration of the tercentenary anniversary of the City of New York.

The 1964 World's Fair at New York has adopted as its theme "Peace Through Understanding" and is sponsored as an event of primary

international significance. Although held under private auspices, it enjoys the support and cooperation of the Governments of the State of New York and the City of New York, as well as prominent business, civic, industrial, trade, and labor organizations having national and international ties of great importance.

The selection of the City of New York as the location for the 1964 World's Fair was recommended by a Presidential commission in a report approved by the President on October 29, 1959.

For these reasons, and also because 1964 will mark the 15th anniversary of New York as the permanent home of the United Nations, the Department of State favors the holding of such an important international exposition and hopes that as many nations as possible will be represented at the 1964 World's Fair at New York.

The general regulations of the New York World's Fair will be made available at the earliest opportunity. Correspondence and inquiries concerning the New York World's Fair should be addressed to the New York World's Fair 1964 Corporation, Empire State Building, New York 1, N.Y.

Text of Invitation

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I have the honor to extend to your government a formal invitation to participate in a World's Fair to be held in the City of New York to celebrate its Tercentenary Anniversary in the year 1964.

The holding of this Fair has been approved by the President of the United States on the recommendation of a Special Presidential Commission appointed by him which, under date of October 29, 1959, recommended to the President of the United States that the holding of an international exposition of the first category in the City of New York in 1964 should be supported by the Federal Government and which Commission further recommended that "New York City, of all American cities, is best qualified to accomplish the monumental effort required."

The President of the United States also approved the recommendations of the Presidential Commission to assist in obtaining maximum participation by foreign nations in the New York City 1964 World's Fair.

I would like to express our sincere wish that the commercial, industrial and trade organizations in your country might also exhibit at the "1964 New York World's Fair" and that your government will assist them in arranging for their participation.

This "1964 New York World's Fair" has taken for its theme, the significant words, "Peace Through Understanding" and it is our hope that the exhibitors, both governmental and private, will demonstrate to the mil-

tions of visitors to the Fair, the interdependence of all nations and people to the end that through this "1964 New York World's Fair", all who visit it will carry away with them a deeper understanding of each of the nations of the world—an understanding that will help to promote that peace sought by all peoples everywhere.

The occasion for this Fair, our Tercentenary Anniversary, enables me to call to your attention the close ties between New York City and the nations of the world. In these 300 years, through our City have come millions of immigrants, who have brought to this nation the culture and national backgrounds of every nation on earth. These immigrants, by their later citizenship in the United States have created ties with all nations that have and will ever be a major influence in the mutual good-will between our great country and yours. Our great city has been the host to the leaders of other nations, and time and time again has, we hope, supplied living proof that peoples of many national origins, race, color and creed can live together in peace and harmony.

I believe that the "1964 New York World's Fair" to be held in honor of this Anniversary will truly be an event of international importance. In 1964, it will have been 25 years since last the nations of the world met in our city to exchange cultural, commercial and industrial ideas. Then we called that World Fair, "The World of Tomorrow". When one considers the strides that have been made since that time, the new discoveries and industries that were then undreamed of—atomic power, television, cybernetics—it is not difficult to picture the wonders that this "1964 New York World's Fair" will reveal.

The City of New York is, I believe, a most desirable place for the holding of this World's Fair. The site of the previous Fair held in the United States in the year 1939 is admirably adapted and has been made available for the "1964 New York World's Fair". This location, at Flushing Meadow, was originally prepared at a cost in excess of \$26,000,000.00—and has been preserved as a Park during the years since 1939. In addition since the establishment of the United Nations Headquarters in New York City, our city has become increasingly important in international affairs; and is, we hope you will agree, the leading center of trade and commerce in the world today. It is the largest city on this Continent and possesses more facilities for housing, transporting, feeding and entertaining visitors than any other city in the United States.

This Fair has the full support of all segments of business, industry and culture of the City and State and the Governor of the State of New York, the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, has pledged the full support of the State of New York to this exposition and has joined in our request that the Federal Government transmit this invitation to your Government.

Detailed information about the "1964 New York World's Fair" will be communicated to you by the Fair's management.

Most respectfully,

ROBERT F. WAGNER
Mayor

Views Invited on GATT Relations With Tunisia and Poland

Press release 51 dated January 29

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

As a result of public notices issued on January 29 by the Trade Agreements Committee and the Committee for Reciprocity Information, public views are requested regarding the provisional accession of Tunisia to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and regarding a relationship between Poland and the Contracting Parties to the GATT closer than that afforded by the observer status which that country now has.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is a multilateral trade agreement containing schedules of tariff concessions and general provisions designed to facilitate the expansion of trade on a multilateral nondiscriminatory basis. Thirty-seven countries, including the United States, are contracting parties to the GATT and several others participate in its work on a limited basis.

The Government of Tunisia has expressed its readiness to enter into tariff negotiations with a view to acceding to the GATT. Under the arrangements which have been proposed for Tunisia's provisional accession to the GATT, these negotiations would take place during the GATT tariff conference which will convene at Geneva in September of 1960. Pending the conclusion of these negotiations, it is proposed that Tunisia accede provisionally to the GATT, applying the provisions of the GATT to contracting parties to that agreement which formally accept these arrangements, but Tunisia would not undertake obligations with respect to tariff concessions. In return such contracting parties would apply to Tunisia the provisions of the agreement other than those which accord direct rights to their schedules of tariff concessions. Tunisia will also participate on a limited basis in the work of the Contracting Parties to the GATT.

The arrangements for the provisional accession of Tunisia would not involve the modification of any United States tariff rates or the addition of any new articles to any existing schedule of United States duty concessions. The United States has no bilateral trade agreement with Tunisia.

At the invitation of the Contracting Parties, Poland has been represented by an observer at meetings of the Contracting Parties since their 12th session (October–November 1957). Recently Poland and the Contracting Parties have had under consideration the means of achieving a closer relationship. The arrangements which have been developed would record the desire of Poland and contracting parties which formally accept these arrangements to expand their trade with each other. They provide that Poland would undertake promptly to make public certain information such as laws, regulations, and statistics relating to trade. Provision would be made for the bilateral adjustment of questions arising out of the arrangements and for an annual review by the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement of the implementation of the arrangements. Poland would participate, without a vote, in the work of the Contracting Parties.

The United States has no bilateral trade agreement with Poland. The proposed arrangements would not require the granting of most-favored-nation treatment to trade with Poland and would not involve the granting of new concessions in any United States tariff rates or the extension to Poland of any rights to any existing United States tariff concessions.

Interested persons may express views regarding any aspect of the participation of the United States in these arrangements with respect to Tunisia and Poland. Such views will be carefully considered before a final decision is reached as to the United States position with regard to these arrangements.

Written views should be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information, the interdepartmental committee which receives views concerning trade agreement matters, by February 29, 1960, and public hearings by the Committee will open on March 15, 1960. Requests for appearances at the hearings, which may be made only by persons filing written briefs, may be sent to the Chairman, Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C.

Copies of the notices by the Trade Agreements Committee and the Committee for Reciprocity Information and of the arrangements under consideration for Tunisia and Poland are attached.

NOTICE OF PUBLIC HEARINGS

COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROCITY INFORMATION

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE: PROVISIONAL ACCESSION OF TUNISIA; RELATIONS WITH POLAND

Submission of Information to the Committee for Reciprocity Information

Closing date for Applications to Appear at Hearing February 29, 1960

Closing date for Submission of Briefs February 29, 1960
Public Hearings Open March 15, 1960

The Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements has issued on this day a notice of intention to consider participating in arrangements, not involving the conduct of tariff negotiations, for the provisional accession of Tunisia to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and for accomplishing relations with Poland under the General Agreement closer than the observer status now applicable to that country.

Pursuant to paragraph 5 of Executive Order 10082 of October 5, 1949, as amended (3 CFR, 1949–1953 Comp., pp. 281, 355), the Committee for Reciprocity Information hereby gives notice that all applications for oral presentation of views in regard to any aspect of the foregoing proposals shall be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information not later than February 29, 1960. The application must indicate an estimate of the time required for oral presentation. Written statements shall be submitted not later than February 29, 1960. Such communications shall be addressed to "Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C." Fifteen copies of written statements, either typed, printed, or duplicated, shall be submitted, of which one copy shall be sworn to.

Written statements submitted to the Committee, except information and business data proffered in confidence, shall be open to inspection by interested persons. Information and business data proffered in confidence shall be submitted on separate pages clearly marked "For Official Use Only of the Committee for Reciprocity Information".

Public hearings will be held before the Committee for Reciprocity Information, at which oral statements will be heard, beginning at 10:00 a.m. on March 15, 1960 in the Hearing Room in the Tariff Commission Building, Eighth and E Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. Witnesses who make application to be heard will be advised regarding the time and place of their individual appearances. Appearances at hearings before the Committee may be made only by or on behalf of those persons who have filed written statements and who have within the time prescribed made written application for oral presentation of views. Statements made at the public hearings shall be under oath.

Copies of the notice issued today by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements may be obtained from the Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C., and may be inspected at the Field Offices of the Department of Commerce.

By direction of the Committee for Reciprocity Information this 29th day of January, 1960.

EDWARD YARBLEY
Secretary
Committee for Reciprocity
Information

NOTICE OF INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON TRADE AGREEMENTS

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE: PROVISIONAL ACCESSION OF TUNISIA; RELATIONS WITH POLAND

Pursuant to section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act approved June 12, 1934, as amended (43 Stat. 945, ch. 474; 65 Stat. 73, ch. 141), and to paragraph 4 of Executive Order 10082 of October 5, 1949, as amended (3 CFR, 1949-1953 Comp., pp. 281, 355), notice is hereby given by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements of intention to consider arrangements, not involving the conduct of tariff negotiations, for the provisional accession of Tunisia to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and for accomplishing a relationship with Poland under the General Agreement closer than the observer status now applicable to that country.

1. *Tunisia.* Under the arrangements for the provisional accession of Tunisia that country would apply the provisions of the General Agreement to contracting parties to that Agreement which formally accept these arrangements. Tunisia would not undertake obligations with respect to tariff concessions. In return such contracting parties would apply to Tunisia the provisions of the Agreement other than those which accord direct rights to their schedules containing tariff concessions. The United States has no bilateral trade agreement with Tunisia.

2. *Poland.* The arrangements with respect to Poland would record the desire of Poland and of contracting parties to the General Agreement which formally accept these arrangements to expand their trade with each other. They provide that Poland would undertake promptly to make public certain information such as laws, regulations, and statistics relating to trade. Provision would be made for the bilateral adjustment of questions arising out of these arrangements and for an annual review by the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement of the implementation of the arrangements. Poland would participate, without a vote, in the work of the Contracting Parties.

The proposals with respect to neither of these two countries would involve the modification of any United States tariff rates or the addition of any new articles imported into the United States to any existing schedule of United States tariff concessions.

Pursuant to section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act, as amended, and paragraph 5 of Executive Order 10082, as amended, information and views as to any aspect of the

proposals announced by this notice may be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information in accordance with the announcement of this date issued by that Committee.

By direction of the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements, this 29th day of January, 1960.

JOHN A. BIRCH
Chairman
Interdepartmental Committee on
Trade Agreements

TEXTS OF DECLARATIONS

Tunisia

DECLARATION ON THE PROVISIONAL ACCESSION OF TUNISIA TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

The Government of Tunisia and the other governments on behalf of which this Declaration has been accepted (the latter governments hereinafter referred to as the "participating governments"):

Considering that the Government of Tunisia on 4 November 1959 made a formal request to accede to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (hereinafter referred to as the "General Agreement") in accordance with the provisions of Article XXXIII of the General Agreement; and

Having regard to the desire of many contracting parties to the General Agreement to conduct the tariff negotiations with Tunisia, which it is considered should precede accession under Article XXXIII, during the tariff conference to be held in 1960 and 1961, arrangements for which are being made by the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement (hereinafter referred to as the "CONTRACTING PARTIES"):

1. *Declare* that, pending the accession of Tunisia under the provisions of Article XXXIII, following the conclusion of tariff negotiations with contracting parties to the General Agreement, the commercial relations between the participating governments and Tunisia shall be based upon the General Agreement as if the provisions of the model protocol of accession approved by the CONTRACTING PARTIES on 23 October 1951, were embodied in this Declaration, except that Tunisia shall not have any direct rights with respect to the concessions contained in the schedules annexed to the General Agreement either under the provisions of Article II or under the provisions of any other Article of the General Agreement.

2. *Request* the CONTRACTING PARTIES to perform such functions as are necessary for the operation of this Declaration.

3. This Declaration, which has been approved by the CONTRACTING PARTIES by a two-thirds majority, shall be opened for acceptance, by signature or otherwise, by Tunisia, by contracting parties to the General Agreement, and by any governments which accede provisionally to the General Agreement.

4. This Declaration shall be deposited with the Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement.

5. The Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement shall promptly furnish a certified copy of this Declaration, and a notification of each acceptance thereof, to each government to which this declaration is open for acceptance.

6. This Declaration shall become effective between Tunisia and any participating government on the thirtieth day following the day upon which it shall have been accepted on behalf of Tunisia and of that government; it shall remain in force until the Government of Tunisia accedes to the General Agreement under the provisions of Article XXXIII thereof or until 31 December 1961, whichever date is earlier, unless it has been agreed by Tunisia and the participating governments to extend its validity to a later date.

DONE at Tokyo this twelfth day of November one thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine, in a single copy in the English and French languages, both texts authentic.

Poland

DECLARATION ON RELATIONS BETWEEN CONTRACTING PARTIES TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

—A—

THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND HEREBY DECLARES:

1. That, being guided by the objectives set out in the Preamble to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (hereinafter referred to as the "General Agreement"), it desires to expand its trade with the other countries which are parties to this Declaration on the basis of mutual advantage in trading conditions and opportunities.

2. That it will give sympathetic consideration to any representations which may be addressed to it by any other party to this Declaration concerning the implementation of paragraph 1 above and will be prepared to enter into consultations with such party concerning its representations.

3. That, in line with the corresponding commitments accepted by the contracting parties in the General Agreement, it will make public promptly, in a manner as to enable governments and traders to become acquainted with them, laws, regulations, judicial decisions, administrative rulings and agreements of general application as well as statistics pertaining to trade. This provision shall not require the disclosure of confidential information which would impede law enforcement or otherwise be contrary to the public interest or prejudice the legitimate commercial interests of public or private enterprises.

4. That it will annually review with the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement (hereinafter referred to as the "CONTRACTING PARTIES") the implementation of the above paragraphs.

—B—

THE PARTIES TO THIS DECLARATION, OTHER THAN POLAND, HEREBY DECLARE:

1. That, being guided by the objectives set out in the Preamble to the General Agreement, they desire to expand their trade with Poland on the basis of mutual advantage in trading conditions and opportunities.

2. That they will give sympathetic consideration to any representations which may be addressed to them by Poland concerning the implementation of paragraph 1 above and will be prepared to enter into consultations with Poland concerning such representations.

3. That they will annually review with Poland and the CONTRACTING PARTIES the implementation of the above paragraphs.

4. That they will request the CONTRACTING PARTIES:

(a) To take note of this Declaration;

(b) To invite the Government of Poland to take part in the work of the CONTRACTING PARTIES;

(c) To undertake the functions set out in paragraph 4 of Part A and paragraph 3 above.

—C—

1. This Declaration shall be open for acceptance, by signature or otherwise by Poland, by contracting parties to the General Agreement and by any governments which have acceded or may accede provisionally to the General Agreement.

2. This Declaration shall enter into force when it has been accepted by Poland and by two thirds of the contracting parties to the General Agreement.

—D—

The Government of Poland or any other party to this Declaration shall be free to withdraw from this arrangement upon written notice being given to the Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES:

(a) If Poland should withdraw from this arrangement, the Declaration shall lapse and any arrangements made by the CONTRACTING PARTIES shall cease to be valid;

(b) If a party to this Declaration other than Poland should withdraw from this arrangement the sole effect of such withdrawal shall be to terminate the application of this Declaration as between Poland and the party concerned, as long as a majority of the contracting parties remain parties to this arrangement.

—E—

1. This Declaration shall be deposited with the Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES.

2. The Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES shall promptly furnish a certified copy of this Declaration, and a notification of each acceptance thereof, to each government to which this Declaration is open for acceptance.

DONE at Tokyo, this ninth day of November, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine, in a single copy, in the English and French languages, both texts authentic.

Italy, Portugal, and U.K. Relax Controls on Dollar-Area Imports

ITALY

Department Statement

Press release 37 dated January 25

The United States Government welcomes the announcement of the Italian Government that, effective January 15, some 200 additional commodities may be imported freely from the dollar area. This action represents a further step by Italy in the direction of the elimination of discriminatory and other quantitative import restrictions and thus toward the objectives and policies endorsed by the International Monetary Fund and the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

As a result of this recent move, Italian consumers will be able to buy United States goods whose importation has been curtailed for many years. Products freed from quota restrictions include: fresh or frozen fish and crustaceans, dried prunes, malt, alcoholic beverages (except wine and vermouth), sulphur products, tires, plywood, small agricultural tractors (larger tractors were liberalized earlier), cotton yarns, yarns of manmade fibers, tin products, razor blades, and X-ray equipment.

The action of the Italian Government is a significant move in the direction of placing United States exporters of an extensive list of products on an equal competitive basis in the Italian market with exporters of other countries. However, Italy will maintain discriminatory restrictions on a whole range of agricultural commodities. The United States Government hopes that Italy will make rapid progress in the elimination of the remaining quantitative import restrictions.

PORTUGAL

Department Statement

Press release 38 dated January 25

The United States Government welcomes the announcement of the Government of Portugal that, effective January 10, discrimination against imports from the dollar area has been removed

on about 900 customs tariff items, covering a wide range of commodities. Although all imports into Portugal require prior authorization, imports of these commodities will now be licensed automatically.

As a result of this move, Portuguese consumers will be able to buy a number of United States products whose importation has been curtailed for many years. Products which can now be licensed freely from the United States include: motor vehicles, fertilizers, synthetic fiber yarns, plastic molding products, many textiles, many types of industrial machinery, radio and television receivers, and household equipment, such as sewing machines, refrigerators, and washing machines.

This action represents a significant step by the Government of Portugal toward the elimination of discriminatory and other quantitative import restrictions. With the exception of some agricultural commodities and a few industrial products, Portugal will now extend imports from the dollar area the same degree of automatic licensing as granted imports from members of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. The United States Government hopes that Portugal will make rapid progress in removing remaining restrictions, which include some important agricultural products.

UNITED KINGDOM

Department Statement

Press release 47 dated January 29

The United States welcomes the announcement by the United Kingdom that, effective February 1, 1960, quantitative controls will be removed on imports from the dollar area of tobacco and tobacco manufactures (except cigars), and fresh and frozen fish, synthetic rubber, and transistors. The United Kingdom also plans to remove restrictions on remittances of American film earnings, which were previously limited to \$17 million a year. In the announcement the United Kingdom also indicated its intention to make further progress in eliminating restrictions as soon as possible.

This announcement follows a similar announcement made November 4, 1959,¹ and is one of a

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 30, 1959, p. 805.

series of trade liberalization measures taken by the United Kingdom over the past year which have given U.S. exporters substantially improved access to the British market. It further narrows the scope of special import controls applied to dollar products.

The United Kingdom will still apply discriminatory restrictions on a number of dollar commodities, including some important agricultural products. The United States hopes that further progress in eliminating these remaining restrictions will be rapid.

U.S.-Canadian Economic Committee To Meet at Washington

Press release 35 dated January 25

The Department of State announced on January 25 that the fifth meeting of the Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs will be held at Washington on February 16 and 17.

The Secretaries of State, the Treasury, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce will represent the United States. The Canadian delegates will be the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and the Minister of Agriculture.

The meeting will provide an opportunity for Cabinet-level officers of both Governments to review the general field of trade and economic relations between Canada and the United States. The last meeting of the Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs was held at Ottawa on January 5-6, 1959.¹

U.S. and Canada To Discuss Columbia River Development

The Department of State announced on January 25 (press release 32) the appointment of the U.S. delegation which will conduct negotiations for an agreement with Canada leading to the cooperative development of the Columbia River

¹ For text of a joint communique issued at the close of the meeting, see BULLETIN of Jan. 26, 1959, p. 128.

Basin. The U.S. delegation will hold its first meeting with the Canadian delegation at Ottawa February 11-12, 1960.

The chairman of the U.S. delegation is Elmer F. Bennett, Under Secretary, Department of the Interior. Other members are: Lt. Gen. Emerson C. Itschner, Chief of Engineers, United States Army; and Ivan B. White, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

The Canadian delegation is composed of the following: Minister of Justice E. D. Fulton (chairman); Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources Gordon Robertson; Assistant Under Secretary for External Affairs A. E. Ritchie; and Deputy Minister of Lands and Forests, British Columbia, E. W. Bassett.

The Department announced on December 30, 1959,¹ that the International Joint Commission had submitted to the Governments of the United States and Canada its report recommending principles for determining and apportioning benefits to be derived from cooperative development of the Columbia River. The opening of the meeting at Ottawa on February 11 signifies the beginning of the negotiations envisaged in the Department's statement of December 30, 1959.

Special \$3 Million Loan Made to Iceland

Press release 44 dated January 29

A special assistance loan of \$3 million was made to the Government of Iceland on January 29 by the International Cooperation Administration.

Purpose of the loan is to finance procurement of essential industrial commodities, including chemicals, textiles, lubricants, iron and steel products, engines and turbines, agricultural machinery parts, and motor vehicles. The loan is repayable in U.S. dollars over a period of 18 years at 3½ percent interest.

Ambassador Thor Thors of Iceland signed the loan agreement on behalf of his Government.

¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 25, 1960, p. 126.

Department Seeks Senate Approval of Conventions on Law of Sea

Statement by Arthur H. Dean¹

My name is Arthur H. Dean. I am a member of the New York, the District of Columbia, and the Supreme Court Bars. At the request of the President, I served as chairman of the American delegation to the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was convened in Geneva from February 24 to April 28, 1958.² And therefore I appear before you this morning as a representative of the Secretary of State.

The large measure of achievement at the conference would not have been possible without the untiring efforts of a number of members of our delegation.³ I should like to mention the following who are here this morning, and I should like to introduce them to you:

Admiral Oswald S. Colclough, Department of the Navy,
Acting President of George Washington University
Mr. Arnie J. Suomela, Commissioner of Fish and Wildlife, Department of the Interior
Mr. William C. Herrington, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State
Mr. Raymond T. Yingling, Assistant Legal Adviser of the Department of State
Miss Marjorie M. Whiteman, Assistant Legal Adviser of the Department of State
Mr. William M. Terry, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior

I should also like to introduce Admiral Chester A. Ward, Judge Advocate General of the Depart-

ment of the Navy, who gave us excellent support and advice, as did Admiral Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, and Loftus Becker, former Legal Adviser of the Department of State.

After much debate, negotiation, and careful study, there emerged from the Geneva conference four conventions on the law of the sea, plus an optional protocol. These have been signed by the United States and are now before the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.⁴ They are:

Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone (U.N. doc. A/CONF. 13/L.52)
Convention on the High Seas (U.N. doc. A/CONF. 13/L.53 [and Corr. 1])
Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas (U.N. doc. A/CONF. 13/L.54 [and Add. 1])
Convention on the Continental Shelf (U.N. doc. A/CONF. 13/L.55)

In addition, there is the Optional Protocol of Signature Concerning Compulsory Settlement of Disputes (U.N. doc. A/CONF. 13/L.57), such as may arise in the future about the interpretation of these conventions.

Definition of Terms

Most of you are probably already familiar with the terms and words which are employed in these conventions, but I should like to review some of the more important ones to make sure that you will be familiar with them when I use them.

The "territorial sea," to which I have referred, is that marginal belt of waters running along the coast over which the coastal state exercises

¹ Made before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Jan. 20 (press release 26).

² For a statement made by Mr. Dean on Mar. 11, see BULLETIN of Apr. 7, 1958, p. 574; for Mr. Dean's closing statement on Apr. 28, together with texts of the conventions, protocol, and resolutions adopted by the conference, see *ibid.*, June 30, 1958, p. 1110.

³ For the names of members of the U.S. delegation, see *ibid.*, Mar. 10, 1958, p. 404.

⁴ S. Ex. J to N, inclusive, Sept. 9, 1959, 86th Cong., 1st sess.

sovereignty, subject to certain limitations imposed by international law.⁵

The "high seas" are all of the waters of the ocean beyond the territorial seas of the coastal states, and these high seas are open and free to all nations.

Any valid extension in the width of a nation's territorial sea with the same extension of the width of territorial seas surrounding islands under the coastal state's jurisdiction naturally cuts down the freedom of all other nations to sail on, or fly over, or lay cables in, or to fish in what was formerly the high seas. Any extension of a nation's territorial sea can be fraught with very serious consequences for its neighbors and may interfere with mobility and the unrestricted right of movement on the high seas and the overlying airspace. For example, there is no right for aircraft to overfly another nation's territorial seas without its consent in the absence of a treaty such as the Chicago Civil Aviation Convention of 1944.

To accommodate certain justifiable desires of coastal states to prevent infringement of their internal laws, there has been established adjacent to the territorial sea the concept of a "contiguous zone" which extends beyond the territorial sea into the high seas for the limited purposes such as protecting customs, fiscal, immigration, and sanitary regulations. It has been proposed that a similar limited zone for coastal fisheries be established.

All of these terms are embodied in the legal principles adopted at the Geneva conference.

Conferences on Law of Sea

This was one of the largest conferences in the history of international law, with 86 nations attending. In attendance also were specialized agencies of the United Nations and other inter-governmental organizations.

With one exception with respect to the breadth of the territorial sea, which I shall mention later, these conventions represent a surprisingly large area of agreement among the nations of the world on basic legal concepts. They constitute real progress in the codification and development of international law.

⁵ For an article by G. Etzel Percy, Geographer of the Department of State, on "Measurement of the U.S. Territorial Sea," see BULLETIN of June 29, 1959, p. 963.

The achievements of the Law of the Sea Conference illustrate the growing interdependence of nations and the usefulness of an international organization such as the United Nations to consider carefully, and to attempt to reconcile, the conflicting interests of peoples dwelling at the farthest reaches of the oceans and dependent upon it for their food and livelihood and for their communication and trade with one another.

The sea around us is the great *res communis*, or common resource, of all peoples. The topics and problems dealt with in the four conventions affect all countries and were quite properly dealt with in a conference prepared and convened by the United Nations.

The need for such a conference can be seen from the history of attempts to reach agreements on the law of the sea, as well as from specific fishing and navigation disputes which involve every ocean or sea and every continent.

The Hague Conference of 1930 had ended in failure to agree either upon the territorial sea or the contiguous customs zone.

Efforts within the Organization of American States at Santiago in 1955⁶ and in Ciudad Trujillo in 1956⁷ to reconcile disputes on territorial seas, or exploitation of fisheries and the continental shelf, had failed to reach a common "American" position, although there was general agreement on the need for conservation of the sea's resources.

Every effort was made by the United Nations to secure wider agreement. The views of a number of countries, including the United States, were considered by the International Law Commission of the United Nations. Moreover, the United Nations convened an International Technical Conference on Conservation at Rome in 1955. For 3 weeks experts from 51 countries, including the United States, considered methods of assuring the "optimum sustainable yield" of the living resources of the sea. Their conclusions were also considered by the International Law Commission, which devoted 6 years to the study and preparation of its final report⁸ in 1956.

Following the report and recommendations of the International Law Commission, the General

⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1955, p. 1025.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 28, 1956, p. 894.

⁸ U.N. doc. A/3159.

Assembly decided in 1957⁹ to convene a world-wide conference at Geneva the following year to consider not only the legal but also the biologic, economic, and political aspects of the problem.

Throughout the conference the Commission's draft report served as the principal working paper, and the numerous background studies were invaluable in reaching agreement on the conventions which were adopted.

Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone

Let me take up first the Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone. This convention is divided into three parts. Part I deals with the territorial sea; part II deals with the contiguous zone; part III deals with the technical procedural matters, such as ratifications, accessions, date of coming into force, publication, etc. All of the four conventions contain such procedural final articles.

I plan to discuss only the more important provisions and what they mean to the United States and the free world, but I shall be glad to answer any further questions or to go into any detail you may wish.

Articles 1 to 3 provide that the sovereignty of a state extends from the low-water line along its coast to the adjacent belt of marginal or territorial sea and that such sovereignty extends to the airspace over, as well as to the seabed and subsoil of, these territorial waters. The importance of the airspace over the territorial sea across which the aircraft of other nations may not fly without consent cannot be overemphasized.

Article 4 provides that straight baselines may be used for measuring the territorial sea in areas where the coastline is deeply indented and cut into, or if there is a fringe of islands along the coast in its immediate vicinity.¹⁰ It is to be observed that while the use of straight baselines may not be invoked for purely economic reasons alone, nevertheless, where the geographic conditions justify their use, economic interests of long standing may also be taken into account.

⁹ For text of resolution, see BULLETIN of Jan. 14, 1957, p. 61.

¹⁰ For a detailed and illustrated explanation of baselines, see also Percy, "Measurement of the U.S. Territorial Sea," *ibid.*, June 29, 1959, p. 963.

Article 5 assures the right of innocent passage (which I shall define in a moment) in case the use of straight baselines results in enclosing bodies of water as internal waters which formerly constituted parts of the territorial sea or the high seas. This is particularly important in relation to claims by the Philippines and Indonesia that the waters between the islands of their archipelagoes are internal waters—no matter what the distance—and subject to their sovereignty. This article thus protects innocent passage along established trade routes on the high seas, including those around southeast Asia. Otherwise commercial voyages could be greatly lengthened.

Articles 4 and 5 are among the most important in the convention because they clarify the use of straight baselines. While the straight baseline method for delimiting the territorial sea off certain Norwegian fjords was approved by the International Court of Justice in the *Anglo-Norwegian Fisheries* case, [1951] I.C.J. Rep. 116, it is believed that the straight baseline method embodied in the convention represents a more precise limitation.

Article 7 relates to bays and, we believe, represents a significant advance in international law in providing for a 24-mile closing line between the headlands of bays. Article 7 will dispel any doubt that bays of over 24 miles measured at the mouth remain part of the high seas. This is important in view of the increasing claims over bays, such as the Soviet Union's purported claim to Peter the Great Bay and Panama's claim to the Gulf of Panama. However, truly "historic" bays, such as the Chesapeake Bay and Long Island Sound, are protected as exceptions.

Articles 8 through 13 provide for means of delimiting territorial seas around islands or where two adjacent territorial seas face and touch each other. Specific methods for use in situations such as the mouth of a river or a harbor are set forth.

Articles 14 through 20 govern the right of "innocent passage" through the territorial sea. Passage is defined in article 14 as "innocent" so long as it is "not prejudicial to the peace, good order or security" of the coastal state. Fishing vessels, however, must comply with the laws and regulations of the coastal state to protect fisheries, and submarines must navigate on the surface.

Under article 16 coastal states may temporarily suspend the right of innocent passage in specified

areas of the territorial sea for security reasons. However, there can be no suspension of the right of innocent passage through straits which are used for international navigation between areas of the high seas or between the high seas and the territorial sea of a foreign state.

The rule adopted in this convention affords a clear, simple, and precise definition of innocent passage, something which heretofore had not existed in international law. It also permits greater freedom of movement in navigation consistent with the needs of the coastal state to protect itself.

Articles 19 and 20 adopt the traditional rule of international law which provides that the coastal state should not exercise criminal or civil jurisdiction over foreign ships passing through the territorial sea or persons on board except in certain limited situations. Jurisdiction may be exercised for protection against crimes which "disturb the peace" of the coastal state or its territorial sea and for the suppression of the traffic in narcotics.

Articles 21 and 22 provide that government ships operated for commercial purposes shall be governed by the same rules as merchant vessels and therefore be liable for tortious acts. There was opposition to these two articles from the Soviet Union and other state-trading countries which desired "sovereign immunity" for such vessels.

Article 23 pertains to the passage through the territorial sea of warships in compliance with the regulations of the coastal state. The International Law Commission draft contained an article providing for special treatment of warships whereby the coastal state could make the passage of warships through its territorial sea subject to prior authorization or notification, although normally it would grant innocent passage. In the interest of greater mobility we supported this proposal, but neither this proposal nor substitute proposals making the right of innocent passage of warships subject only to previous notification could obtain the necessary two-thirds vote required for their adoption by the conference; so no change in existing international law in this respect is proposed.

There remains article 24 relating to the contiguous zone, which is of special importance. It provides that in a zone of the high seas contiguous to the state's territorial sea, which may not exceed 12 miles from the coastal baseline, the coastal state may exercise certain necessary controls.

These measures provide that it may prevent and punish infringement of the customs, fiscal, immigration, or sanitary regulations within its territory or territorial sea. Although it had become fairly common practice to establish a customs zone such as the United States has had since 1790, no established international law had hitherto been agreed upon either at the 1930 Hague Conference or thereafter.

As I stated earlier, the Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea failed to reach agreement on the breadth of the territorial sea, and the convention does not contain an article on the precise breadth of the territorial sea. This subject and the closely related one of the extent to which the coastal state should have exclusive fishing rights in the sea off its coast as a contiguous zone remaining a part of the high seas were topics of long and detailed debate at the conference without any conclusion being reached.

The only proposal to receive an absolute majority of the votes of the conference was the compromise proposal of the United States for a 6-mile territorial sea, plus exclusive fishing rights for the coastal state in an additional contiguous 6-mile zone remaining a part of the high seas, subject to certain "historic" fishing rights of other states established through fishing over a 5-year base period. Although this proposal received 45 votes in favor and 33 opposed (and 7 abstentions), it failed to receive the requisite two-thirds majority of 52.

The newly emerging states in Asia and in Africa do not fully subscribe to some of the great and historic doctrines of international law, such as "freedom of the seas" and a narrow territorial sea over which the coastal state exercises its sovereignty, and are inclined to be suspicious of our noble statements of aims in this regard.

They are sometimes inclined to believe that our interests in commercial fishing up to the outer limit of their territorial seas or the right of our warships to approach to within 3 miles of their coastline without infringing in any way upon their sovereignty or the impact of our great commercial trawlers fishing in the high seas upon the lives and fortunes of their coastal fishermen with primitive equipment are more truly doctrines the great powers conceived and put into being when they were in a colonial or at least weaker status. They now wish to negotiate on a basis of equality. Closer study often reveals that these

doctrines are essential to their own well-being and that a unilateral extension of the nations of the world of their territorial seas to 12 miles or even greater would be fraught with disaster.

Some objected to our arbitration provisions as an infringement upon their sovereignty, and others had constitutional or statutory provisions for a wider territorial sea than 6 miles.

After this result at the conference, I made the following statement of the United States position:¹¹

Our offer to agree on a 6-mile breadth of territorial sea, provided agreement could be reached on such a breadth under certain conditions, was simply an offer and nothing more. Its nonacceptance leaves the pre-existing situation intact. . . .

We have made it clear that in our view there is no obligation on the part of states adhering to the 3-mile rule to recognize claims on the part of other states to a greater breadth of the territorial sea. And on that we stand.

The defeat of the American proposal, I believe, should not be taken as any indication of decrease in respect or influence. The proposal received the support not only of all the British Commonwealth except Canada, and all of the nations of NATO except Canada and Iceland, but also of such newer nations as Pakistan, south Viet-Nam, and Lebanon. Our proposal was supported by Iran, though subsequently Iran, together with Libya, the Sudan, and Panama, has gone unilaterally to 12 miles. The Holy See approved our proposal as moral and creative, and many a delegate from other countries praised the United States for its sincere effort to reach a fair compromise.

Convention on the High Seas

Let me turn now to the Convention on the High Seas. The Convention on the High Seas defines "high seas" in article 1 as encompassing "all parts of the sea that are not included in the territorial sea or in the internal waters of a State." The remainder of the 37 articles in this convention set forth a general regime of freedom of the seas for all nations subject only to a "reasonable regard to the interests of other States."

Freedom of the high seas is declared in article 2 to include the freedom of navigation, freedom of

fishing, freedom to lay submarine cables and pipelines, and freedom to fly over the seas, as well as all other freedoms "which are recognized by the general principles of international law."

In the name of freedom of the seas the Soviet Union proposed a rule banning nuclear tests on the high seas. In this attempt they were defeated. In the result a separate resolution was passed referring nuclear tests on the high seas to the United Nations General Assembly for appropriate action and is transmitted for the information of the Senate. It may be noted that the Soviets claim their scheduled missile tests in the Pacific will not involve nuclear energy.

To accommodate the urgent desire of landlocked states, of which there are a dozen, for access to the sea, article 3 provides that common agreements shall be negotiated on the basis of free transit and equal treatment in the use of ports. The Soviet bloc was defeated in its attempt to force coastal states to accord an *absolute right of transit* to landlocked states, which include Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Byelorussian S.S.R.

Every state—which includes landlocked states—is declared in article 5 to have the unconditional right to sail merchant ships under its own flag on the high seas. Likewise, each state shall fix the conditions under which ships may fly its flag. It is also provided that there "must exist a genuine link" between the state and the ship, and the "State must effectively exercise its jurisdiction and control" over the ship. How this jurisdiction and control is exercised is a matter for each state to decide, since in accordance with the first sentence of article 5 each state shall fix the conditions for the grant of its nationality to ships. Ships which meet these conditions, as determined by the state of registry, acquire through that registry the nationality of that state and the right to fly its flag, and this right must be recognized by these nations.

The use of more than one flag or switching flags during voyage is prohibited by article 6.

Warships on the high seas are, according to article 8, given complete immunity from the jurisdiction of all states other than the flag state.

Article 9 provides that ships which are state-owned or state-operated must be used only on government noncommercial service before they may claim immunity on the high seas from the exercise

¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1958, p. 1110.

of jurisdiction by states other than the flag state. Jurisdiction on the high seas may be exercised by states other than the flag state in the case of vessels suspected of slave trade or piracy, or for verification of the flag, as is set out in article 22. I point out in passing that many Soviet vessels, though state-owned and -operated, are used for commercial purposes and would thus be excluded from the immunities granted by this section.

Article 10 requires every state to conform to "international standards" for the labor conditions of crews and the construction, equipment, and seaworthiness of ships. It requires every state to issue regulations pertaining to safety at sea in such aspects as the use of signals and the manning of ships. Masters of ships must render assistance to persons and ships in distress on the high seas, as is already required by our domestic legislation.

Article 11 deals with disciplinary or penal matters arising on the high seas. It limits penal or disciplinary proceedings to the flag state or the state of which the individual is a national. This reverses the decision of the PCIJ [Permanent Court of International Justice] in the case of the *SS Lotus*. In the case of revocation of the master's certificate or certificate of competence, only the issuing state is competent. No arrest of the ship is permitted by any authorities other than those of the flag state. By bringing order and certainty into an area previously characterized by uncertainty and dispute, this article will promote freedom of navigation and commerce.

Time-honored principles are contained in articles 13 through 22, which provide for the suppression of slavery and piracy on the high seas as international crimes.

Article 23 recognizes the right of competent authorities of the coastal or pursuing state to undertake "hot pursuit" of a foreign ship when they have "good reason to believe that the ship has violated the laws and regulations of that State."

As the United States contended during prohibition, pursuit of a suspected ship or one of its boats may start in the territorial sea or the contiguous zone of the coastal state if there has been a violation of customs, sanitary, or other laws for the protection of which that zone was established. This represents a codification of the practice accepted in the case of the bootleg sloop, the *Im Alone* (Canadian-American Claims Commission, 1935).

Articles 24 and 25 deal with the increasingly significant problem of pollution of the seas. Every state is required to promulgate regulations preventing pollution by the discharge of oil from ships or pipelines or from the exploitation of the seabed and its subsoil. Similarly, every state is required to take measures to prevent the pollution of the seas and overlying airspace from the dumping of radioactive waste and to cooperate with competent international organizations to this end. A separate resolution proposed by our delegation with the cosponsorship of the United Kingdom referred the matter of radioactive waste pollution to the study of the International Atomic Energy Agency and is transmitted for the information of the Senate.

The right to lay submarine cables and pipelines on the bed of the high seas and the rights of the parties in case of damage to such cables or pipelines are firmly established by articles 26 through 30.

Incidents such as the breaking of the transatlantic cable in 1959¹² by Soviet trawlers off Newfoundland would give rise to the payment of damages if the trawlers are proven to be culpably negligent.

Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas

Now let me turn to the Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas. It is in the area of fishing and conservation that the agreements reached at Geneva in many ways seem to me the most significant. The Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas begins with the candid and straightforward proposition in article 1 that:

All States have the right for their nationals to engage in fishing on the high seas, subject (a) to their treaty obligations, (b) to the interests and rights of coastal States as provided for in this convention, and (c) to the provisions contained in the following articles concerning conservation of the living resources of the high seas.

The article immediately continues by imposing a corresponding duty:

All States have the duty to adopt, or to co-operate with other States in adopting, such measures for their respective nationals as may be necessary for the conservation of the living resources of the high seas.

¹² *Ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1959, p. 555.

The remaining articles of the convention implement these twin goals, these corresponding rights and duties.

According to article 2, "conservation" means those measures which, taken together, will result in the "optimum sustainable yield" of the living resources of the sea so as to secure a maximum of food supply. It may be noted that a "conservation" program designed to secure a greater food supply for an individual state at the cost of a diminishing total yield for all fishing states would not comply with the duty imposed by article 1.

Any state whose nationals fish an area of the sea where nationals of other states do not fish is required to adopt unilateral conservation measures under article 3.

If nationals of two or more states are engaged in fishing the same stock or stocks of fish in any area or areas, such states, at the request of any of them, shall negotiate a conservation program for the living resources affected to be observed by all under article 4.

If nationals of another state have not fished in such areas prior to the adoption of such conservation program but begin to fish there after its adoption, they shall either accept the conservation program in force or negotiate a new program with other interested parties under article 5.

The interests of coastal states are guarded. Article 6 of the convention provides that such states have a special interest in the maintenance of the productivity of the living resources in the waters adjacent to their coasts and may take part in any conservation program instituted with respect to such waters, even though their own nationals do not fish there.

Article 7 grants to a coastal state the power unilaterally to adopt conservation measures as to areas of the high seas adjacent to its territorial sea, provided that negotiations with other interested parties have not led to agreement within 6 months. While these measures can only be adopted unilaterally in the case of an emergency and while they must be nondiscriminatory, this provision is testimony to the concern of the conference with the interest of the coastal states.

One of the most striking and the most encouraging aspects of the convention on fishing and conservation is the provisions of article 9 on the "settlement" of disputes. Article 9 provides that impartial settlement procedures are to be insti-

tuted before a special commission, if negotiations as to conservation programs should fail.

Not only is this convention the only one of the four conventions which provides its own mechanism for the settlement of disputes, but it is one of the very few multilateral treaties in recent times to make such provision. Furthermore, its unique nature is emphasized by the deletion of the word "arbitration" to overcome the possible impression that legal rather than scientific considerations would govern decisions. It was adopted over the protests of the Soviet bloc and other states anxious to prevent controls upon their "sovereign" right to act unilaterally.

The special commissions, before whom settlement procedures are to be instituted, may be appointed by agreement between the parties, provided that none of the appointees are nationals of any of the states involved in the dispute. If the parties fail to agree within 3 months, the commission shall be appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations within a further 3 months upon the request of any party.

To avoid the possibility that such procedures might drag on for years, the commission must, in any event, render a decision within 8 months after its appointment. The power of the commission is demonstrated by its ability to stay enforcement of questioned conservation measures pending the outcome of its proceedings.

Detailed criteria to be applied by such a commission in determining the necessity for or adequacy of conservation measures are set forth in article 10. These criteria include the requirements that scientific findings demonstrate the necessity of conservation measures, that the specific measures in question are based on scientific findings and are "practicable," and that they do not discriminate against fishermen of other states.

In passing, I would like to note that the United States would have preferred the convention to establish the conservation doctrine known as "abstention" as a rule of international law.

Essentially, the abstention procedure provides that, in situations where a state or states are making reasonably full use of a fishery resource and the maintenance of the current yield or, when possible, the further development of the yield is dependent upon the conservation program carried out by the states fishing such resource, then states whose nationals are not fishing such resource regu-

larly or who have no historic interest in it shall abstain from fishing it.

However, the abstention concept on the high seas is difficult to grasp for nations whose economies are only now beginning to mature. Detailed discussion of this doctrine at the Geneva conference we believe has had significant educational value. It was and is our position that this country should continue to pursue the objective of securing general acceptance of this sound conservation measure through agreements with interested states.

The Soviet Government has seen as clearly as anyone that the nations of the world are involved in the great issue of who shall control the resources of the sea, which in earlier times were regarded as boundless.

Today we are becoming more and more aware in more and more cases of the limitations of this great wealth and also of its possibilities of great chemical wealth, the conversion of salt water to fresh, etc. However, now that it has been agreed that conservation and control of sea resources are a necessity, the question arises of who shall divide and regulate these resources when there is scarcity or conflict.

Convention on the Continental Shelf

Let me turn now to the Convention on the Continental Shelf. The Convention on the Continental Shelf gives international recognition to a legal concept first promulgated by the United States.

President Truman's proclamation of 1945¹³ and the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act passed by Congress in 1953 (67 Stat. 462; Title 43 U.S.C.A. §§ 1331, *et seq.*) were motivated by the need to protect the petroleum deposits beneath the high seas beyond the territorial sea around our coasts, which newly invented techniques opened for extraction for the first time. A number of other nations have since put forward similar claims to their continental shelves.

The term "continental shelf" is defined in article 1(a) to include:

"... the seabed and subsoil of the submarine areas adjacent to the coast but outside the area of the territorial sea, to a depth of 200 metres [655 feet] or, beyond that limit, to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits of the exploitation of the natural resources of the said areas; . . ."

¹³ For background and text of proclamation, see *ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1945, p. 481.

Article 1(b) makes clear that the concept of the continental shelf applies to "the seabed and subsoil of similar submarine areas adjacent to the coasts of islands."

Thus the continental shelf is presumed to be exploitable at a depth of 200 meters beneath the surface of the sea and may be exploited beyond that depth where technological developments can be shown to make such exploitation possible.

The clause which protects the right to utilize advances in technology at greater depths beneath the oceans was supported by the United States and was in keeping with the inter-American conclusions at Ciudad Trujillo in 1956. It was included in the ILC 1956 draft.

Article 2 of the convention grants exclusive "sovereign rights" for "exploring" and "exploiting" the shelf, but this is expressly limited by article 3, which insures that the freedom of the overlying waters of the high seas shall not be impaired. While the United States had claimed that the resources of the continental shelf were "subject to its jurisdiction and control," it did not claim "sovereignty" over the shelf.

Moreover, the airspace above the continental shelf remains free and open to the aircraft of all states.

This convention is an agreement between sovereign states and in no way affects the domestic Federal-State controversy over the application of the Submerged Lands Act of 1953 (67 Stat. 29; Title 43 U.S.C.A. §§ 1301, *et seq.*), which granted to the States the lands beneath the territorial sea.

This convention protects the rights of the American people to control and use the resources of the continental shelf adjacent to its coast outside the territorial sea.

The question of greatest importance is which resources of this shelf come within the exclusive control of the coastal state. Article 2 represents the effort of our delegation to maximize coastal state control over mineral resources but to limit control over animal resources. Thus the coastal state is given control over all "mineral and other non-living resources of the sea bed and subsoil" but not over living organisms which, at the "harvestable stage," can move without being "in constant physical contact with the sea bed or the subsoil." Shrimp would not be within the exclusive control of the coastal state, while oyster beds

and pearl fisheries would be within such control.

Existing rights and investments in submarine cables and pipelines are protected by article 4, which prohibits the coastal state from unreasonably impeding their laying or maintenance. Future investments by the coastal state are protected by article 7, which permits exploitation of the subsoil by means of tunneling, whatever the depth of water above the tunnel, and by article 5, which provides for the construction and operation of shelf installations and devices for the same purpose.

Optional Protocol and Other Matters

Let me turn now to the optional protocol and other matters.

These, then, are the four conventions adopted at the Geneva conference. Each constitutes a proposed general code of law applicable to the conduct of states and their nationals. In addition, there is an Optional Protocol of Signature Concerning the Compulsory Settlement of Disputes, which, like the four conventions, has been sent to the Senate with a request that its advice and consent be given to ratification.

Article I of the optional protocol provides that "Disputes arising out of the interpretation or application of any Convention on the Law of the Sea shall lie within the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice," except for disputes covered by the special settlement procedure in the convention on fishing and conservation, which I have outlined. This protocol is only meant to apply to these Geneva conventions.

Articles II and IV of the protocol provide for alternative solutions of disputes by arbitration and conciliation, respectively. It is our hope that the great majority of participants in the conference will become parties to this protocol.

Prior to the closing date for signatures on October 31, 1958, the Convention on the Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone was signed by 44 states, the Convention on the High Seas by 49 states, the Convention on Fisheries and Conservation by 37 states, the Convention on the Continental Shelf by 46 states, and the Optional Protocol by 30 states. Only one of the conventions has been ratified to date. Afghanistan—a landlocked state—ratified the Convention on the High Seas on April 28, 1959, presumably because of the provision of ar-

ticle 3, subdivision 2, of the Convention on the High Seas with respect to freedom of transit.

Second Law of Sea Conference

In conclusion let me turn briefly to the preparations for the second Law of the Sea Conference, Geneva, March 17, 1960.

Two important questions which were extensively debated at the conference, i.e. the breadth of the territorial sea and fishery limits, were unresolved because no proposal received the required two-thirds majority. These matters were referred back to the United Nations General Assembly, which has called a second conference to meet in Geneva on March 17, 1960,¹³ to consider them further.

The United States is making extensive preparations for that conference with the hope that agreement on some formula for the breadth of the territorial sea and fisheries rights in a contiguous zone, acceptable to the United States, will result.

Our Navy would like to see as narrow a territorial sea as possible in order to preserve the maximum possibility of deployment, transit, and maneuverability on and over the high seas, free from the jurisdictional control of individual states. Admiral Arleigh Burke links seapower, mobility, and freedom in this manner:

Naval forces are more important in the missile age than ever before. *Mobility* is a primary capability of navies. Support of our free world allies depends upon the *ability of the Navy to move, unhampered, to wherever it is needed to support American foreign policy.* This is the great contribution of United States seapower toward the progress of free civilization.

U.S. security interests would therefore be ideally served by retention of the 3-mile limit for territorial seas. There is fairly general agreement here and abroad, however, that international agreement on a 3-mile limit may not be obtained and that such agreement by a two-thirds vote is probable only on a 6-mile territorial sea and a 6-mile contiguous fishing zone.

There is opinion also to the effect that, if agreement is not achieved at the next conference on the width of the territorial sea and the contiguous fishing zone and the rights of nationals of other states therein, the individual practice of states

¹³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1959, p. 64.

may, in time, tend to establish a territorial sea of 12 miles.

U.S. defensive capabilities would be so profoundly jeopardized by our acceptance of a greater than 6-mile territorial sea that those responsible for planning for our defense have concluded that we must take a position against such a course in any event. Each extension of the territorial sea also reduces the fishing rights of foreign nationals in such territorial sea.

The choice had to be made ultimately upon the basis of whether U.S. defensive capability could be reasonably maintained if a 6-mile limit were accepted.

The primary danger to the continuance of the ability of our warships and supporting aircraft to move, unhampered, to wherever they may be needed to support American foreign policy presents itself in the great international straits of the world—the narrows which lie athwart the sea routes which connect us with our widely scattered friends and allies and admit us to the strategic materials we do not ourselves possess.

It is in those narrows that an undue expansion of coastal states' territorial seas could entirely wipe out existing passageways over free high seas and, by creating national sovereignty over one segment of a vital route, subject to the coastal states' interference the transit of our warships or terminate transit of our aircraft in the overlying airspace.

There are approximately 116 important international straits in the world which could be affected by the choice of a limit for territorial seas. *All* would become subject to national sovereignties if a 12-mile rule were established. Fifty-two would become subject to national sovereignties if a 6-mile rule were adopted.

Initially, therefore, the choice lies between subjecting our arteries of communication to individual national severance or harassment at 52 points or at 116. Closer analysis reveals an even more critical distinction. Of the 52 straits which would become subject to national sovereignties under a 6-mile rule, only 11 would come under the sovereignty of states which would appear likely to claim the right to terminate or interfere with the transit of our warships or aircraft. While denial of passage through these 11 straits would present a defense capability impairment,

that impairment is believed to be within tolerable operating limits.

On the other hand, under the 12-mile territorial sea rule, 18 straits would come under the sovereignty of states which possibly would claim the right to terminate or interfere with the transit of our warships or aircraft, and, of conclusive importance for defense purposes, the denial of passage through these additional straits would present for us a completely unacceptable impairment of our defensive mobility and capability.

In addition, while extension of the breadth of the territorial sea has the effect of exposing the mobility of our warships and aircraft to crippling jurisdictional restrictions, it actually adds to the mobility of a primary Soviet weapon—the submarine. The territorial sea of a neutral state is a neutral area in time of war, and belligerents are obliged by international law to avoid such areas for hostile operations. Though required to operate on the surface, a submarine, however, could transit such areas submerged, even though illegally, and unlikely to be detected by neutral states.

In the event of belligerent action enemy submarines could use such so-called neutral areas of territorial seas for transit, relatively safe from our attack, to reach the scene of their attack—the routes of our surface supply convoys. Such territorial-sea areas, especially if wider than 6 miles, would also certainly be used after their attack by the present large fleet of modern, long-range submarines possessed by the Soviets, including units currently being added which have missile launching capability, as a relatively safe haven from counterattack.

It is believed that the rapid evolution of new and changing weapons systems is not reducing, and will not in the foreseeable future reduce, our dependence upon our seapower capabilities. Indeed, the development of surface missile ships and nuclear powered submarines capable of launching missiles from under water, such as the *Polaris*, makes this a power of greatly increased and growing effectiveness.

This power to defend ourselves must not be hamstrung by an undue extension of the breadth of the territorial sea.

A complete analysis and comparison of the effect of a 6-mile versus a 12-mile territorial sea has led to the conclusion, concurred in by the Joint

Chiefs of Staff, that the U.S. should strive to achieve agreement on as narrow a territorial-sea breadth as possible, but in any event not to exceed 6 miles. We must endeavor to accomplish this with a minimum of damage or detriment to our commercial fishing interests. Throughout the negotiations at Geneva the fishing industry advisers at all times cooperated fully and unselfishly and always recognized that security interests were paramount.

Department Supports Agreement on Import of Cultural Materials

*Statement by W. T. M. Beale*¹

On August 25, 1959, the President forwarded to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification the Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials.² This is an international agreement of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization designed to facilitate the free flow of educational, scientific, and cultural materials between the nations of the world by the removal of manmade barriers to such international trade.

The United States participated in the conferences beginning in 1948 which led to the formulation of the agreement. The United States also participated indirectly in the formulation of the agreement when it was submitted for technical review to the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This agreement was opened for signature at Lake Success, New York, on November 22, 1950, and entered into force on May 21, 1952. The agreement was signed in behalf of the United States on June 24, 1959, by Ambassador [Henry Cabot] Lodge. Many nations, including most of the industrialized nations of the world, have already adhered to this agreement. The reasons for the delay in signing the agreement insofar as the United States is con-

¹Made before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Jan. 26 (press release 39). Mr. Beale was Acting Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs when he made this statement; he became Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs at London on Feb. 15.

²S. Ex. I, 86th Cong., 1st sess.; for text, see BULLETIN of Sept. 21, 1959, p. 422.

cerned, relating to United States adherence to the Universal Copyright Convention, were outlined in Acting Secretary Murphy's report dated July 6, 1959, which was transmitted to the Senate by the President.³

Need for Agreement

With respect to the need for having such an agreement, members of this committee will recall that immediately following World War II many countries found it necessary or desirable to prohibit or to restrict imports, including in many cases imports of educational, scientific, or cultural materials.

In view of the number of countries involved and the variety of materials covered by the agreement, the types of post-World War II restrictions varied considerably. They varied from country to country and from year to year. In general the restrictions to increased imports of these materials fell into the following basic categories: (1) high import duties, (2) foreign exchange controls, (3) excessive or discriminatory sales taxes, fees, or other charges applied to imports, (4) restrictive import licenses, and (5) burdensome or discriminatory import customs clearance procedures.

The agreement under consideration has as its major objective increasing the international flow of educational, scientific, and cultural materials by eliminating or reducing these tariff and trade obstacles. The agreement concerns itself basically with the following six categories of materials outlined in the five annexes and article III: (1) books, publications, and documents, (2) works of art and collectors' items, (3) visual and auditory materials, (4) scientific instruments and apparatus, (5) articles for the blind, and (6) public-exhibition materials. The agreement is designed to eliminate or to reduce various types of import restrictions on these materials. The central feature of the agreement, however, is the exemption from customs duties of the materials covered by the agreement.

Insofar as the United States is concerned, current tariff rates are the most important deterrents to increased imports of these materials. It should be pointed out, however, that some of the materials covered by the agreement are already on

³*Ibid.*

the free list and duties on others are relatively low. It should also be noted that during the last session of Congress bills were introduced or passed to facilitate imports for international exhibitions and fairs, travel and tourist information, and works of art.

Reasons for U.S. Adherence

After a careful interdepartmental review of the agreement, United States adherence was recommended for the following reasons:

1. Ratification would be consistent with United States foreign policy. The United States has advocated and supported the basic objective of the agreement, which is to improve international understanding by reducing trade barriers to knowledge through facilitating international movement of educational, scientific, and cultural materials. The United States has consistently supported the objective of strengthening the United Nations and the specialized agencies which carry out the United Nations programs.

2. Ratification of the agreement at this time will demonstrate to the world United States support for international collaboration and for the principle of free flow of information and ideas. Ratification will constitute evidence that this country is willing and able to take practical, effective measures to accomplish the removal of international tensions by increasing the exchange of ideas and educational materials.

3. Although many of the free-world nations are already parties to the Florence agreement,⁴ it may very well be the case that other free-world countries, especially those in the Western Hemisphere, will follow the lead of the United States in ratification of the convention. Continuing delay can result in the loss of this opportunity for leadership.

4. The agreement proposes to increase international trade in the materials covered by this convention by the use of international trade practices which the United States advocates, i.e. multi-lateral agreements, reduced tariff rates, and the removal of exchange controls and other restrictive devices.

5. Acceptance of the agreement by additional countries will tend to increase international trade in the items which are covered by this convention. Since the United States is the world's most important producer of many of these items, it appears that U.S. industries concerned, in the long run, may benefit as a result of such increased trade. However, although U.S. producers may gain by sharing in a larger world market, some of them may also be faced with increased competition from foreign suppliers.

The agreement, however, provides safeguards with respect to increased imports. While U.S. imports of these items may increase as a result of our ratification of the agreement, it does not appear likely that imports will increase to such an extent as to threaten serious injury to the U.S. industries and require the invocation of the "escape clause" annexed to the agreement at the insistence of the United States as an additional insurance factor to protect U.S. industries. This protocol, which was annexed to the agreement to facilitate U.S. participation in the agreement, provides that a party to this agreement may suspend, in whole or in part, any of its obligation under this agreement if any of the materials covered by this agreement are being imported in such relatively increased quantities and under such conditions as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic producers of like or competing products. While the protocol provides that the suspension of such obligations shall take place after consultations with the other contracting parties, it is recognized that under special circumstances emergency action may be taken prior to consultations.

It is also provided in the agreement that the contracting parties shall have the right to take measures to prohibit or limit imports or internal distribution of these materials on grounds relating to national security, public order, or public morals.

Imports into the United States of scientific apparatus and instruments will be limited by the following factors: (1) duty-free import privileges are accorded only to approved institutions and for specific purposes, (2) duty-free status does not apply to instruments or apparatus of equivalent scientific value produced in the United States, (3) U.S. industries produce the great majority of the items which are covered by the agree-

⁴The Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its fifth session at Florence, Italy, on June 14, 1950.

ment and the prices and quality of many of the U.S. products are competitive with such items produced elsewhere.

The agreement contains certain other restrictions which will tend to govern the volume of imports. For example, duty-free entry will not be accorded to such items as (1) stationery, (2) newspapers and periodicals in which the advertising matter is in excess of 70 percent by space, (3) books, publications, and documents published by or for a private commercial enterprise, and (4) other items in which the advertising matter exceeds 25 percent of the available space.

6. By reducing the cost for imported materials and simplifying import procedures the agreement should tend to increase and improve the activities of such institutions as schools and universities, scientific laboratories and research foundations, libraries, galleries, museums, and institutions and organizations concerned with the welfare of the blind. The limited funds available to teachers, educational institutions, and research organizations has hindered the improvement or expansion of their activities.

7. In conclusion may I point out that any measures to increase the circulation abroad of American educational, scientific, and cultural materials should assist American international information programs, both governmental and private.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 2d Session

Reception of Foreign Dignitaries. Report to accompany S. Res. 245. S. Rept. 1024. January 14, 1960. 3 pp.

United States Foreign Policy: Ideology and Foreign Affairs. (The Principal Ideological Conflicts, Variations Thereon, Their Manifestations, and Their Present and Potential Impact on the Foreign Policy of the United States.) Study prepared at the request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (pursuant to S. Res. 336, 85th Cong., and S. Res. 31, 86th Cong.). No. 10. January 17, 1960. 82 pp. [Committee print.]

Organizing for National Security. Interim report of the Senate Committee on Government Operations made by its Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery (pursuant to S. Res. 115, 86th Cong.). S. Rept. 1026. January 18, 1960. 20 pp.

Study of Foreign Policy. Report to accompany S. Res. 250. S. Rept. 1027. January 18, 1960. 7 pp.

Authorizing the Extension of a Loan of a Naval Vessel to the Government of the Republic of China. Report to accompany H.R. 9465. H. Rept. 1207. January 19, 1960. 7 pp.

Governors of Inter-American Bank Meet at San Salvador

The Organization of American States announced on January 11 that the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank¹ will hold its first meeting at San Salvador February 3-10.

The Board of Governors will decide the opening date for operations of the Bank and will elect the Bank President and six of the seven Executive Directors. The seventh will be appointed by the United States,² the country with the largest number of shares in the Bank.

At the meeting it is expected that policy matters leading to the establishment of the Bank will be resolved. Documents to be considered by the Board of Governors at its first meeting are being drafted by a Preparatory Committee made up of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, and the United States.

The Board of Governors is composed of one representative and one alternate from each member country of the Bank.² It plans to meet at least once a year. Governors will serve 5-year terms. However, they may be replaced at any time by their governments. Governors attending the Salvador meeting are expected to be finance or treasury ministers or presidents of central banks.

The agreement establishing the Inter-American Bank vests all of its powers in the Board of Governors. With the exception of specific responsibilities, the Governors are permitted to delegate powers to a Board of Executive Directors charged with determining the basic organization of the Bank and conducting its operations. The seven Executive Directors will be salaried and will serve 3-year terms; their offices will be located at the Bank's headquarters at Washington, D.C.

Purpose of the Inter-American Bank is "to contribute to the acceleration of the process of economic development of the member countries,

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of May 4, 1959, p. 646; June 8, 1959, p. 849; and June 22, 1959, p. 928.

² See p. 264.

both individually and collectively." Eighteen of the 21 OAS member nations are now participants in the Bank. Ratifications are still pending from Cuba, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Resources of the Bank after all ratifications are completed will total \$1 billion. Of this amount, \$850 million constitutes authorized capital of the Bank and \$150 million is assigned to a Fund for Special Operations. The Latin American nations will subscribe \$500 million of the authorized capital of the Bank and the United States \$350 million. Contributions to the Fund for Special Operations, which may provide loans repayable wholly or in part in the local currency of the borrower country when circumstances make an ordinary loan inappropriate, total \$100 million for the United States and \$50 million for the countries of Latin America. Operations of the Fund will be kept completely separate from those of the authorized capital of the Bank.

Senate Confirms U.S. Officials to Inter-American Bank

The Senate on January 20 confirmed the following nominations: Robert Bernard Anderson to be a Governor of the Inter-American Development Bank for a term of 5 years and until his successor has been appointed; Douglas Dillon to be an Alternate Governor of the Inter-American Development Bank for a term of 5 years and until his successor has been appointed.

The Senate on January 27 confirmed Robert Cutler to be an Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank for a term of 3 years and until his successor has been appointed.

Mr. Burgess Named U.S. Member of OEEC Reorganization Study Group

The Department of State announced on January 26 (press release 40) that Ambassador W. Randolph Burgess, U.S. Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council and European Regional Organizations, will serve as the U.S. member of the preparatory group for the reorganization or reconstitution of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

The preparatory group of four persons has been appointed pursuant to a resolution on the study of

the reorganization of the OEEC adopted by the Special Economic Committee, which met at Paris on January 12 and 13, and subsequently approved on January 14 by representatives of the 20 governments which are also members and associate members of the OEEC and the Commission of the European Economic Community.¹ Following adoption of this resolution, Under Secretary of State Dillon stated on behalf of the United States:

We favor the formation of a reconstituted organization adapted to the needs of today. Subject to the approval of our Congress, the United States would be prepared to assume full and active membership in an appropriately reconstituted organization.

During the course of their work the group of four will consult with the 20 governments, the European Communities, and appropriate international organizations. The report of the group will be submitted to a meeting of senior officials of the 20 governments, to be held at Paris on April 19, 1960, to which the European Communities will also be invited.

Mr. Sproul Replaces Mr. Dodge on Bankers' Study Trip

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced on January 19 that Allan Sproul has accepted the suggestion of the President of the Bank, Eugene R. Black, that he go to India and Pakistan in place of Joseph M. Dodge, who is ill, as a member of a group of bankers visiting those countries next month. Mr. Sproul is a former President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

As announced on December 19, 1959,² the other members of the group which will visit India and Pakistan at Mr. Black's suggestion are Sir Oliver Franks, chairman of Lloyds Bank Ltd. of London, and Dr. Hermann Abs, chairman of the Deutsche Bank of Frankfurt. The three members are to

¹ For statements made by Under Secretary Dillon at the Paris meetings and text of the resolution, see BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139. Other members of the group of four are: Bernard Clappier, Director for Economic and Commercial Policy, French Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs; Sir Paul Gore-Booth, British Deputy Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and Xenophon Zolotas, Governor of the Bank of Greece.

² BULLETIN of Jan. 11, 1960, p. 63.

meet at Karachi on February 13 and will spend 5 or 6 weeks in India and Pakistan studying economic conditions and acquainting themselves with the current and prospective development plans of the two countries.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Economic and Social Council

Commission on the Status of Women. Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value. Report prepared by the International Labor Office. E/CN.6/359. January 7, 1960. 20 pp.

Trusteeship Council

Report of the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Plebiscite in the Cameroons Under United Kingdom Administration: Part I—Organization, Conduct and Results of the Plebiscite in the Northern Part of the Territory. T/1491 and Add. 1. November 25, 1959. 225 pp.

Provisional Agenda of the Twenty-fifth Session of the Trusteeship Council. T/1496 and Add. 1. December 17, 1959. 22 pp.

Examination of the Annual Report on the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi for the Year 1958. Observations of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. T/1495. December 17, 1959. 17 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Aviation

Convention on international civil aviation. Done at Chicago December 7, 1944. Entered into force April 4, 1947. TIAS 1591.

Adherence deposited: State of Cameroun, January 15, 1960.

Protocol to amend convention for unification of certain rules relating to international carriage by air signed at Warsaw October 12, 1929 (49 Stat. 3000). Done at The Hague September 28, 1955.²

Ratification deposited: Ireland, October 12, 1959.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

² Not in force.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Opened for signature at Washington April 6 through 24, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, for part I and parts III to VIII, and August 1, 1959, for part II. TIAS 4302.

Accessions deposited: Honduras, January 5, 1960; Panama, January 28, 1960.

BILATERAL

Austria

Research reactor agreement concerning civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington July 22, 1959.

Entered into force: January 25, 1960.

Research reactor agreement concerning civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington June 8, 1956. TIAS 3600.

Terminated: January 25, 1960 (superseded by agreement of July 22, 1959, *supra*).

Uruguay

Agreement further supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of February 20, 1959, as supplemented (TIAS 4179, 4238, 4356, and 4375). Signed at Montevideo January 13, 1960. Entered into force January 13, 1960.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

The Senate on January 20 confirmed the following nominations:

Walter C. Dowling to be Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 782 dated November 9.)

Raymond A. Hare to be a Deputy Under Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 834 dated December 2.)

John D. Hickerson to be Ambassador to the Philippines. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 718 dated October 13.)

Walter P. McCaughy to be Ambassador to the Republic of Korea. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 700 dated October 6.)

John J. Muccio to be Ambassador to Guatemala. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 875 dated December 24.)

Edward Page, Jr., to be Minister to Bulgaria. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 815 dated November 23.)

Edson O. Sessions to be Ambassador to Finland. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 739 dated October 20.)

William P. Snow to be Ambassador to the Union of Burma. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 779 dated November 9.)

The Senate on January 27 confirmed the following nominations:

Dennis A. Fitzgerald to be Deputy Director for Operations of the International Cooperation Administration in the Department of State.

Foy D. Kohler to be an Assistant Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 852 dated December 11.)

Livingston T. Merchant to be Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 841 dated December 7.)

G. Frederick Reinhardt to be Ambassador to the United Arab Republic and Minister to the Kingdom of Yemen. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 16 dated January 14.)

Tyler Thompson to be Ambassador to Iceland. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 15 dated January 14.)

Designations

John J. Czyzak as Assistant Legal Adviser for Far Eastern Affairs, effective February 1.

Edward A. Jamison as Director, Office of Inter-American Regional Political Affairs, effective January 24.

Ely Maurer as Assistant Legal Adviser for Economic Affairs, effective February 1.

Francis E. Meloy, Jr., as Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs, effective January 11.

Temple Wanamaker as Director, Office of Public Services, effective January 24.

American Embassy in Libya Moved to Tripoli

Effective January 25 the American Embassy in Libya was officially transferred from Benghazi to Tripoli. At the same time the Embassy's branch office at Tripoli was officially transferred to Benghazi.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Mutual Defense Assistance. TIAS 4347. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Luxembourg, amending annex B of agreement of January 27, 1959. Exchange of notes—Signed at Luxembourg October 27 and 31, 1959. Entered into force October 31, 1959. Operative retroactively July 1, 1959.

Special Economic Assistance—Technical Assistance Projects. TIAS 4348. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Yugoslavia. Exchange of notes—Signed at Belgrade October 22, 1959. Entered into force October 22, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4349. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Spain, amending agreement of October 23, 1956, as amended. Exchange of notes—Dated at Madrid June 25 and July 15, 1959. Entered into force July 15, 1959.

Defense—Introduction of Modern Weapons into NATO Defense Forces. TIAS 4350. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Turkey. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ankara September 18 and October 28, 1959. Entered into force October 28, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4352. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and India, amending agreement of September 26, 1958, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington November 13, 1959. Entered into force November 13, 1959.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: January 25–31

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to January 25 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 26 of January 20 and 31 of January 22.

No.	Date	Subject
32	1/25	U.S.—Canada Columbia River negotiations.
33	1/25	Thayer: Ruritau National, Louisville, Ky.
*34	1/25	Educational exchange (United Arab Republic).
35	1/25	U.S.—Canada economic meeting.
36	1/25	Bonsal: arrival from Cuba.
37	1/25	Italy eases restrictions on dollar imports.
38	1/25	Portugal eases restrictions on dollar imports.
39	1/26	Beale: statement on importation of cultural materials.
40	1/26	Burgess designated to OEEC reorganization study group (rewrite).
41	1/27	Herter: statement on International Court.
42	1/27	U.S.—U.S.S.R. lend-lease negotiations.
*43	1/28	Herter: presentation of Hull award to House Speaker Rayburn.
44	1/29	ICA loan to Iceland.
*45	1/29	Educational exchange (Tanganyika).
46	1/29	Berding: Women's Forum on National Security.
47	1/29	U.K. eases restrictions on dollar imports.
51	1/29	GATT relations with Tunisia and Poland.

*Not printed.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLII, No. 1078 • PUBLICATION 6947

February 22, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

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The Role of Science in Foreign Policy Planning

*Statement by Wallace R. Brode
Science Adviser¹*

The Department of State has been quite conscious of the impact of science and technology on our economic, social, and political structures. Members of the Department have participated in numerous conferences such as that on "Research and Development and Its Impact on Economy" held by the National Science Foundation or the symposium on "Basic Research" sponsored by several agencies, including the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Academy of Sciences, and the Sloan Foundation. The crystallization of opinion on these problems has not rested solely with the scientific community, because there has been equal concern and interest expressed in the January 1960 issue of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science devoted to "Perspectives on Government and Science." This same interest is demonstrated by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee requesting a study by the Stanford Research Institute. The Stanford Research Institute report² attempts to merge foreign policy factors with scientific developments. It is unique and original in character, and it merits review and consideration by your committee, the Department of State, and the scientific community.

It is impossible to dissociate those developments in science and technology which affect our national policy from those which form our foreign policy. Thus the broad, overall recommendation made by the Stanford Research Institute that there should

be intensive, long-range planning of scientific programs and a decision on which areas to emphasize is one in which the Department concurs in principle. This is consistent with recommendations which I made in my presidential address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science last month, in which I discussed in some detail the problems of effecting a national science policy. Science by definition is neither national nor international, and a science policy applies in general for both areas. I indicated that there must be a planned and thoughtful analysis and appraisal of our efforts:

A national science policy is needed for a wise and rational distribution of scientific activities, so that space, defense, education, atomic energy, oceanography, and medical research are not bidding against each other for limited available support. The growing demand for scientists in the face of a limited supply of scientists, materials, funds, and facilities requires major policy decisions as to the distribution of resources. . . . there should be a relative priority assigned to areas of science, but there should also be recognition that scientific programs do not all have priorities that override economic, political, educational, and social developments.

This integration of the scientific with the political, economic, and social can best be done after the entire series of reports initiated by your committee have been studied. Scientific developments may indicate a certain policy position whereas political situations then current may dictate a different approach to the problem. I would be inclined to feel that the sociological and economic factors which are included and discussed in the Stanford Research Institute report in both general programs and underdeveloped aid area discussions are not in the area of science which I feel

¹ Made before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Jan. 28.

² *United States Foreign Policy: Possible Nonmilitary Scientific Developments and Their Potential Impact on Foreign Policy Problems of the United States*, September 1959 (Committee print).

competent to discuss. It would, I believe, be more appropriate for the Department to present its view on these social and economic factors and underdeveloped areas at the time of the discussion of the studies dealing with economic problems and economic and social conditions in lesser developed and uncommitted countries.

In commenting on this report I believe it would be well to use the "Summary of Findings" as a basis for discussion.

Solutions and Problems Created by Scientific Advance

I. Scientific developments in the next decade will give rise to or intensify many problems that must engage the attention of foreign policy planners. Scientific developments will also help solve foreign policy problems. But the outlook is that the progress of science and technology will do more to create or intensify than to ameliorate such problems, unless deliberate policy measures are taken.

I would most certainly agree that "Scientific developments in the next decade will give rise to or intensify many problems that must engage the attention of foreign policy planners" and that "Scientific developments will also help solve foreign policy problems," but I do not subscribe to the implication that ". . . science and technology will do more to create or intensify than to ameliorate such problems . . ." Research usually has a positive approach or objective and negative results are usually discarded enroute, so that by and large one should be able to say that most research is beneficial—although the results may be used for ulterior purposes. I would admit that scientific and technical advance creates more problems than just marking time with no research or advance; but my thesis is that both solutions and problems are created by scientific advances and that the beneficial effect of solutions outweighs the problems created.

The continuous advance of science and technology takes its toll of interests in a changing world and may alter demands for labor, capital, material, or methods and is no respecter of geographical, political, professional, or trade boundaries. We can combat the effects of technological and scientific advance, or we can accept and gain by the advance. Some may profit and others may lose, but the sum total of the effect of advancing science and technology on our civilization and economy has been positive and not negative.

Those who cannot accept the impact of science

on our economy create artificial barriers to impede or offset the effects. Sometimes this occurs when automation or changes in supply or demand create unemployment. In commerce we have restrictive laws, taxes, or protective tariffs which prohibit or impede transactions involving a new substitute or synthetic. Oleomargarine with added color, vitamins, and flavor has, as a synthetic foodstuff, been slowly accepted as a dietary constituent by those who could not well afford more expensive materials. Much of the delay in its availability has been due to tariffs, taxes, and licenses designed to protect an existing natural product against an advancing technology. More recently we have developed another form of protection: The Government purchases materials which are overproduced as the result of scientific development of better plants, improved fertilizer, weed killers (which remove unwanted plants that rob the soil of moisture and nurturing minerals), or by machine-cultivation methods which have permitted the grower to efficiently produce more material.

We develop substitutes for some vital materials only produced abroad so as to preserve our economy in time of emergency supply cutoff. However, even though we may have a substitute, we continue to feel an obligation to purchase or subsidize the foreign production lest the sudden suspension of acquisition should produce a depression in the area concerned.

To choose any one technical area as an example of what might happen to the world economy if science and technology should provide a synthetic or substitute to a major commodity may, at the mere mention of the theoretical possibility, cause unrest and concern among those countries which would be affected. The Stanford Research Institute report did produce this effect; and, while one would not wish to disturb any particular commodity market or nation, nevertheless, it may be a very good thing to awaken and make others aware of the problems which science creates in its continuous advance.

To my knowledge our Government is not engaged in developing a synthetic coffee. However, the solution of the problems which may be created by such a production may also be achieved by scientific research. On the occasion of the International Rubber Conference held here in Washington last November, I presented the open-

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Studies on U.S. Foreign Policy

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 5, 1959, designated selected research organizations and institutions to undertake studies on U.S. foreign policy. Following is a list of the studies now published as committee prints and those in process.

Studies Published

- Worldwide and Domestic Economic Problems and Their Impact on the Foreign Policy of the United States. Corporation for Economic and Industrial Research, Inc. No. 1. August 1959. 92 pp.
- Possible Nonmilitary Scientific Developments and Their Potential Impact on Foreign Policy Problems of the United States. Stanford Research Institute. No. 2. September 1959. 100 pp.
- U.S. Foreign Policy in Western Europe. Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania. No. 3. October 15, 1959. 95 pp.
- U.S. Foreign Policy in Africa. Program of African Studies, Northwestern University. No. 4. October 23, 1959. 84 pp.
- U.S. Foreign Policy in Asia. Conlon Associates, Ltd. No. 5. November 1, 1959. 157 pp.
- The Operational Aspects of United States Foreign Policy. Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. No. 6. November 11, 1959. 73 pp.
- Basic Aims of United States Foreign Policy. Council on Foreign Relations. No. 7. November 25, 1959. 24 pp.
- Developments in Military Technology and Their Impact on United States Strategy and Foreign Policy. The Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, The Johns Hopkins University. No. 8. December 6, 1959. 120 pp.
- The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy. The Brookings Institution. No. 9. January 13, 1960. 191 pp.
- Ideology and Foreign Affairs: The Principal Ideological Conflicts, Variations Thereon, Their Manifestations, and Their Present and Potential Impact on the Foreign Policy of the United States. Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. No. 10. January 17, 1960. 82 pp.

Studies in Process

- Foreign Policy Implications for the United States of Economic and Social Conditions in Lesser Developed and Uncommitted Countries. Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- U.S. Foreign Policy in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. The Russian Institute, Columbia University.
- U.S. Foreign Policy in the Near East. Institute for Mediterranean Affairs, Inc.

ing address and discussed some of the effects of a synthetic rubber program on natural or tree rubber. The rubber industry has shown unusual versatility in handling this problem. The supply and demand of rubber and the creation of synthetic forms were complicated by both the First and Second World Wars, which created an abnormal military demand and an impedance to a normal transportation. Our synthetic rubbers have been improved so that for certain usages they have a priority over natural. However, because of the superiority of natural rubber for some uses there has been further work to develop a "true" rather than prototype synthetic. We are now able to create from petroleum sources, in pilot plants, rubbers identical to tree-grown rubber. The future of tree rubber, however, is probably not as uncertain as natural oil of wintergreen,

wood alcohol, camphor, indigo, vanilla, or silk, but continued existence, expansion, or development of the tree-grown rubber may require development of crop improvement and byproduct utilization. Many a natural product which was threatened by synthetics or substitutes has extended or preserved its life by research on new uses and byproducts.

It is generally recognized that science is advancing at an exponential and not a linear rate, and every year we have a proportionally larger number of scientific discoveries and publications. I feel that the reproductions in the Stanford Research Institute report of some of the current growth or expansion data on a linear basis produces somewhat frightening effects in a world which is capable of expanding in three dimensions at a geometrical rate.

Appraisal of Science Programs

II. The national interest requires a more conscious direction of scientific activity in ways likely to assist in the achievement of America's international goals. The security and well-being of the United States call for a reappraisal of present allocations of scientific and technological effort with a view to directing more effort toward nonmilitary foreign policy challenges.

The concept of appraisal and possible realignment of our science programs is a major policy action with which I have indicated previous concurrence.

As the Stanford report points out, science by its application in transportation, communications, exchange of knowledge and understanding has essentially brought the world closer together so that we no longer have insulated islands of separate civilizations and internal actions have greater external effects in the world community. Hence we may essentially say that there is no sharp dividing line between national policy and foreign policy. I find it just as difficult to differentiate between military and nonmilitary science as I do between national and foreign policy in this contracting universe. The electronic-nuclear-microorganic-astronautical age in which we live is only a military age if we choose to apply these scientific areas to military activity and becomes a peaceful age if we create peaceful applications for these scientific developments.

I do not dispute the comments in the Stanford Research Institute report of the great disparity between the financial support for defense programs as compared with the effort which we expend on nondefense science, but changes in these programs would seem to require a fundamental realignment of our national programs and policies. Most scientists will agree that there is a preponderance of effort toward military, but even the military are aware of this and are plowing back into our own culture large sums in the support of essentially nonmilitary research and development both here and abroad.

The Stanford Research Institute report recommends a research program in arms control and disarmament. Since the major discussion on disarmament in your series of reports appears to be in the Johns Hopkins University report on military technology and foreign policy, it seems reasonable that discussion on disarmament should be deferred until this latter report is discussed.

Another specific Stanford Research Institute

recommendation for additional research is the development of underdeveloped countries. As I indicated before, I feel that the problem of raising the level of underdeveloped areas to a higher level is not specifically a scientific problem. Perhaps it is a technological problem, but certainly it is more a cultural, social, and economic problem than a scientific problem. The present programs of the Department of State for underdeveloped areas, as directed by the International Cooperation Administration, have a reasonable amount of science and technology.

One naturally expects the new advances in science and technology to take place in the scientific centers of the world, and we have no unique monopoly on these centers. Certainly one would not expect our major scientific advances to come from the less well-developed areas, yet it will certainly be these latter areas which may probably be most upset by technological advances produced in the advanced technical areas. We have promoted for some time technology teams to serve in the underdeveloped areas of the free world under the International Cooperation Administration so as to assist them in adjusting and rising toward the technological level of the advanced areas of the free world.

Concerning the Stanford Research Institute recommendation for a United Nations university, may I indicate that, as a former university professor, for many years at the Ohio State University, as well as having maintained a close contact with our national education programs, I find myself unable to develop any strong feeling of support for a United Nations university. There may be need for support or expansion of universities in this country and throughout the world, but there is no established or proven need for a new and different kind of university from those we now have. The concept of a national university in this country has been proposed from time to time, but the possible gain measured against the existing State and private universities, as well as the probable administrative problems, has led the educational leaders to shy away from such a program. It would seem that an international or United Nations university would not only be awkward to effect but that there is no evidence of a demand for its formation. A more logical program in education could certainly be effected through subsidies through UNESCO

[United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] to country establishments or a cooperative contributory program similar to the NATO scholarship-research grant system.

Participation of Science in Policy Programing

III. Foreign policy planning of the broadest kind, making use of the best scientific assistance, will be a critical requirement in the years ahead. This planning should include continual review of prospective scientific developments and their significance for international relations.

The third summary conclusion of the report deals with the need for scientific participation in the planning and assessment of policy programs of the future. It is indicated that the forces and factors developed through economic, political, and social policies must be included along with the scientific forces, and with this we certainly concur. Science is expanding at a greater rate than most other cultural activities so that the future should involve an even greater role for science in foreign policy formulation than at the present time. The Department of State had recognized this by establishing the science office, which I head in the Department of State, which has science officers serving in the major scientific centers of the world.

I realize that Dr. Carter³ indicated that he had excluded from consideration in his report the science office program in the Department of State and our scientific attaché program abroad, but since this is the area of our foreign policy development for which I am directly responsible, I feel that it would not be out of place to indicate that certain of his recommendations are now in effect with the reestablishment of this program in the Department of State. Since his report was released, however, we have nearly doubled our scientific attaché staff abroad—from 8 to 14 persons—and have increased the number of technical areas of the world being covered.

Our science offices do not parallel exactly the some 25 nations who have science officers or attachés in their embassies here in Washington, for there is a marked difference in size and scientific equivalence among nations. Essentially we have chosen some 10 major areas of the world to place our scientists but with an expected flexibility for regional and subject coverage. Our present au-

thorization includes London, Paris, Bonn, Rome, Stockholm, Moscow, Rio de Janeiro, New Delhi, Tokyo, and Buenos Aires. We plan a modest expansion to two or three other areas in the next year. Our overseas offices consist generally of a senior scientist and a deputy, both distinguished scientists who speak the language of the country and who are well known to the scientists of the area. In general, we endeavor to have the senior and deputy in markedly different scientific fields, such as physical sciences or engineering represented by one scientist and medical sciences represented by the other. Their primary responsibilities are to assess scientific developments in the country of assignment and in the United States that may affect our foreign policy, either in the country of assignment or other areas of the world. Our science officers are responsible for the coordination of the scientific activities of other United States agencies in science in their areas. The United States agency support of overseas scientific activity is becoming one of the major foreign programs of this nation. While such a foreign science program in the world at large is only in the \$100-million class and not large compared to other foreign aid and mutual assistance programs, it becomes important in a policy nature because of the impact which science has on the foreign policy and economy of other nations.

The support of our science officers abroad is effected through a small backstopping group of specialists here in Washington who serve as contacts with Government agencies, societies, universities, and industry as well as participating and advising in the various Departments and governmental groups which require science advice.

We recognize that, as the Stanford report so ably stresses, the solution in part to the foreign policy problems created by the progress of science is the time element needed to avoid a resistance to the advance of science. Our modest program in science coverage in the Department of State is directed primarily toward the policy influence of scientific developments. We expect the major needs of American industry and applied governmental agencies to be met by specialists from these areas, or supported by these areas and coordinated through the science attaché of the embassy in accordance with the coordinating function which the President has directed to be exercised by our ambassadors. The coordination authority which the Department has in respect to foreign science

³E. Finley Carter, president, Stanford Research Institute.

programs of United States agencies abroad can provide a useful means of directing such activities in the support of our foreign policy and the flow of scientific information.

I am not particularly worried, as Dr. Carter appears to be, that the Department of State has not been listed as a major recipient of science research funds. We are not an operating agency in science but rather a coordinating and assessing agency. Relatively speaking, our needs are modest and our entire program for a number of years to come would not envisage, with our present

responsibilities, more than 25 scientists. As science grows in importance, it may well follow that our science program in the Department may expand both in area and subjectwise.

The insulation which many scientists and even some political authorities seek between science and our foreign policy activities has led to problems in our advancing civilization, especially when other nations have formed a close tie between science and their political structure. It must be obvious that there is an important place for science in our foreign policy planning.

Science and Foreign Affairs

by George B. Kistiakowsky¹

My theme tonight will be the impact of science and technology on foreign policy.

Many of you have thought and written about various aspects of this subject; certainly all of you in one way or another have contributed to the dramatic changes of the recent years that have significantly altered our relations with the rest of the world. Let me try to single out, if I can, what I believe to be the important aspects of this relation between science and world affairs.

I needn't devote much time here to demonstrating the proposition that the advances of science gradually, sometimes suddenly, are altering the relations between nations and peoples. Of course it is the technology which is the carrier of change, but it is the basic science, the acquisition of knowledge, that constitutes the seed from which man makes technology grow. The advances of science, in this sense, made our political isolation from the rest of the world impossible after World War II just as they earlier made economic isolation impossible. In military affairs, perhaps, are

visible the most dramatic and fast-moving changes, as technological developments took us from TNT to H-bombs, from artillery to bombers to ballistic missiles, from cavalry patrols to early-warning radar, all with the significance of shrinking the world and of increasing the mutual dependence and vulnerability of nations. If, for a moment, I may revert to the language of my chemist days, humanity but a century ago was in the condition of a steady state reaction, whereas now it is in the midst of a nonsteady branching chain process and science is the chain carrier. Public policy, whether domestic or foreign, must recognize this transformation, cope with the problems it generates, and use it as appropriate for the goals of our society.

The need to adjust public policy to changing human conditions, of course, isn't new. What is new today is the rapidity with which the developments of science are altering the human conditions, the rapidity with which policy, particularly foreign policy, must adjust to the changes being wrought by the pace of scientific advance. Not only adjust—policy must prepare for, must predict, the impact of scientific discovery and must also in some sense attempt to guide it.

I will return to this later. Let me explore now some other aspects of the relation of science

¹ Address made before the American Physical Society and the American Association of Physics Teachers at New York, N.Y., on Jan. 29 (White House press release). Dr. Kistiakowsky is Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology.

to foreign affairs that are, I think, unique to our age—at least their importance is unique—and that provide us with our greatest immediate opportunities and some of our major problems. I am thinking here of several things: one, the unparalleled and in many ways unexpected political importance to a nation of having the appearance of world scientific leadership (I use the word “appearance” advisedly); two, the effect international scientific activities have, and can have, on the relations between states; three, the importance of the technical component of some prospective arms control measures; and four, the relation of science to technical aid for less developed countries. Each of these is worth careful consideration, for they are not always understood and yet must be understood if the Government and the scientific community are to fulfill the obligations and opportunities ahead of us in these areas.

Political Impact of Scientific Leadership

First, that matter of scientific leadership and its political impact. Scientific and technological progress has acquired status as the symbol of strength because of its obvious relation to military power as well as to productivity and the good life. This is in evidence within our borders and everywhere beyond. The striving to emulate American scientific and technological progress has become an ambitious and urgent goal for countless millions of people, including, I might note, the Soviet Union.

But unfortunately it is the technological spectaculars which tend to be used by the public at large, and often the press, as the sole measure of scientific as well as technological prowess and thus of military power as well. Achievements in outer-space activities are, of course, the prime example of this. Perhaps a few comments about our space and missile program in this light are in order.

As has been emphasized by Dr. Herbert York, and as you well know, an intercontinental ballistic missile capability is not necessarily dependent on huge rocket-booster vehicles capable of sending multiton payloads into space. To the general public, both in this country and certainly abroad, this is not well understood. The Soviet Union, of course, has not been lax in attempting to confuse the issue. Our development of long-range rockets began late because our military planning

was founded on air-breathing engines. To move ahead as rapidly as possible in ballistic missiles, we chose—and wisely, I believe—to make our missiles as compact as possible to deliver warheads of adequate yield. We could do this with an ICBM with a thrust only one-half that of Soviet ICBM's because of our advanced nuclear weapons technology.

In this we have been successful; first the IRBM's and now the Atlas missile are perfected and are operational. But the planning and preoccupation with smaller missiles, adequate to do the military job required, led to rocket vehicles with inadequate thrust to send spectacular payloads into space. We did not begin work on large rocket boosters until it was too late to match past Russian performance in outer space. But it is important to remember that the extra-large rockets are not required for our long-range missiles; hence, our deficiency in outer-space payload capability does not indicate an inferior military capability.

Another important fact must be kept in mind. That is that our scientific studies of outer space, accomplished with smaller rocket boosters, have enjoyed unprecedented successes. Our scientific achievements in space have easily matched those of the Soviet Union, notwithstanding the greater publicity given to the Soviet technological spectaculars. This, I believe, is generally recognized by the world's scientific community. In addition we are now making rapid progress toward practical applications of “near-outer space” for the benefit of all nations and people.

I do not suggest that we accept a secondary role in future outer-space activities requiring large rocket boosters. We cannot ignore the very real political implications of various spectacular accomplishments in outer space that have come to have symbolic meaning to the world at large. We are indeed moving ahead rapidly to develop boosters for space exploration missions requiring very large payloads and are vigorously pursuing the man-in-space program. But we must accept the technical reality that, despite a vigorous national effort to develop such boosters, there are limits on how quickly the gap can be closed and these limits are largely set by technological factors. In the meanwhile there are for us major opportunities to carry out sound and exciting programs in space science and technology that will redound to our

national benefit in terms of enhanced prestige and welfare. For example, the development of meteorological satellites could prove to be of great benefit to all nations and could substantially contribute to our scientific and technological stature throughout the world.

To repeat: We cannot accept a secondary role in future outer-space exploration. But true leadership must be seen in the context of far broader efforts. We must be constantly aware that our strength lies in excellence spread over a wide scientific and technological base. It is a feature of an authoritarian form of society that its government can concentrate efforts in narrow fields. If the total strength of such a society is substantial, as is that of the Soviet Union, then what one might term temporary technological superiority can be achieved by it in selected directions. So long as this superiority is temporary, so long as it does not permit a vital military advantage, and so long as it is not across a broad front, there is no need for alarm; but we must increase our efforts to cancel out imbalances that arise and are significant. On the other hand, we must not permit ourselves to be stampeded into overemphasizing one area at the expense of others. We must constantly bear in mind the sound military doctrine not to accept battle on the field of the enemy's choosing. Rather, we must continue to move across the entire broad front of scientific and technological advance. Thus, as a nation, we will remain a world leader.

Significance of International Activities

Let me turn to the second aspect of the relation of science and foreign affairs on my list, the significance of international scientific activities to the relations between nations. Here, I think, is perhaps the most important of the roles science and scientists can play in today's embittered and divided world—not a new role in the sense that international activities of science are part of the lifeblood of science but new in its potential impact on political relations.

For science is today one of the few common languages of mankind; it can provide a basis for understanding and communication of ideas between people that is independent of political boundaries and of ideologies. Over time these personal relationships established with Soviet scientists, who form a major portion of Russia's

intellectual elite, can provide a bridge between our cultures and perhaps bring about a gradual erosion of the militant aspects of Communist ideology.

Science also provides a sometimes unique opportunity for cooperative endeavors that can contribute in a major way to the reduction of tension between nations and, more positively, to close relations between the U.S. and other countries—all this, of course, in addition to offering a way for cooperative attack on problems of interest to all nations.

This has been recognized many times before, and I can point to many activities of the Government and private scientific bodies that further these goals: normal international scientific union activity, the IGY [International Geophysical Year], the exchange agreement between the National Academies of Sciences of the U.S. and U.S.S.R.,² the very recent McCone-Emelyanov agreement,³ the U.N. atoms-for-peace conferences, and many, many others. However, the question must be asked whether we are doing enough in this area and particularly whether the Government is sufficiently active in terms of projects of its own, in support for nongovernmental activities, and creation and preservation of the necessary conditions for effective international scientific activity. What are some of the issues that face the Government in this area?

The most obvious is how to balance the resources for international scientific projects against domestic scientific needs. Should the Federal Government be doing more itself internationally, or should it support private efforts only? In either case, can you justify international support when there are good scientific projects lacking sufficient support within the country? A good illustration of this problem is presented by the scientific program in the Antarctic. The Government had to face the question of setting the level of Antarctic activity in the knowledge that the funds for that program would detract in some measure from the support of deserving programs

² For background and text of agreement, see BULLETIN of Sept. 7, 1959, p. 350.

³ For a memorandum on cooperation in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, signed by John S. McCone, Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, and V. S. Emelyanov, Director U.S.S.R. Main Administration for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, see *ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1959, p. 958.

within the U.S. There are few guidelines for the appropriate scientific level of activity in Antarctica, just as there are few guidelines for the appropriate level of activity in specific scientific fields.

In fact, the problem of the Antarctic is not dissimilar from that of outer space, except for the rather wistful observation that we now have a treaty reserving the Antarctic for scientific research.⁴ Political considerations are important in setting this program level also. These considerations relate to the stature and scope of our effort relative to that of other countries, particularly the U.S.S.R., and, in the case of Antarctica, the relation of research to possible territorial claims. And so the Antarctic program is set as an orderly, sound, scientific effort but with political awareness that there are other attributes to the scope and excellence of the U.S. effort there.

Bilateral vs. Multilateral Arrangements

The appropriate means for carrying out international activities comes up time and again. Can it be handled through the scientific community in the way that ICSU [International Council of Scientific Unions] planned and organized the IGY?⁵ What is the appropriate role for the U.N., for UNESCO, for NATO? Should it be a government-to-government project because of the resources required? And if so, are bilateral or multilateral arrangements to be preferred?

A recent example may be illustrative, if I may be pardoned for referring to space science once again. When establishing the U.N. Outer Space Committee, the suggestion was made that the Committee should be responsible for conducting outer-space research itself or at least planning research on an international scale. Notwithstanding our strong desire for international cooperation in space, this was thought to be clearly inappropriate. Because of the large resources required to provide boosters for space exploration, it was considered necessary to keep the final decisions regarding space flights in the Government's hands. On the other hand, international scientific planning and cooperation was clearly

desirable at the scientist level, without the complex governmental machinery of the U.N. that would inevitably have to face political issues. Therefore, the U.N. Committee will be concerned with the mutual exchange and distribution of information, the study of legal problems of outer space, the conference on outer-space exploration, and the general encouragement of space science.⁶ NASA [National Aeronautics and Space Administration] will make formal agreements with foreign governments for scientific cooperation, but both the U.N. and NASA will look to the Committee on Space Research of ICSU for the scientific cooperation and planning to bring about effective international scientific collaboration.

The issue of bilateral versus multilateral agreements, I'm sure, is also one that interests many of you at the present time in view of the recent U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement in peaceful uses of atomic energy. Notwithstanding the very real gains we may achieve through increased contacts with the Soviet Union, I'm sure most of you would agree that we must avoid any series of moves that would create a U.S.-U.S.S.R. scientific axis. Thus it was carefully stated in the agreement with the U.S.S.R. that any joint projects would be carried out under the aegis of the International Atomic Energy Agency, where all member countries could participate. Clearly, what may be now the finest high-energy physics facility in the world—CERN [Conseil Européen pour la recherche nucléaire]—should be included in activities under the agreement.

A receptive climate for international scientific activities requires Government action too or, in some cases, lack of Government action—in a positive sense. Science must not be sacrificed to political expediency, or ignored for political expediency, because to do so would be like canceling one's life insurance on account of temporary financial straits. We must be ever certain that science is adequately represented in those areas where policy will impinge on science so that considerations of science will be included in policy formulation. International scientific activity, for example, has moved historically without regard for political boundaries, and this is one of its great strengths. This traditional nature of sci-

⁴ For background and text of treaty, see *ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1959, p. 911.

⁵ For an article on "The International Geophysical Year in Retrospect" by Wallace W. Atwood, Jr., see *ibid.*, May 11, 1959, p. 682.

⁶ For a U.S. statement and text of a resolution establishing the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, see *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 64.

ence must not be neglected or forgotten, as it all too often is, in the application of restrictions to be placed on the free movement of individuals among nations. Nothing will erode our basic traditions and our scientific leadership—and our influence—more quickly than a willingness to sacrifice basic, long-term beliefs for short-term political considerations.

In the same vein the needs of science must be adequately represented in international as well as domestic policy formulation. Radio-astronomy recently almost came to an untimely end simply through negotiation of an international treaty on frequency allocations without adequate recognition of the needs of this young science for listening “windows.” Through the good offices of the National Academy of Sciences it was possible to bring scientists and the appropriate Government officials together in time to establish a U.S. position for the Geneva ITU [International Telecommunication Union] conference compatible with the needs of the radio-astronomers.

International scientific activities thus carry with them many problems for Government, but their benefits far exceed those problems. To achieve the benefits, however, requires that we be alert to the opportunities and that we be prepared to make some of the necessary policy decisions and commitments of resources.

Technical Components of Arms Control Measures

Earlier in my talk I mentioned, as a third new element in the relation of science to foreign policy, the importance of the technical components of prospective arms control measures.

The negotiations on nuclear test cessation have shown the importance of scientific and technological factors for the formulation of national policy in this area. These factors had to be evaluated by *ad hoc* groups that found a dearth of experimental data on which to base their conclusions. A similar *ad hoc* approach had to be employed regarding certain phases of the conference on the problem of reducing dangers of surprise attack, in which I participated more than a year ago. The fact that scientific advice and evaluation were used in both these attempts to reduce military tensions is, in itself, important. It is a sign of the changing attitude and the growing awareness on the part of policymakers that technical considerations and knowledge are essential for the formula-

tion of sound concepts for arms limitation measures—just as they are in formulating development plans for military hardware.

The success of future negotiations to relieve tensions by arms limitation agreements will depend in some measure on the understanding of the capabilities of proposed multilateral monitoring systems and on the understanding of inherent limitations of any monitoring system in a world of rapidly advancing technology. The limitations of technical analysis need also to be fully understood. There is no doubt, for instance, that the reliability of monitoring systems is largely a technical question. But the adequacy of such systems, from the point of view of national security, is not. It is a politicomilitary question. Similarly, deterrence is not a scientific concept but a politicomilitary one. And we must realize that political issues or disagreements cannot be resolved by technical agreement on facts; the political questions of national interest remain. I think it is well that these issues be understood by the public as they are being understood by the policymakers. Especially we, as scientists, must understand that we can contribute but one of several inputs that are essential for the formulation of sound national policy.

Science and Technical Aid

I come now to the fourth, and last, of my list of new relations of science and foreign policy, which I called the relation of science to technical aid for less developed countries.

The foreign aid programs supported by the United States are powered by a matrix of motivations made up of altruism, a belief that it is to our best interest to strengthen independent nations, and a desire to contain menacing philosophies. Motivation notwithstanding, it is evident that any program, any experiment, will fall short of success unless it is soundly conceived, soundly planned, and soundly executed.

In helping to achieve a sound aid program we, as scientists, must not think in terms of developing only the more advanced scientific capability of other nations, which is often a reflection of our own standards and comfortable abundance. We must try to strike a balance between basic needs and sophisticated development. This requires an appreciation of how science and engineering develop within a nation. The history of science in

many lands has not been written beyond the prolog. We must, for instance, be aware of the long-term relation between primary and secondary school education and advanced research institutions.

We do little good to provide only for esoteric research facilities when a nation lacks roads, general practitioners, and machine operators. Of course we do a disservice also when we ignore the advanced educational institutions that set a nation's standards, provide its teachers, offer a future for gifted citizens, and bring prestige to a nation or a region.

National Academy's Report on Sub-Sahara Africa

I would like to digress a moment to commend to your attention a recent report, prepared by the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council for the International Cooperation Administration, entitled "Recommendations for Strengthening Science and Technology in Selected Areas South of the Sahara."⁷ Our Committee [the President's Science Advisory Committee] stimulated the undertaking of this important study, to be viewed as an experiment. It is an outline of how assistance of a technological type should be designed to be properly utilized. It is an intelligent and realistic attempt to strike the necessary balance between the basic needs and sophisticated wants, within a framework of limited resources from within and without an area. It is also an attempt—a very successful one, I believe—to show how a scientific approach can be used in the early planning stages of aid programs.

The reading of the report will have a sobering and disturbing, if not a frightening effect, on thinking individuals. It treats with selected areas of sub-Sahara Africa, a land mass equal to that of the United States and with a population one-half that of our Nation—and this is only part of all of sub-Sahara Africa. It is an area which, within our lifetimes, will be transformed into a multiplicity of independent nations which, collectively, will greatly influence world affairs. What is particularly disturbing about this study is the revelations of extreme shortages that still exist in this region: the nearly complete lack of public-health measures and medical services, of communications

and transportation, of the means for earning an income, of even the most elementary educational facilities.

Clearly these embryonic nations need educated people in large numbers to provide not only civil servants but an understanding electorate to carry them along the path to democracy. But how can the needs for higher education, for M.D.'s, for engineers, for political scientists, for so many other specialists be properly balanced against the needs to provide even the most primitive health measures, to provide teachers for the many millions of illiterates, and to train artisans and skilled laborers without whom the standard of living cannot rise? Against these multiple desperate needs, indigenous efforts, our aid, and the aid of others, appear so utterly inadequate that one becomes fearful lest decades will pass before the level of education and the standard of living will rise enough to make democracy viable. The question then comes to mind: Will the awakening of latent desires permit democracy the time—that is so inherent in its evolutionary nature—or will this region fall prey to the legerdemain appeal of revolutionary authoritarianism, especially Communist ideology?

For a research scientist this report will have a sobering influence: It will impress upon him that he is a luxury that can, and must, be afforded by an advanced nation like ours. But in Africa south of the Sahara, a nurse, an elementary school teacher, a technician—these are the luxuries!

Science impinges on aid to technologically more advanced nations also. Various government departments have for many years supported research overseas. By and large, these programs have been well run. Such programs raise some serious issues for consideration, however, for outside support of science in a given country affects the relationships between that government and its citizens and universities. Some programs, even those in support of basic research, are welcomed by many foreign scientists and yet cause affront to others. We must, therefore, consider the effects of such programs on all who are concerned and especially on the natural growth of the scientific communities in the recipient countries. Does such support, for instance, actually retard the development of a healthy relation between science and government in other countries? What commitments for continuity of support are we making once foreign scientists have become dependent on

⁷ Copies of the report are available from the Office of International Relations, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington 25, D.C.

U.S. support, commitments from which it may be impossible to withdraw or which may cause hardship should withdrawal be necessary? What is the effect of our support on the pattern of research in a given country? And is the manner in which our support is given in this area best calculated to further good relations between the scientific communities of other countries and the United States?

We are not the only ones who are aware of these problems. In its most recent annual report, the United Kingdom's Advisory Council on Scientific Policy, addressing itself to just these questions, had this to say about U.S. research support:

Whilst we warmly welcome this substantial financial support for research in this country, we recognize that research grants, and particularly specific contracts, of this magnitude (one and a quarter million pounds annually) must have a considerable influence on the general pattern of research undertaken. We, therefore, consider it desirable that the various bodies concerned with the financing of research in our universities and other institutions should be aware both of the extent and the purpose of these numerous United States research grants and contracts. We are glad to be able to record that the United States authorities have fully appreciated the position and have shown themselves ready to cooperate with us. . . .

Of course there are no general answers to most of the specific questions raised, for they vary with the country concerned and with the manner in which our support is given in each country. But these questions need to be asked—and answered—before support is provided. These programs cannot be operated independently of foreign policy considerations.

Role of Scientists in Policymaking

I have attempted here to outline some of the ways science can contribute to foreign policy and the effect of policy considerations on science. But to integrate the scientific with the political, economic, military, and other factors that make up foreign policy operations requires, above all, competent people who understand the relationship of science to these other factors.

If we appreciate our responsibilities, we, as scientists, may well have an important role to play in the future in the policymaking process. I think it will be a different role than the one to which we have become accustomed. I think it will demand a new breed of public servant, although I am at a loss to find the appropriate name for him. The

term "political scientist" has been preempted for a very different use than I have in mind. I am sure that none of us would want to be called "scientific politicians," and few indeed would dare to lay claim to "scientific statesmen." But there is a significance here that is far more important than finding the right name. The role I foresee demands that this new breed of citizen-scientist be continually aware that the scientific community must accept its appropriate share of the responsibility for the intelligent and successful resolution of the challenges facing the world.

Another kind of individual must be recruited too: an individual with training in science in addition to the usual disciplines of the Foreign Service. The general presumption is that science is so specialized that the only way to provide scientific inputs to policy formulation is to obtain advice from practicing scientists on an *ad hoc* basis as needed. I submit that, as valuable as such advice is, it does not fill today's requirements for a continuing and intimate involvement in the policy-making process of competent people who also understand science and its significance to policy and who could therefore work effectively with the practicing scientists supplying the specialized *ad hoc* studies.

Perhaps science and engineering graduates should be attracted for regular careers in the Foreign Service and in our other overseas programs. I believe we must also provide a better scientific background for nonscientists in the international affairs field and that this, perhaps, is the most important measure of all. Essential to these efforts is the development of an academic field of teaching and research in the interrelationship of science and foreign affairs, to be able to educate properly and to understand better the underlying significance and opportunities of this relationship.

These are not easy tasks nor ones that can be accomplished overnight. Unlike toasters, automobiles, and television sets, we cannot push a button to mass-produce diplomats in striped pants and laboratory coats.

In discussing international relations the American historian Julius Pratt states:

Neither the tools of diplomacy nor the tools of force can be suddenly improvised for use in crises. They must be kept in a state of readiness for use. The success of a nation's foreign policy will depend, in part, upon the efficiency and the readiness of the instruments with which that policy is pursued.

We, as scientists, must do all we can to help keep the tools of our diplomacy and the tools of our force in efficient readiness.

We have entered a new era, a scientific revolution, as C. P. Snow terms it, in which science and technology are transforming our way of life and the relations between nations. As practicing scientists, we cannot stand aside and simply watch this process, regardless of where it takes us. We must and we can use science and technology to achieve the humanistic goals of our free society. Let us learn to take better advantage of the opportunities science offers to contribute to our striving for peace in our international relations and to improving the lot of man throughout the world.

The Threat of Fallout Danger in Relation to Foreign Policy

Remarks by Secretary Herter¹

There has been much discussion concerning the present and anticipated military capabilities of the Soviet Union. By their actions and by their statements the Soviet leaders have made it amply clear that on the basis of their powerful military posture, and the threat it poses, they hope to induce the free world to accept the Soviet prescriptions for the settlement of outstanding international issues.

As you know, we will soon embark on a new round of negotiations with the Soviet Union at the highest level;² and even before the heads of government convene in Paris in May, representatives of 10 free-world and Soviet-bloc countries will begin a new effort in Geneva to reach agreement on disarmament.³ This Government, together with its NATO allies, is now engaged in painstaking preparations for these complex negotiations. We are firmly committed to the proposition that the outstanding issues between ourselves and the Soviet Union should be approached around the negotiating table without threats, ulti-

matums, or attempts by one side to dictate terms to the other. Our policy is summed up by the words which President Eisenhower used so frequently during his recent trip abroad: peace with justice.

However, our relations with the Communist world since World War II have made clear beyond a doubt that our search for equitable solutions and for a meaningful peace must be predicated upon a strong defense posture of our own. We must assume that weakness on our part, or merely the supposition on the other side that we are neglecting our military defenses, serves neither peace nor the cause of freedom and justice. It is for this reason that over the years we have developed a substantial military capability for retaliation. Until enforceable agreements which are properly safeguarded and effective mechanisms for international law and order provide an alternative means of guaranteeing peace and freedom for the peoples of the world, this military capability will be maintained and strengthened.

A vital part of our military strength for peace must be an effective civil defense program which, in conjunction with our retaliatory capacity, creates a strong deterrent to possible enemy attack upon the United States.

If, despite our earnest efforts at the negotiating table and our defense preparations, we should nevertheless be subjected to nuclear attack, civil defense and measures for fallout protection offer the most practicable and feasible means of saving the greatest number of lives. Numerous studies have shown that such a program would give a substantial portion of our population an excellent chance of surviving and hence provide us the opportunity to continue the fight successfully. In other words, a capacity to retaliate will be reinforced by an effective capacity to survive. And only thus can our defense posture serve as a convincing deterrent.

This conclusion of course has relevance to our foreign policy and to the conduct of our foreign relations. I believe this interrelationship is aptly described in a study made by the Rand Corporation and presented to the House Committee on Government Operations for one of its recent reports on civil defense.⁴ In it we find the following statement:

⁴ H. Rept. 300, 86th Cong., 1st sess.

¹ Made at the White House Conference on Fallout Protection at Washington, D.C., on Jan. 25.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Jan. 18, 1960, p. 77.

³ For text of a communique issued on Dec. 21 by the foreign ministers of Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States, see *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 45.

There is an enormous difference in the bargaining ability of a country which can, for example, put its people in a place of safety in 24 hours' notice, and one which cannot. If it is hard for the reader to visualize this, let him just imagine a situation where the Russians had done exactly that and we had not. Then let him ask himself how he thinks we would come out at a subsequent bargaining table.

There is evidence that the U.S.S.R. is stepping up its civil defense program. Combined with a substantial program for air defense, it provides Soviet negotiators with a good deal of assurance that their homeland will be able to withstand attack. A similar assurance with respect to our own country would clearly strengthen our defensive position.

What I have said not only has serious implications for our own military and diplomatic posture; it applies to our NATO partners as well. We participate actively in the various NATO committees which deal with civil emergency planning, and much progress already has been made. Some of our NATO allies and other friendly European countries are further advanced in fallout protection than we ourselves. All of us recognize, however, that further progress is needed before civil defense can achieve its full potential as a deterrent against enemy aggression.

We count on our NATO allies to remain firm in the face of any aggressive threats. An effective program of fallout protection will provide further support for their determination to do so. But, if we expect them to take further measures to protect their own populations, we should not lag behind.

As I have said, any additional measures which we can take to minimize the fallout danger will reinforce our country's defense posture and, thereby, its political and negotiating strength. It is my earnest hope that we can make prompt and substantial progress in this direction.

U.S. and British Scientists Discuss Cooperation in Space Research

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the British Information Service announced on January 25 that scientists of the United States and Great Britain had reached informal agreement on six experiments which the

first joint U.S.-British earth satellite will carry. The decision was based on an agreement in principle made last July between the two nations to unite in a cooperative scientific program of space research. This had followed a U.S. offer made through COSPAR (the Committee on Space Research of the International Council of Scientific Unions) to cooperate with other nations in space experiments.

The first jointly sponsored satellite will contain these experiments: ion and electron studies by probes to measure electron temperature and concentration and ion mass spectrum; electron density measurements; solar radiation studies; and primary cosmic ray measurements. These experiments were reviewed by COSPAR and then transmitted to NASA.

The launching vehicle for the satellite will probably be the four-stage Scout rocket, which is expected to be operational this year. Although no firm date has been set for the first joint experiment, it is planned for late 1961.

U.S. Comments on Declaration by Warsaw Pact Countries

*Statement by Lincoln White
Director, Office of News¹*

The declaration repeats once more the proposal for a treaty of nonaggression between NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] and the Warsaw Pact. The United States, for its part, regards itself as bound by the obligation it undertook when it signed the United Nations Charter not to have recourse to force in the settlement of international disputes. The United States' participation in NATO and other regional defense organizations is based upon its conviction that such organizations of free-world countries contribute to the realization of this goal through their successful demonstration that aggression cannot hope to succeed.

We would be gratified by any move of the Soviet bloc which would provide practical confirmation of the frequently repeated disavowal by the Soviet Union of aggressive intentions. We find such dis-

¹ Made to news correspondents on Feb. 5 in response to a query concerning a resolution signed by the Warsaw Pact countries on Feb. 4 at Moscow.

avowals, however, difficult to reconcile with the repetition in the Warsaw Pact's declaration of the Soviet threat to take unilateral action with regard to Germany.

The forthcoming 10-nation disarmament negotiations at Geneva² will provide an opportunity for the Soviet Union to demonstrate the sincerity

of its peaceful professions in a concrete manner by joining in the working out of safeguarded measures of disarmament. We are approaching these negotiations in the belief that the cause of peace can best be served by the adoption of specific enforceable measures. We trust that the Soviet Union will do likewise.

Progress Through Cooperation in Latin America

by R. R. Rubottom, Jr.

*Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs*¹

This meeting of the Southwest Institute of International Education has for me combined high privilege and great happiness. It is rare indeed that one is privileged to speak to a group so distinguished and so dedicated to a worthy cause, that of improving international understanding. It is also a joyful occasion when I can return to my home State and rub elbows with old friends and see with my own eyes the truth behind Texas' fabulous growth—a growth in which Houston itself has played such an outstanding role. There is probably no better example of the putting to productive use of vast material resources and vigorous, imaginative human resources.

Similar resources exist throughout most of Latin America, where there is scarcely a country, notwithstanding the challenge of tropical jungles and rugged mountains, that does not have rich natural resources in its land and subsoil. And above all, this vast region has millions of hard-working, God-centered people endowed with remarkable intellectual qualifications. I say this with full recognition of the risk in generalizing about such a vast region, where there are, of course, sharp ethnical, cultural, and national dis-

tinctions. Accepting the fact that such resources are available, albeit in varying degrees from country to country, the challenge before the hemisphere is how to put these resources to the rapid and fruitful use of the peoples of the Americas.

Tonight we might consider three approaches to this challenge of maximum utilization of the resources available to the Americas. Obviously this involves more than economic development, although this is a vital sector and the one on which predominant attention has been focused. It is clear to us all that, if economic development is to be achieved, a nation's people must also be in good health, of sound mind, and sparked by an inner spiritual drive. Need I say also that these attributes, both individual and national, thrive and grow best in an atmosphere of freedom. Indeed, while making due allowances for the enormous tribute extracted from enslaved peoples down through the centuries, and especially today, history is replete with accounts of the downfall which has inevitably overtaken those regimes which stifled freedom. Moreover, in this vast hemisphere called America no aspiration comes ahead of that for freedom. It will come inexorably to those who are denied it.

Let us first consider each country's responsibility for its own total development. Now obviously we should not and cannot tell others how they should do their job. It is quite properly their own

² For background, see BULLETIN of Jan. 11, 1960, p. 45.

¹ Address made at the sixth annual educational exchange dinner sponsored by the southwest regional office of the Institute of International Education at Houston, Texas, on Jan. 26.

national responsibility. However, we can analyze our past experiences, including our mistakes, and try to draw some conclusions that might be helpful to others as well as ourselves as courses for further action are being charted.

Need for Sound Policies

One thing we have learned is that there is no substitute for sound, realistic policies. Moreover, we now know that the Government must set the example in the formulation of its policies so that individual citizens, as well as corporate entities, may with assurance chart their own courses of action along the most productive lines. The greatest depressions of the late 19th century, as well as the one we suffered 30 years ago, were due in considerable part to unsound national policies which permitted unbraked inflation to become a widespread speculative fever throughout our country. We now know that Federal and State budgets need to be balanced just like those of individual families. We now know that unrestricted credit can speed the day of devaluation and even the wiping out of savings.

Our search continues to be for a properly balanced approach to the national economy. Here I would like to distinguish between sound government fiscal management and unsound state control of the economic activity of the country. We in this country are devoted to the private-enterprise concept of development. We believe in the maximum degree of freedom for the individual to work, to save, to invest, to give, and to partake of the fruits of his labor. In fact, the economic freedom which is the concomitant of private enterprise is inseparable from the political and religious freedom which we also hold dear.

In this respect it is interesting to recall the role of foreign private investors in the forward progress of the United States. One hundred years ago this great march began. We had vast wilderness to be developed, and we wanted to do it in a hurry. It was clear that we could not do it by ourselves. So we permitted, indeed invited, foreign nationals to help us do the job. The money poured in—pounds, francs, guilders, marks, lire, and pesos, too—hundreds of millions. We developed, and they made profit. We were a debtor nation, in fact, for the first 150 years of our existence—until after World War I. One remark-

able part of this story is that we never found the foreign investors to be an impediment to the full exercise of our freedom or our sovereignty. It is against this background that we should consider the role now being played by American investors in Latin America.

Bilateral Economic Cooperation

At this point I wish to examine a second approach to total development; namely, what countries can do in cooperating with each other in bilateral relationships and specifically the role of the United States in this respect. As pointed out earlier, in generalizing about Latin America we must not overlook the fact that it is made up of 20 different sovereign entities. We place a very high priority on our relationships with each country in the area. In Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina we have three of the largest embassy staffs that we have anywhere abroad. I do not need to dwell on the complexity of today's relationships with all these countries, but there is hardly any subject which does not come up for discussion with our Latin American neighbors from time to time.

In 1942, shortly after the outbreak of World War II, we began our technical cooperation program in Latin America, and it has since spread throughout the world. In recognition of the broad national base which is required for total development, the first technical cooperation programs were in the fields of public health, agriculture, and education. These programs are still important, but the programs have now been broadened to deal with problems in many other sectors. Rather than provide you with figures as to total amounts of money spent in the technical cooperation field during the past 18 years I would prefer to provide you with a few examples of the impact of these programs on the countries and the individuals involved. These are truly exciting stories of progress through cooperation.

In Bolivia, in areas where farmers previously lived on a subsistence level due to antiquated farming methods and primitive farming equipment, our technical cooperation program has brought about a revolutionary change. Through our supervised credit program, 255 farmers in the Santa Cruz area joined in a project which greatly increased the agricultural production of their lands. This dynamic project increased by

180 percent the land under cultivation in that area. This has not only proven to the farmers the usefulness of modern farming methods but, equally important, has stimulated interest in other areas.

The city of São Paulo in Brazil is certainly the major industrial center of that country and has sometimes been called "the Chicago of Brazil." Through a contract with the ICA [International Cooperation Administration], professors from the University of Michigan helped to establish a School of Business Administration at the Vargas Foundation in that city. This is the only school in Latin America offering a 4-year undergraduate program in business administration. By developing many of its own methods and techniques, and borrowing from other disciplines, the school is making a much-needed contribution to the industrialization of Brazil.

While the United States has had an established Civil Service for many years, many of the countries in Latin America have not had this tradition, with the result that they suffer from the lack of an established corps of trained government employees. This means that whenever governments change there is a massive turnover of government administrators and employees. The cooperative program which took place in Costa Rica in 1953 established a career Civil Service—which experienced no drastic personnel change after the elections in 1958, despite a major political change in administration.

In Colombia with ICA assistance ninety 4-H Clubs were formed, with 2,000 members ranging from ages 10 to 21. This has had a dynamic effect, for it has given the young people a means of cooperative self-improvement and has stimulated many locally conceived innovations which will aid the economic development of Colombia.

I could mention several other examples such as the 34 soybean milk distributing centers in the Amazon Basin of Brazil which are contributing notably to the provision of necessary protein dietary supplement for children, leading them to better health and increased vigor. I could also mention the marvelous results which have emerged from programs in several countries to cooperate in the planning and construction of potable water systems. And then there is the management association in Chile which is pro-

viding a forum for the exchange of views and technical knowledge of businessmen the country over, where by the end of 1959 more than 3,000 executives and middle management personnel had participated in seminars in management and productivity. While this work was begun by five United States professors, it is now being carried out principally under the direction of Chilean teachers.

Trade, Investment, and Loans

Having stressed the importance which we attach to providing a firm basis for total development by our technical cooperation approach to such problems as agriculture, health, and education, I should now cite some of the spectacular dollars-and-cents figures which show the extent of economic ties between the United States and Latin America. First we might examine trade. During World War II and the first few years afterward, while free Europe was being destroyed and then rebuilt, Latin America's trade with the United States increased six times. For the past 5 years trade in each direction between Latin America and the United States has gradually moved up from \$3.5 billion per year to \$4 billion per year. In 1959 there was some decrease in United States exports to Latin America, but this was overcome by an increase of approximately 10 percent in Latin American exports to the United States, notably increased purchases of coffee from Brazil, copper from Chile, and wool from Uruguay.

Next we might examine United States investments in Latin America, which now total more than \$9 billion. For the past 5 years United States private investment has increased in the area at an average of approximately \$600 million per year. It is vital that this high rate of investment continue, since obviously there are insufficient local funds to do the job without such investment. But for it to continue a favorable climate should prevail. Such a climate does prevail in most of the region, but we must take note of the fact that the entire area can be adversely affected by punitive action against foreign investors. When foreign investors are subjected to expropriation without prompt, equitable, and effective compensation, it is not to be expected that foreign investment will be attracted at the same rate as before.

Finally, on this point, I would like to mention United States public loans to Latin America. During the past decade the Export-Import Bank has loaned \$2,667 million to Latin America, and in the life of the Bank more than 40 percent of all of its loans have been made to Latin American borrowers. If we add to this record that of the Development Loan Fund, the ICA and its special assistance programs, and the loans made under P.L. 480, the grand total is \$3,567 million.

While I have stressed the role of private investment and given the reasons for so doing, I should mention here that we have loaned large sums to public entities in Latin America where private capital was not immediately available to do the job, especially in the case of steel mills, power projects, highways, and irrigation projects.

Multilateral Economic Cooperation

Finally I want to analyze a third method of responding to the challenge of total development—the multilateral way or, if you please, the inter-American way. I agree with all that has been said about the uniqueness of the inter-American system, which perhaps had its real beginning in our similar efforts to achieve independence from European mother countries just before and at the turn into the 19th century. There followed the meeting in Panama in 1825, the efforts of the Central American Confederation, the first halting meetings of the Pan American Union 70 years ago, and finally the drawing up of the charter of the Organization of American States in Bogotá in 1948.

Critics have tended to say that the inter-American system has functioned well in the political and security areas but that it has faltered when faced with the challenge of economic problems. Behind such criticism, in my opinion, there has been insufficient recognition of the complexities and difficulties involved in treating economic subjects. While it is true that there were frustrations attendant to the inter-American economic conferences at Rio in 1954 and at Buenos Aires in 1957, we should not overlook the progress that was made at those two meetings, particularly in the clear identification of the differing points of view which separated the various American states. In any case, there has been a noticeable and certainly commendable speedup in the inter-American ap-

proach to economic problems during the past year and a half.

Of major importance has been the progress made in multilateral consultations regarding commodity problems. Our Latin American friends have long been seeking some way of ameliorating the sharp fluctuations of prices in world markets for their basic commodities without doing violence to the normal laws of supply and demand. In June 1958 the Inter-American Coffee Study Group was formed to search for solutions to the problems attendant to that vital commodity. The United States, as the principal coffee consumer, was a participant. As a result of the efforts of that group, the Inter-American Coffee Agreement was negotiated, and in September 1959 an International Coffee Agreement was concluded. While coffee prices are still 50 percent less than they were a few years ago, relative stability has resulted in coffee markets due to this agreement. And this, in turn, has had a profound real as well as psychological effect in the 15 coffee-producing countries of Latin America. As a result of the relative success achieved in the consultations on coffee, similar efforts are now going forward in the case of lead and zinc, under the auspices of the United Nations, with a meeting now in progress in Geneva, and on the subject of cotton.

Another example of multilateral cooperation is the Inter-American Development Bank. Long an aspiration of our Latin American friends, the Bank will officially go into business this year following the first meeting of the Board of Governors scheduled to be held early next month in San Salvador.² The Bank will have several notable features: It will be strictly inter-American; it will be able to make both dollar loans and loans in other currencies; it will, we hope, be able to assist some of the Latin American countries who want it to plan and prepare loan projects. With the exception of Cuba, all of the American Republics are expected to participate in the organizational meeting of the Bank in San Salvador in February.

Another important milestone of multilateral cooperation has been that under the auspices of President Kubitshchek's constructive and far-sighted initiative known as Operation Pan Amer-

² For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 15, 1960, p. 263.

ica.³ This program has been broad in scope and has been carried forward through two meetings under OAS auspices of the "Committee of 21." The last meeting at Buenos Aires last May⁴ adopted a number of resolutions, the most important of which probably was that calling for detailed economic studies of the countries of the Americas, of which 11 so far have requested such studies. Under this operation it is expected also that the Inter-American Economic and Social Council will undertake a more vigorous approach to its responsibilities in assisting the countries in the hemisphere toward their development goals.

One of the concepts included in Operation Pan America was that of the common market. This is a simple name for a complex subject, as anyone knows who recalls the 10 years required for the European Common Market to get off the ground. However, effective steps are now being taken in the Americas toward the fruition of common-market dreams. In Central America three countries have just recently pledged their combined efforts to this end, El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. In the southern tier of South America seven countries are working toward a free-trade authority, and it is expected that Peru and Mexico may eventually join them. The United States looks with favor on all of these projects as long as their goal is a higher standard of living for the people of the countries involved by means of greater productivity, increased competition, and gradual reduction of trade restrictions.

Referring back to the need for sound national policies which I mentioned earlier, a common market presupposes that all of the members will follow sound monetary and fiscal policies. If one member does not do this, it will inevitably cause serious difficulties to the other members.

It is virtually certain that the representatives of 7 of the 10 South American countries will meet on February 4 to organize a Latin American free-trade area. We know that there must be a considerable increase in intra-American trade if living standards in Latin America are to rise, and hence we regard this movement with keen and sympathetic interest.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, June 30, 1958, p. 1090, and Oct. 13, 1958, p. 574.

⁴ *Ibid.*, June 22, 1959, p. 931.

Negative Role of Communism

So far I have attempted to portray in broad outline the efforts being made by the United States, on its own and in cooperation with individual countries and through the multilateral auspices of the Organization of American States. I have stressed the necessity for laying a foundation for economic development, through greater productivity and better health and education, in an atmosphere of individual freedom.

It is generally agreed that the peoples of the Americas, similar to peoples elsewhere in the world, are unwilling to take no for an answer to their increasing demands for total development, both economic and social. The challenge is how to close the gap between their aspirations and their capacity to achieve them in freedom. We of the United States can and should do our part, although the major part of the job must be done by the people directly involved in each country.

In this race against time we cannot overlook the efforts being made by the Communists, and those playing the Communist game, to frustrate these aspirations of Latin America and bring about acceptance of social and economic philosophies completely incompatible with, and destructive of, its cherished traditional concepts of man and his activities. While the peoples of the Americas strive to achieve economic development in an atmosphere of freedom and while we seek, through both private and government channels, to aid this historic process, the Communists address increasing resources to subverting the area's aspirations. The Communist world makes no positive contribution to the advancement of Latin America but acts negatively, offering retrogression in place of progress.

Politically the Communist bloc seeks to destroy Latin America's total commitment to the support of the ideals of the West. This support is a reflection of the spiritual identification of America's peoples with the principles of the free world, and the Communists are dedicated to subverting Latin America's desire to advance within this framework. The Red efforts are aimed at eroding the position of the West by sowing doubt and confusion.

As the institution representing the solidarity of the American Republics in the quest for freedom and development, the Organization of American

States is a prime target for the Communists. The Communists seek to destroy its effectiveness through attempts to create American governments unsympathetic to its ideals. A first step sought by the Reds is the "neutrality" of key Latin American states in the struggle between the Communist and the non-Communist world. This rejection of Latin American traditions and ideals could then be followed by the encouragement of Communist-oriented movements to permit the actual domination of the country by the Soviet bloc. The Communists have not tried to hide the fact that their economics are an instrument of politics, and we must not forget that all economic activity in the bloc countries is under the direct control and management of government. Thus trade becomes, for the Communists, a naked political instrument to be used for the objectives we have just mentioned.

While following a deceitful and politically motivated economic policy in Latin America, the Communists also pursue corrosive political objectives. While the majority of the peoples of the hemisphere strive to meet their political aspirations by peaceful means, trying to put an end to the violence which has so often characterized their battles for freedom and representative government, the Communists stimulate violent extremists who would destroy the peace which the people need if they are to solve their problems. Wherever we have seen mobs and riots and looting by extremist minorities we have seen the Communists—either in front or behind. Nor are these Red provocateurs working on behalf of the local people and their desires to establish political institutions reflecting their own particular traditions. While the Communists claim to be patriots and nationalists, they act upon instructions from behind the Iron Curtain—instructions given by local staffs of Communist-bloc embassies, by couriers from behind the Curtain, and by leaders at conferences held both in the hemisphere and in bloc cities. Thus the Communists are not contributing to the growth of stable, orderly, representative political institutions to advance the Latin American nations. They are putting increasing energies into the negation of every political advance made by the American Republics since the wars of independence over a century ago, advances not only at the national level but in the field of inter-American cooperation which

promises so much to the peoples of the hemisphere.

Another aspect of the Red offensive is what might be called "the search for respectability." The Communist Governments, including that of Red China, are engaged in intensive efforts to gain respectability and acceptability in Latin America. This intensified bloc campaign for the minds of the people of Latin America is now being carried on at a level of approximately \$100 million per year.

The positive contributions which have been made and which continue to be made by the United States, through both governmental and private efforts, to the development of Latin America and the achievement of the aspirations of its peoples provide a marked contrast to the activities of the Communists in the hemisphere. We share the ideals and traditions of the other American Republics and devote impressive energies to their advancement, while the Communists seek only to destroy all that has been built and substitute alien doctrines and institutions.

Conclusion

I have sought this evening to outline in broad terms some of the major problems of our Latin American neighbors which relate particularly to their economic development. I have set forth some of the ways in which our Government and United States investors are contributing to the solution of these problems, contrasting this with the sinister policies and programs of international communism.

With sound policies, the United States can, and I am convinced will, be able to maintain a helpful cooperative attitude toward Latin America, where speedy development is so essential if the race between the so-called "population explosion" and the "revolution of rising expectations" is to be won. In the formulation of our national policies toward Latin America, there is a manifest desire on the part of our Government and United States public opinion to direct our efforts along those channels which can most effectively serve the long-term interests of the other American Republics. We wish to see in each of them the development of strong viable economies, based on the will of the people as expressed through representative democratic governments.

The 1960-61 GATT Tariff Conference

by *Honoré M. Catudal*

"It is essential for the security of the United States and the rest of the free world that the United States take the leadership in promoting the achievement of those high levels of trade that will bring to all the economic strength upon which the freedom and security of all depends."¹ These words of President Eisenhower have been repeated in substance by the President many times.

In carrying out this role of leadership in the field of international trade, the United States in the fall of 1958 proposed that a new round of general tariff negotiations be held in 1960-61, within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).² This proposal having been adopted by the countries which participate in the General Agreement, foreign trade experts in many countries over the world have already begun the painstaking preparations needed for a multilateral tariff conference of unprecedented magnitude and complexity which is scheduled to begin at Geneva in September 1960.

"A basic objective of the United States in putting forth this proposal," the President has pointed out, "is the establishment of a less restricted international trade which will foster greater strength and solidarity among the nations of the free world."³ The reciprocal trade program is good for America, in the words of President Eisenhower, because it promotes jobs at home and peace in the world.⁴

For the United States the forthcoming tariff conference is of importance because it will provide opportunities to expand foreign markets for the

products of our farms and factories by reducing trade barriers abroad. With the progressive dismantling of discriminations and restrictions imposed during the past decade on our exports for balance-of-payments reasons, tariffs are beginning to have increased significance in the world. The Geneva negotiations will give us the chance to bargain for tariff reductions abroad and thus strengthen the position of our export trade in an increasingly competitive world market. Of particular importance to our export trade will be the negotiations with the European Economic Community (EEC) directed at keeping the external tariff of the Common Market toward outside countries, including the United States, as low as feasible.

This article does not attempt to describe the details of the forthcoming tariff conference. Rather, its purpose is to explain the mechanics of the conference in simple terms so that non-experts may follow and understand in a general way the methods, rules, procedures, and objectives of the conference.

In order to understand better the nature and scope of the forthcoming Geneva tariff conference, it will be helpful to begin with a brief explanation of the GATT.

What Is the GATT?

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT, as it has come to be called from its initials, is an international trade agreement among virtually all of the important trading nations of

¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 24, 1955, p. 119.

² For a review of the 13th session of GATT, see *ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1958, p. 930.

³ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1959, p. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 14, 1958, p. 591.

● *Mr. Catudal is an adviser in the Trade Agreements Division, Department of State.*

the free world, including the United States. The GATT developed out of proposals by the United States for a "multilateral" approach to the solution of international trade problems, that is to say, an agreement among many countries, in contrast to the two-country or "bilateral" method.

After several years of intensive preparations, both here and abroad, including 6 months of continuous international negotiations among 23 countries at Geneva in 1947, GATT came into existence on January 1, 1948, as a "provisional" undertaking by 8 important trading countries, including the United States. Since that time additional countries have agreed to apply the GATT, until today 37 countries are contracting parties to the agreement and several more countries participate on an interim basis or have become associated with it.

While the GATT is a technical and complex document because the problems of international trade are technical and complex, the General Agreement can nevertheless be reduced to three simple essentials. First, it consists of tariff "schedules," or lists of "concessions" (i.e. named products for which specific tariff treatment has been agreed upon), with separate schedules for each participating country ("contracting party"). Second, there is a code of agreed rules, or "general provisions," governing the import and export trade of the contracting parties. Third, through periodic meetings of representatives of the participating countries, GATT provides a broad international forum for the friendly discussion and settlement of mutual problems of international trade.

GATT is the most comprehensive international agreement ever concluded for the reduction of trade barriers, considering the number of participating countries, the scope of its provisions, and the volume of trade affected. The 37 contracting parties together account for more than 80 percent of the international trade of the whole world.

The tariff *schedules* annexed to the GATT include some 60,000 items covering more than half of the total foreign trade of the world. These tariff concessions include reductions in import duties or commitments to "bind" (i.e. not to increase) specified duties or duty-free treatment, and, in some cases, the complete elimination of duties or the reduction or elimination of tariff preferences.

The *general provisions* of GATT provide a framework or code of principles and rules to safeguard and supplement the tariff concessions. Much of this code is applicable not only to the products listed in the schedules but to all the foreign trade of the contracting parties. It includes such basic rules as most-favored-nation treatment (i.e. nondiscrimination) in tariff, customs, and tax matters and a general prohibition against the use of import and export restrictions (i.e. quotas), together with agreed qualifications and exceptions under certain carefully defined circumstances.

The general provisions also deal with procedural matters, such as the accession to the agreement of new countries, the termination of obligations, administration, consultation, and various other matters relating to the agreement as a whole.

Scope of New Negotiations

As in previous general tariff conferences the forthcoming negotiations at Geneva will have as their aim the reduction of the general level of tariffs and other charges on imports through the exchange of reciprocal and mutually advantageous concessions. To the extent that particular contracting parties are able to negotiate mutually satisfactory concessions, negotiations may also cover certain nontariff barriers such as the protection afforded by import monopolies, internal quantitative restrictions (mixing regulations), etc.

The forthcoming tariff conference will include four categories of negotiations to be held in two stages. The first stage, which is scheduled to begin in September 1960, will cover (1) renegotiations with member states of the European Economic Community pursuant to GATT article XXIV, paragraph 6, and (2) certain renegotiations of existing concessions under GATT article XXVIII. The second stage, which is expected to begin early in 1961, will cover (3) negotiations among contracting parties for new concessions and (4) negotiations with countries invited to accede to the GATT.

(1) Renegotiations With EEC Countries

The first stage of the conference will provide a novel test of the GATT rules and those of the newly emerging European Economic Community.

The historic Treaty of Rome of March 25, 1957, which created the European Economic Community, or Common Market, aims at the complete

economic union of six countries of Western Europe—Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.⁵ The Rome Treaty provides, among other things, for the gradual elimination of all tariffs and quotas on trade among the six member countries and for the establishment of a common external tariff for the Community—in other words, the complete abolition of tariffs and other restrictions *within* the Common Market and the fixing of a single common tariff toward *outside* countries.

The six EEC countries are all contracting parties to the GATT, which contains explicit rules regarding customs unions, rules which are applicable to the Common Market. One of the most important of these GATT rules stipulates that the external duties and other regulations of commerce imposed at the institution of a customs union must not on the whole be higher or more restricted than the general incidence of the duties and regulations of commerce applied by the individual countries prior to their union. In other words, the formation of a customs union is not to be accomplished by generally *increasing* tariffs and other trade restrictions toward outside countries.

On the other hand, the GATT recognizes that the establishment of a single or common external tariff for a customs union to replace the several tariffs of the member countries is likely, in some instances, to involve increases in particular duties which are bound against increase in the GATT schedules. Accordingly, provision has been made in GATT article XXIV, paragraph 6, for orderly procedures for renegotiation of such bound duties. These procedures, while taking account of decreases in duties which may be made in arriving at a common external tariff for all the members of the customs union, provide for the granting of compensatory tariff concessions to offset increases in bound rates.

These GATT rules and procedures are to receive their first real test during the forthcoming tariff conference.

Perhaps a hypothetical illustration will help to point up some of the problems to be resolved in these negotiations. Many of the duties of the Common Market's external tariff will be estab-

lished by a simple arithmetical average of the duties presently applied by the individual countries. Under this formula, for a product on which the present duty is, say, 10 percent in the Benelux countries (Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands),⁶ 30 percent in France, 15 percent in Germany, and 25 percent in Italy, the Common Market duty would be 20 percent. Assuming that only the 30 percent or the 25 percent duty had been bound against increase, it is clear that the reduction of the French or Italian duties to the Common Market duty would involve no GATT problem. If, however, the 10 percent duty had been bound against increase in the Benelux schedule to GATT, a problem would arise as to whether the increase of this 10 percent duty, to the rate of 20 percent in the new EEC schedule, was offset by the decreases in the duties of the other members of the Community. There will also very likely be cases where it could reasonably be maintained that an increase in a bound duty for one product in the EEC schedule has been offset by a decrease in duty in that schedule on another product of comparable trade importance.

These and similar problems will be involved in the forthcoming tariff renegotiations with the EEC countries. At this stage no change in the U.S. tariff will be involved.

(2) *Renegotiations of Existing Concessions*

In addition to the renegotiations of bound duties with the Common Market countries, the first stage of the tariff conference (i.e. beginning in September 1960) will also include such renegotiations of particular tariff concessions in existing schedules as contracting parties may wish to undertake under article XXVIII of the GATT.

The procedures developed by the Contracting Parties under article XXVIII have provided a remarkable combination of stability and flexibility for the tariff schedules of the GATT. Under these procedures, on the one hand, there is in substance an agreement by the Contracting Parties to continue to apply generally their respective schedules for successive 3-year periods by refraining from using, except at the end of such periods, the right provided for in article XXVIII to modify or withdraw concessions.

On the other hand, recognizing that not every one of the thousands of tariff rates bound in the

⁵ For an article by John A. Birch on the Common Market, see *ibid.*, July 20, 1959, p. 89.

⁶ The Benelux countries form a customs union.

schedules could forever remain unchanged, article XXVIII does in fact authorize any contracting party, at the beginning of each 3-year period, to modify or withdraw particular tariff concessions in its schedule by renegotiating such concessions with the contracting parties primarily affected.

During the first stage of the forthcoming tariff conference, it is expected that some of the contracting parties will wish to make use of article XXVIII in order to make certain adjustments in their schedules on January 1, 1961, which will begin the next 3-year period of continued application or "firm validity" of the GATT schedules.

Under article XXVIII a country which desires to modify or withdraw existing tariff concessions may do so at the beginning of a 3-year period by negotiation and agreement or consultation with the countries with which the concessions were initially negotiated and with such other countries as are determined by the Contracting Parties to have a substantial trade interest in the particular products affected.

In such renegotiations a key guiding principle of article XXVIII provides that the negotiating countries will endeavor to maintain a general level of reciprocal and mutually advantageous concessions not less favorable to trade than that existing prior to the negotiations. In line with this principle the country desiring to modify or withdraw existing concessions usually seeks during the negotiations to obtain the agreement of the other countries concerned by offering "compensation" in the form of new concessions on items of comparable trade interest to the latter. However, if agreement is not reached that the compensation is adequate for the modification proposed, the latter countries are authorized to withdraw equivalent concessions initially negotiated with the country making the modification.

(3) *Negotiations for New Concessions*

The second stage of the tariff conference is scheduled to open early in 1961 and will be largely concerned with negotiations among contracting parties for new concessions. During this stage, negotiations will also be undertaken with countries invited to "accede" (i.e. to become contracting parties) to the GATT.

The forthcoming conference will be the fifth round of general tariff negotiations undertaken by the GATT contracting parties. Previous rounds

were held at Geneva in 1947, at Annecy, France, in 1949, at Torquay, England, in 1950-51, and again at Geneva in 1956.

As in previous conferences it is expected that a substantial number of the contracting parties will participate in the multilateral tariff negotiations, particularly since these negotiations will afford an opportunity to exchange concessions with the European Economic Community and thereby reduce to some extent the external tariff of the Common Market.

Preparations for Negotiations—The procedures for the negotiations will follow the general pattern established in previous tariff conferences sponsored by GATT, with some adaptations, particularly those made necessary by the fact that the six member countries of the European Economic Community will no longer participate in the negotiations separately but as one entity.

In preparation for the conference each country that desires to participate submits to each other participating country with which it wishes to negotiate a preliminary list of the products on which it intends to request tariff concessions at Geneva. By August 1, 1960, the countries are to submit lists indicating the tariff rates they request. Each participating country is expected to be ready, on the opening day of the negotiations, to announce its "offers"—the concessions it is prepared to offer to other participating countries in the light of the concessions it is requesting. During this period of preparations, participating countries are expected to refrain from increasing tariffs or adopting other protective measures designed to improve their bargaining position in the negotiations.

Bilateral Bargaining—Initially, the negotiations will be conducted on a bilateral basis between negotiating teams representing pairs of countries, although the European Economic Community will be handled as one entity. When two countries are ready to begin negotiations, each will give to the other a list of the concessions it is prepared to offer. In making up its offer lists each country generally initiates negotiations with the country that is, or is likely to become, the principal or an important supplier of a particular product.

As in the past, negotiations will be conducted on a selective, product-by-product basis. This procedure affords an opportunity to take account of the needs of individual countries and of particular industries. Participating countries will be

free not to grant concessions on particular products, and in granting concessions they may agree to reduce an import duty or to bind it against increase at the existing level or they may undertake not to raise a duty above a specified higher level.

No country is expected to grant unilateral concessions or to grant concessions without receiving adequate concessions in return. On the other hand, it is understood that the binding against increase of low duties or of duty-free treatment shall in principle be recognized as a concession equivalent in value to the reduction of high duties.

Multilateral Phase—Although the negotiations are carried out in detail on a bilateral basis between pairs of countries, several procedures and devices will be employed to make the negotiations in fact multilateral. Thus, when offer lists are exchanged between the various pairs of negotiating teams, copies will also be sent to the delegations of all other participating countries. In this way each country, in determining the concessions it is finally prepared to make, can take into account those indirect benefits it may obtain from all the other negotiations as a group, since all contracting parties obtain the benefit of any concessions granted by one country to any other country.

Moreover, at the very beginning of the conference there will be established a Tariff Negotiations Committee, composed of representatives of all participating countries. The function of this committee will be to coordinate and facilitate the negotiations and thus to bring about the fullest possible multilateral effort to achieve the desired objectives. Upon the completion of the negotiations this committee will be responsible for drawing up the document which will incorporate the new concessions into the GATT and under which each contracting party will obtain a contractual right to all the concessions negotiated by each pair of countries.

(4) *Negotiations With Acceding Countries*

During the second stage of the conference, i.e. beginning in early 1961, along with the negotiations among contracting parties and with the European Economic Community, there will be negotiations with several countries which have been invited to accede to the GATT. Cambodia, Israel, and Tunisia have already indicated a desire to carry out negotiations for accession, and other countries may also participate.

In general the rules and procedural steps for the negotiations for accession are the same as those among contracting parties for new concessions. Thus there will be, first, the bilateral phase with the exchange of lists of offers and requests, followed by the multilateral phase. One difference arises out of the fact that, in granting concessions, acceding governments are expected to take into consideration the indirect benefits which they will receive from the concessions already exchanged between contracting parties in previous tariff negotiations, as well as those which will result from the new negotiations.

United States Participation in the Conference

The United States will participate in the forthcoming tariff conference under the authority of the trade agreements legislation and in accordance with procedures set forth in several Executive orders issued by the President.

Trade Agreements Authority

The Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as extended and amended, gives the President limited authority to enter into trade agreements with foreign countries whereby the United States agrees to reduce, or to bind against increase, tariff rates applying to specified imported products in return for concessions for products exported by the United States.⁷ Under the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1958 the President is authorized generally to reduce U.S. duties, in annual stages, by not more than 20 percent of the rates existing on July 1, 1958. Alternatively, he may reduce any rate by 2 percentage points ad valorem, or he may reduce to 50 percent ad valorem any rate which is in excess of 50 percent. The law likewise authorizes him to agree to "bind" (i.e. continue) duty-free treatment for articles on the free list or to bind existing duties.

The law prescribes three things which must be done before a trade agreement is concluded: (1) reasonable public notice must be given of intention to negotiate an agreement in order that interested persons may have an opportunity to present their views; (2) the President must seek

⁷ For a two-part article by Mr. Catudal on "Trade Agreements Legislation: A Section-by-Section Analysis," see BULLETIN of Dec. 22, 1958, p. 1013, and Dec. 29, 1958, p. 1050.

information and advice from certain Government agencies having a particular interest in foreign trade; and (3) the President must seek "peril point"⁸ recommendations from the U.S. Tariff Commission with respect to the products which are to be considered for the granting of tariff concessions by the United States in the proposed negotiations.

In addition to the foregoing requirements, recent legislation declares it to be the sense of Congress that, during the negotiation of trade agreements, the President should seek information and advice from representatives of industry, agriculture, and labor.

The Interdepartmental Trade Agreements Organization

In carrying out his responsibilities under the Trade Agreements Act, the President is assisted by a network of interdepartmental committees, so organized as to make available to him information and advice from all Departments and agencies of the Government concerned with foreign trade—from the technical level up to the Cabinet—and from the general public. Three principal committees have been established by Executive order: (1) the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements, or Trade Agreements Committee (TAC), (2) the Committee for Reciprocity Information (CRI), and (3) the Cabinet-level Trade Policy Committee (TPC).

The Trade Agreements Committee is responsible for developing detailed information and recommendations concerning the initiation and carrying out of negotiations, as well as for the administration of the trade agreements program generally. The Committee, which, as needed, sets up interdepartmental subcommittees of experts for each country or group of countries with which negotiations are contemplated, is made up of representatives of the following agencies: Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Interior, International Cooperation Administration, Labor, State, Tariff Commission, and Treasury. The representative

of the Department of State serves as chairman.

The Committee for Reciprocity Information has the same membership as the Trade Agreements Committee, but the Tariff Commission member serves as its chairman. This Committee invites interested persons and organizations, as well as the general public, to submit views in writing and at public hearings regarding possible tariff concessions to be made by the United States in trade agreement negotiations, as well as suggestions for concessions which might be sought from other countries.

The Trade Policy Committee was established in 1957 at the Cabinet level to advise and assist the President in the administration of the trade agreements program. In addition to the Secretary of Commerce as its chairman, the Committee consists of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Defense, Interior, Labor, State, and Treasury, or high-ranking alternates designated by them. The Trade Policy Committee reviews the recommendations of the Trade Agreements Committee at all stages of trade agreement negotiations and transmits these recommendations to the President with any comments of its own resulting from the review.

Preparations for the Negotiations

As in previous negotiations the first step is for the Trade Agreements Committee to establish what are known as "country committees" for each country or group of countries with which negotiations are expected to be carried on. These are interdepartmental subcommittees of experts on our trade with each of the countries concerned.

Preparation of U.S. Offers

Each country committee will make a comprehensive survey of our trade with the country concerned, studying trade statistics for both our imports from and our exports to that country, with a view to drawing up preliminary lists of the items which should be considered in the negotiations.

The chief criterion guiding the work of country committees at this stage is what is referred to as the "principal-supplier rule." For bargaining purposes, each side generally finds that it is most advantageous if its offer of a tariff concession is

⁸ The "peril points" are the rates below which the Tariff Commission finds that U.S. duties may not be reduced without causing or threatening serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or competitive products. If the President concludes a trade agreement exceeding the peril points, the law provides that he shall report to Congress his reasons therefor.

made to the country which is the principal or an important supplier of a particular product. After a detailed study of data on imports, exports, domestic production, tariff history, and other pertinent facts available from Government sources on the products concerned, each country committee submits to the Trade Agreements Committee a list of products which it feels should be considered for possible tariff concessions by the United States, together with a summary of the data used in its studies.

During a careful item-by-item scrutiny of the lists of products and supporting data submitted to it by the country committees, the Trade Agreements Committee makes such modifications in the lists as it considers advisable. After this work has been completed for all the countries with which negotiations are contemplated, the Trade Agreements Committee sends to the President, through the Trade Policy Committee, a consolidated list of U.S. import items ("public list") which the Committee recommends for possible tariff concessions during the negotiations. If there are dissents by any agency on particular items, these are brought to the attention of the Trade Policy Committee and, if they persist, to the President.

After the President has approved the list of U.S. import items, it will be published, together with a formal announcement of the intention to enter into trade agreement negotiations, and dates will be set by the Committee for Reciprocity Information for filing briefs and for public hearings to obtain the views of interested persons and groups concerning the proposed negotiations. (The fact that a product is included in the public list does not mean that a tariff concession will necessarily be made on that product in the negotiations.) Simultaneously, the President will transmit the list to the Tariff Commission for peril-point findings on each product, and the Commission will also issue a notice of public hearings.

In connection with the announcements it will be made clear that no article will be considered in the negotiations for the granting of a tariff concession by the United States unless it is included in the public list or unless it is subsequently included in a supplementary public list. Every effort will be made to see that the lists and notices get wide public distribution, through the press,

trade associations, and otherwise—for example, through the field offices of the Department of Commerce.

All information presented by the public in briefs and orally at the public hearings will be made available to the members of the country committees and the TAC and to any other persons who may have responsibilities for the conference preparations.

Taking into account all the information received from the public by the Committee for Reciprocity Information and the Tariff Commission, the various country committees will resume their studies of the items under consideration in order to determine whether to recommend that a concession be offered on a particular product and, if so, to what extent. These recommendations, together with supporting data, are submitted to the TAC, which reviews them item by item and accepts, modifies, or rejects them.

How Recommendations Are Arrived At

The decision in each case is based upon a variety of factors:

The Committee considers for each item the relation of imports to domestic production: Are imports a large or small part of the total amount consumed in the United States? Have imports been increasing or decreasing in relation to domestic production?

The Committee takes into account whether the domestic industry is large and diversified or small, located largely in one community, and concentrated on the particular product involved. It also takes into account whether the domestic industry has an export business that must compete in third markets with the foreign product.

The Committee must take into account national security needs for particular products and, in the case of an agricultural product, whether a concession might interfere with a price-support or other farm program.

Depending on circumstances, the Committee may consider whether it would be possible or desirable to make a concession on only part of a tariff category or limit the effect of a duty reduction through the use of a tariff quota or other device.

An important matter considered by the Committee is whether our offers as a whole are adequate to reciprocate for the concessions we may reasonably expect to obtain for our exports.

These and other matters are studied by the Committee. Particularly important are the peril-point findings of the Tariff Commission, which the Committee takes into consideration, along with all the information obtained from other sources, in making recommendations to the President.

Recommendations Go to the President

The recommendations of the Trade Agreements Committee will then be transmitted to the President, with dissents, if any, as to particular items, through the Cabinet-level Trade Policy Committee, which gives the President such advice as it deems appropriate.

The decision of the President constitutes an instruction to the U.S. negotiators. It authorizes them to make specified concessions, provided they can get adequate concessions in return. If it is found desirable to request additional authority from the President for an import product not on the public list, a new notice must be issued and the same procedure gone through as with the original public list (hearings, peril-point findings, etc.).

Preparation of U.S. Requests

The preparation of our lists of requests for concessions from the foreign countries taking part in the negotiations goes forward simultaneously with the preparation of our offers. The country committees make a systematic review of our export trade with the countries involved, studying their tariffs, taxes, quotas, trade regulations, etc.

As on the import side, the principal-supplier criterion is an important guide, but studies are also made to determine whether there are any export products in which trade ought to be moving and, if so, why it is not moving. Past inquiries and complaints from American exporters received through the Committee for Reciprocity Information or by any of the Departments are reviewed in order to determine whether any of such items should be included in our requests.

At the time public notice is given of intention to enter into trade agreement negotiations, interested persons and organizations are invited to submit their suggestions concerning export items on which concessions might be requested.

The establishment of the European Economic Community introduces a new and very important factor in the U.S. preparations for the forthcoming tariff conference that was not present in previous tariff negotiations. The new negotiations

are to take place just as the first important steps are being taken by the EEC to establish a common external tariff for the six member countries.

With a population approximately as large as that of the United States, the six countries of the Common Market together constitute one of the most important markets in the world for American exports. Consequently, it is of considerable importance to our export trade that the common external tariff of the Common Market be kept as low as feasible. To the extent that the United States can offer tariff concessions on imports of importance to the EEC countries, we can request corresponding concessions in the external tariff of the Common Market and thus further the interests of our export trade in that important area. This explains why the country committee for the EEC is devoting much painstaking work in preparing as broad a list of requests from the Community as our proposed offer list can justify.

The recommendations of all the country committees will be carefully reviewed by the Trade Agreements Committee, which goes over them item by item and which also reviews our overall requests from particular countries in the light of our possible offers. The request lists, like the offer recommendations, will probably, as in the past, move back and forth from the Trade Agreements Committee to the country committees and back again, until they are finally ready to be transmitted through the Trade Policy Committee to the President for his approval, along with the recommendations on offers.

The Negotiations

After the President has approved the offers and requests, the next stage will be the actual negotiations at Geneva.

Under the overall direction of the Trade Agreements Committee, negotiations with each foreign country and with the European Economic Community will be conducted by a separate U.S. team which, as far as possible, will be made up of the same experts who composed the preparatory country committee. Normally, each negotiating team consists of representatives of the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and State, with representatives of other Departments taking part as matters of interest to their agencies are considered. In addition a Tariff Commission expert is assigned

to each team as a technical adviser, although as a matter of policy the members of the Tariff Commission staff do not engage in actual negotiations. In conformity with the "sense of the Congress" expressed in recent legislation, the advice of representatives of industry, agriculture, and labor will be available during the negotiations through public advisers who will be named to the American delegation to the tariff conference.

As in past tariff conferences the negotiations will begin with bilateral meetings between the U.S. negotiating teams and their counterparts from the foreign countries. At the first meeting the two teams will exchange their lists of offers. After these offers have been studied, the actual bargaining will begin and may continue for a considerable period of time.

As soon as possible each U.S. team will report to the Trade Agreements Committee its views as to whether an agreement with the other country is possible and what are the most favorable terms on which it then appears that an agreement can be reached. If the proposed agreement is a balanced one and within the terms of the team's instructions, the team may be authorized to conclude the agreement on an *ad referendum* basis. Reaching an agreement sometimes involves changes in the original U.S. offers or, if the other country's offers remain inadequate, some of our offers have to be withdrawn. If additional authority is required, the TAC transmits a request for it, through the TPC, to the President, and if he approves the negotiating team then proceeds to conclude an *ad referendum* agreement.

Upon completion of the negotiations the results of all the agreements between the various pairs of countries will be combined into a single document called a protocol, which in turn will provide for the incorporation of all the new tariff concessions into the GATT.

The results of the U.S. negotiations will be reviewed by the TAC and then transmitted through the TPC to the President with a recommendation for his approval. If the President approves, the protocol will be signed by a person designated by the President and the agreement will become a binding obligation of the United States.

The final step in the trade agreements procedure will be taken when the President issues a proclamation bringing the agreement into force as regards U.S. domestic law.

International Bank Issues 6-Month Financial Statement

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development reported on February 3 that its reserves had risen by \$42 million in the first 6 months of the current financial year to a total of \$162 million.

The additions to reserves in the 6-month period ending December 31, 1959, are made up of net earnings of \$28.8 million, which were placed in the supplemental reserve against losses on loans and guarantees, and loan commissions of \$13.2 million, which were credited to the special reserve. On December 31 the supplemental reserve totaled \$310.9 million and the special reserve was \$151.1 million.

Gross income, exclusive of loan commissions, was \$71.4 million. Expenses totaled \$42.6 million and included \$37.2 million for interest on the Bank's funded debt, bond issuance, and other financial expenses.

During the period the Bank made 15 loans totaling \$349.1 million—in Algeria and Sahara, Austria, Chile, India (two loans), Iran, Italy, Japan (two loans), Norway, Pakistan (three loans), United Arab Republic, and Uruguay. This brought the total number of loans to 249 in 51 countries and raised the gross total of commitments to \$4,871 million.

Disbursements on loans were \$213.8 million, making total disbursements \$3,591.2 million on December 31.

The Bank sold or agreed to sell the equivalent of \$82.9 million principal amounts of loans. At December 31 the total amount of such sales was \$651.3 million, of which all except \$69 million was without the Bank's guarantee.

Repayments of principal received by the Bank amounted to \$30.2 million. Total principal repayments amounted to \$577.2 million on December 31; this included \$294.4 million repaid to the Bank and \$282.8 million repaid to the purchasers of borrowers' obligations sold by the Bank.

The funded debt of the Bank amounted to \$1,989.8 million on December 31, 1959, reflecting a net increase of \$84.6 million over the past 6 months. In this period new bond issues and private placements of Bank obligations amounted to the equivalent of \$162.9 million. These consisted

of a public issue of £10 million (\$28 million) of sterling stock and four private placements of obligations totaling the equivalent of \$134.9 million, including DM10 million (\$2.4 million) of deutsche mark notes. Outstanding debt was increased a further \$23.8 million as a result of the delivery of \$11.1 million of bonds which had been subject to delayed delivery arrangements and through the drawing down of an additional \$12.7 million equivalent from the deutsche mark note of 1958. Funded debt maturing amounted to \$90.8 million, and sinking and purchase fund transactions amounted to \$11.3 million.

Pursuant to the increase in the Bank's authorized capital from \$10 billion to \$21 billion on September 15, 1959, the subscribed capital had been increased to \$18,614.4 million by December 31, 1959.

DLF Lists Total Commitments as of December 31, 1959

The Development Loan Fund on February 3 issued a list of loans approved in the period September 16 to December 31, 1959. Ten loans to public and private borrowers in nine countries were listed. Amounts of the loans totaled \$95,850,000.

The Development Loan Fund, a U.S. Government corporation, makes loans to enterprises in friendly countries which are hampered in their efforts to achieve self-sustaining growth and rising living standards by a lack of capital. Loans are made for projects and programs which will stimulate economic development but for which funds are not available from other sources.

The new loans listed bring the total commitment of DLF loan funds since the Fund began lending early in 1958 to \$948,006,000. This includes commitment of funds for 111 loans and 2 guaranties totaling \$908,756,000 to borrowers in 41 countries, additional commitments totaling \$39,250,000 covering loans for which letters of advice have not yet been issued, and commitments to certain countries to finance development projects subject to approval of specific proposals when submitted.

DLF loan operations to date break down as follows:

Twenty-one loans totaling \$77,590,000 to borrowers in 13 Latin American countries;

Ten loans and 1 guaranty totaling commitments

of \$53,390,000 to borrowers in 8 countries in Africa;

Eight loans totaling \$81,000,000 to borrowers in 3 European countries;

Nineteen loans totaling \$195,900,000 to borrowers in 7 countries in the Near East;

Twenty-five loans totaling \$332,000,000 to borrowers in 3 countries in South Asia; and

Twenty-seven loans and 1 guaranty totaling commitments of \$168,876,000 to borrowers in 7 Far Eastern countries.

The principal borrowing countries are India, with 8 loans totaling \$195,000,000, and Pakistan, with 14 loans totaling \$133,555,000.

Mr. Sterling Named to Advisory Group on Educational Exchange

The Senate on January 20 confirmed the nomination of John Ewart Wallace Sterling to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange for a term of 3 years expiring January 27, 1962, and until his successor is appointed and qualified.

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¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

Developments in International Economic Affairs

EXCERPTS FROM THE ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT¹

CHAPTER 2

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN 1959

International Economic Developments

In 1959, as in 1958, United States payments in international transactions exceeded receipts by a wide margin (Chart 11²). Exports, seasonally adjusted, fell to a low level in the first quarter of the year, but then began to strengthen and in the third quarter rose vigorously. Though this expansion was interrupted later in the year by the steel shortage, the value of exports in the 11 months through November was about the same as in the corresponding period of 1958. Imports, which were little affected by the 1957-58 recession, staged an exceptionally rapid increase until mid-1959 and, on a seasonally adjusted basis, remained steady thereafter at a level much higher than in previous years.

These developments in trade were superimposed upon a heavy outflow of capital and military expenditures, though both of these flows, especially that of private capital funds, were smaller in 1959 than in 1958. The transfer of gold and liquid dollar assets resulting from the gap between aggregate payments and receipts reached an annual rate of \$4.5 billion in the second quarter of 1959. This rate slackened a little in the third quarter, and there was further improvement in later months, reflecting in part a \$250 million advance repayment by the United Kingdom to the Export-Import Bank.

Among the underlying factors that have contributed to the change in the trade and payments position of the United States since the early post-war years have been the steady recovery and growth in the productive capacity of other countries, including the re-establishment of old comparative advantages and the introduction of new technologies. On the side of demand, the pressures on domestic resources which persisted in many countries long after the war have generally subsided. In some cases, new international cost and price disparities may now have developed to the advantage of these other countries, and the depressed level of ocean freight rates since 1957 has facilitated the marketing in the United States of certain foreign products. Much of the change in trade may be attributable, however, to intensified production and export efforts by other countries on the basis of previously existing cost differences.

These influences have not operated exclusively in one direction. A detailed examination by the Department of Commerce of recent changes in the shares of the United States in different export markets for manufactured goods reveals a considerable diversity of trends, with many gains as well as losses. Moreover, the serious contractions have been concentrated in a few items. Among these, automobiles and steel stand out, as they do in the rise in imports.

A review of recent developments in the foreign trade of the United States must also take account of the effect of business fluctuations at home and abroad and of the special circumstances affecting trade in particular products that figure prominently in this country's exports or imports. Thus, the decline of exports after mid-1957 was

¹ H. Doc. 268, 86th Cong., 2d sess.; transmitted to the Congress on Jan. 20; for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (\$1).

² Not printed here.

associated with a general weakening of foreign import demands, aggravated by the reversal of special forces which had contributed (notably in the cases of petroleum, coal, cotton, and wheat) to the earlier upswing. Similarly, the strengthening of exports during 1959 reflects the renewal of economic expansion abroad. The progress of expansion in countries that are the principal customers for exports from the United States accordingly deserves attention.

Change in the World Market Situation

Economic conditions in virtually all industrially developed countries improved in 1959. In Canada, as in the United States, production had begun to recover in 1958; after some hesitation in the summer of 1959, it rose again in the autumn. Production in Japan had also rebounded sharply in 1958 and continued an extraordinarily rapid rate of expansion. In Western Europe, the check to production at the end of 1957, though enough to produce marked effects on inventory and import demands in 1958, did not result in any widespread downturn, and a new rise in output got under way early in 1959. The difference of about nine months between North America and Western Europe in the inception of the expansion was of some significance for the development of trade and payments on both sides.

By the second half of 1959, most of the more developed countries were reporting impressive increases in economic activity, compared with a year earlier (Chart 12³). This strengthening extended to most industries, although coal mining remained a major exception, with adverse effects on United States coal sales in Europe. In most countries, business fixed investment seems to have played a small role, compared with other demands, in starting the upturn, and the market for capital equipment was generally weak at the beginning of the year. It strengthened, however, in most industrial countries as the expansion gained force, and in some of them, notably Germany and Japan, new orders in the capital goods industries increased markedly in the course of the year.

The renewed expansion in industrial countries abroad was initiated in part by an increase in de-

mand for their exports. It is noteworthy, however, that these increases were, at first, almost exclusively in sales to the United States and Canada, which rose strongly after mid-1958. Elsewhere, these other industrial countries faced much the same market conditions as those confronting the United States. The trade among Western European countries at the beginning of 1959 was scarcely higher than a year earlier, but in March it began to rise significantly. Their exports to the nonindustrial countries in the first quarter were 12 percent below shipments in the first quarter of 1958; and in the second quarter they were still no higher than a year earlier.

The weakness of demand in the nonindustrial countries at the beginning of 1959 reflected their generally strained foreign exchange position, resulting from the slowness with which their imports had adjusted downward to the progressive fall in their export prices after mid-1957. In some cases, excess capacity contributed to the weakness in these prices. By the first quarter of 1959, the general level of prices in world trade for primary commodities was 5 percent lower than at the beginning of 1958 and 13 percent lower than at the beginning of 1957 (Table D-76⁴). In Latin America—a market that is relatively much more important to the United States than to Europe or Japan—the fall in export prices (exclusive of petroleum) over the two-year period was about 20 percent. The volume of exports from the non-industrial countries had, however, begun to improve, and in 1959 some of them began to enjoy better export prices and sufficient earnings to permit both some replenishment of their foreign exchange reserves and some increase in their imports. Sterling area countries were helped especially by the improved markets for wool and rubber. Export gains by other primary producers, notably the Latin American countries, were more moderate or were delayed, and some of these countries continued to experience foreign exchange difficulties.

The improvement in the world market situation during 1959 is shown by the summary import figures in Table 4. In the first quarter, imports of industrial countries other than the United States and Canada were little higher, and in some cases

³ Not printed here.

⁴ Not printed here.

TABLE 4.—World imports, 1958-59¹

[Billions of dollars]

Country or area	1958	1959		
		First quarter	Second quarter	Third quarter ²
		Seasonally adjusted annual rates		
World imports (c.i.f.) ¹	100.7	98.6	105.5	108.4
United States ³	14.0	15.2	16.9	17.1
All other countries.....	86.7	83.4	88.6	91.3
Other industrial countries.....	51.5	51.6	54.0	55.5
Continental OEEC countries.....	32.1	31.5	33.3	34.3
United Kingdom.....	10.6	10.8	10.8	11.2
Canada.....	5.8	6.1	6.4	6.4
Japan.....	3.0	3.2	3.5	3.6
Nonindustrial countries.....	35.2	31.8	34.6	35.8
		Unadjusted annual rates		
Nonindustrial countries.....	35.2	31.6	34.7	35.0
Sterling area, excluding United Kingdom.....	14.2	13.1	14.2	14.2
Latin America.....	8.5	7.0	20.5	20.8
All other.....	12.5	11.5		

¹ Excludes Soviet Area and Communist China.² The world total and the total for the nonindustrial countries in the third quarter of 1959 are provisional.³ Figures for the United States include an adjustment by the International Monetary Fund to a c.i.f. (cost, insurance, freight) basis for purpose of comparability with other countries' data.

Sources: International Monetary Fund, Department of Commerce, and Council of Economic Advisers.

lower, than in 1958, and those of the nonindustrial countries were sharply reduced. In the second quarter, imports of the industrial countries and of some of the nonindustrial countries strengthened appreciably, and the improvement continued in the third quarter.

United States Foreign Trade and Payments

In the early months of 1959, United States exports continued to reflect the consequences of the relatively low world demand and certain other unfavorable influences. Coal exports, despite the price advantage favoring the United States, met increasing obstacles because of the oversupply of coal in Europe; cotton shipments were held down in prospect of a change in the United States export price at the start of the new crop season; and exports to many of the primary producing countries, especially in Latin America, remained weak.

In the second quarter, and still more in the third, these influences were offset by the resurgence of economic expansion in the more developed countries. United States exports responded well to the upturn in inventory investment and in expenditures on machinery and equipment in these

countries (Table 5). Agricultural exports other than cotton also strengthened in the course of the year, and by the fourth quarter cotton exports were beginning to show the anticipated large increase over the previous year. On the other hand, a decrease in exports of machinery and vehicles in November appeared to be attributable to shortages of steel arising from the work stoppage in that industry.

United States merchandise imports rose in little more than a year by about 25 percent from their recession low in the first quarter of 1958. The principal elements in this expansion were the strengthening of demand for industrial materials, as domestic economic activity began to increase; the continued rise in purchases of foreign automobiles and other consumer manufactures; and special demand situations relating to meat, steel, and building materials. With the easing of some of these demands, total imports, seasonally adjusted, did not increase further after midyear.

Changes in service transactions in 1959 were of much less consequence than those in trade. Among United States expenditures abroad, military disbursements were somewhat lower in the

TABLE 5.—United States exports, July to October, 1958 and 1959

Item	July-October 1958	July-October 1959	Percentage change
	Millions of dollars		
Total exports, excluding "special category" ¹	5, 071	5, 267	3. 9
Cotton, unmanufactured	148	100	-32. 4
Coal, petroleum, and related products	358	280	-21. 9
Exports, excluding above items, to Latin America	1, 268	1, 136	-10. 4
All other exports	3, 297	3, 751	13. 8
Geographic distribution:			
Canada	1, 047	1, 143	9. 1
Western Europe	1, 205	1, 404	16. 5
Japan	191	238	24. 9
Other countries, excluding Latin America	853	965	13. 1
Commodity distribution:			
Agricultural products	940	1, 077	14. 6
Machinery	786	884	12. 5
Transportation equipment	332	350	5. 5
All other, including reexports	1, 240	1, 440	16. 2

¹ Total and area data include reexports; commodity data exclude reexports.

NOTE.—Detail will not necessarily add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Department of Commerce.

first three quarters of the year than in the same period of 1958 and travel outlays somewhat higher. Among receipts, income from direct investments abroad, while lower than in 1958, tended to strengthen in the course of the year.

Influenced by the rise in interest rates in this country, the outflow of capital in the first three quarters of 1959 remained considerably below the high rate of the preceding year, thereby offsetting part of the adverse shift in the goods and services balance. The net outflow of capital was exceptionally low in the first quarter, but rose in the second and remained steady in the third. With imports of goods and services also remaining unchanged and exports rising from the second to the third quarter, the excess of payments on recorded transactions declined. Net transfers of gold and liquid dollar assets to other countries did not diminish correspondingly in the third quarter. This disparity is thought to be due to lags in crediting payments to foreign accounts, with the result of understating the gold and dollar outflow in the second quarter and of overstating it in the third. Incomplete data for the fourth quarter indicate a decline in the rate of gold and dollar transfers, partly attributable to large advance payments of foreign obligations to the United States.

Outlook

Balance of Payments Prospects

A moderate improvement in the United States balance of international payments seems to be ahead in 1960. Imports of capital equipment and consumer manufactures may, on balance, continue their upward trend. And, as industrial production continues to rise, imports of industrial materials may grow, though presumably more slowly than in the recovery phase following the 1957-58 recession. On the other hand, the particular supply and demand situations noted earlier in this chapter, which have been responsible for the rapid rise of certain imports, are shifting; these imports are now expected to increase less rapidly, and some of them may even decline. The growth of total imports, therefore, may well be considerably smaller in 1960 than the rise in the period from early 1958 to mid-1959.

Exports should gain from the strong expansion of production and investment that is proceeding in the industrial countries abroad. This expansion should benefit United States sales indirectly also, as the primary producing countries find their purchasing power raised by their higher exports to the industrial countries. Moreover, certain

major exports that declined in 1959, as discussed above, may cease to decline in 1960, or may increase.

On this appraisal, exports in 1960 should rise appreciably more than imports. Also, receipts from services are expected to rise faster than payments for services and military expenditures abroad. Net exports of goods and services, as registered in our national income accounts, should show a positive balance. On the other hand, new United States investment abroad may increase, especially if interest rates in other countries continue to rise. Therefore, the over-all payments deficit may still be relatively large in 1960. To assist in attaining a needed adjustment of the balance of payments consistent with our goal of promoting multilateral world trade, a strengthening of exports continues to be essential. The level of exports will depend on such fundamental conditions as the rate and regularity of expansion of activity abroad, the progress of other countries toward more liberal trade policies, and our own efforts to strengthen the competitive position of United States products in foreign markets.

CHAPTER 3

ECONOMIC POLICIES IN 1959

Foreign Economic Policy

The Administration continued in 1959 to provide substantial assistance for the economic development of less developed areas as well as military and economic assistance to countries of the free world. The importance of these programs and their need for adequate budgetary support was emphasized in a special message of the President transmitted to the Congress on March 13, 1959.⁵ During the year, the United States increased its participation in existing international financial institutions and encouraged the setting up of certain new institutions designed to promote the flow of capital to underdeveloped countries. The United States also continued its traditional efforts to reduce impediments to international trade.

The economic potential and the security of the free world, and the future growth of the less de-

veloped countries, depend in large measure upon the economic strength of the United States in both its domestic and its international aspects. With a view to safeguarding that strength, action was taken in 1959 to improve the United States balance of payments, in which a sizable deficit was anticipated for the year. The payments deficit underlined the importance of the firm fiscal and monetary policies being pursued to restrain domestic inflationary pressures and to assure stable economic growth. These policies served to maintain confidence in the dollar throughout the world. They also helped to lessen the danger that, through inflation, the competitive strength of United States trade in foreign markets might be weakened.

Throughout 1959, the United States emphasized that the strong economic position attained by the other industrial countries justified moves on their part to liberalize commercial policies and to expand foreign investment. A great rise had occurred in their gold and exchange reserves, their balance of payments positions had become strong, and major progress had been made toward currency convertibility. Thus, at the Fifteenth Session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade,⁶ it was agreed that discriminatory import restrictions based on financial reasons, largely affecting the United States, should quickly be eliminated. Moreover, the rise in reserves of most industrial countries provides the basis for reducing quantitative import restrictions generally. The United States pressed this view at other international meetings also, as well as directly with the governments concerned. By the end of the year, many countries had taken action to reduce discriminatory restrictions against imports from and travel to the United States. A number of these countries indicated their intention to take further action in the near future. The United States also asked the industrially advanced nations to increase their assistance to less developed countries. The economic progress of these industrial countries was clear evidence of their capacity to provide increased aid.

A specific step to improve the balance of payments was taken with the announcement that the Development Loan Fund (DLF) henceforth

⁵ BULLETIN of Mar. 30, 1959, p. 427.

⁶ For the report of the U.S. delegation to the 15th session of the GATT, see *ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1959, p. 843.

would place primary emphasis, in its lending to the less developed countries, on the financing of goods and services which these countries require from the United States.⁷ This decision was taken in the knowledge that other industrial countries are now capable of financing their exports of capital goods to these countries on a long-term basis. Also, steps were taken to transfer from the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) to the DLF, to the greatest extent possible, assistance which ICA affords in the form of aid to specific development projects. Projects so transferred are subject to the new DLF financing procedures. There is reason to expect that these measures, in addition to strengthening the United States balance of payments, will bring about an increased volume of foreign lending by other industrial countries.

Several steps were taken during the year to augment the flow of capital from the United States and other nations to the less developed countries and to strengthen international financial agencies. On June 17, the President signed legislation authorizing an increase in the subscriptions of the United States to the International Monetary Fund and to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The added subscriptions amounted to \$1,375 million to the Fund and \$3,175 million to the Bank.

A second step to expand the flow of capital was taken when the United States joined with the Latin American countries in the establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank.⁸ It is contemplated that the Bank will have an ordinary capital of \$850 million, in addition to a separate fund of \$150 million for special operations. The United States contribution will amount to \$450 million.

A third move was the decision taken by the Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, on the initiative of the United States, to proceed with the formulation of plans for an International Development Association (IDA). This institution would have resources of about \$1 billion, including a prospective United States contribution of somewhat more than \$300 million, payable over approximately five years. It would be closely affiliated with the

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and would give greater flexibility to the operations of that institution. It would also facilitate the use, for development purposes, of the local currencies of certain member countries provided to IDA out of holdings by other members. Such use would be with the consent of the countries whose currencies were involved.

The economic aid extended in various forms by the United States to other countries—almost entirely to less developed countries—totaled about \$3 billion in the year ended September 1959. Disbursements under the Mutual Security Program for economic assistance amounted to about \$1.4 billion, exclusive of disbursements by the Development Loan Fund. The latter, whose operations were still in an initial stage, disbursed \$114 million and committed \$393 million. Under Public Law 480, agricultural surpluses were disposed of as follows: \$736 million against local currencies; \$133 million through transfers to private welfare and international relief agencies for foreign operations; and \$58 million through deliveries for famine and other emergency relief purposes. The Export-Import Bank disbursed \$598 million in loans and committed \$693 million, while receiving repayments of \$301 million. During the year, it increased the portion of suppliers' credits which it will finance.

Under the national security provision of the trade agreements legislation, the President approved a finding that oil and oil products were being imported in such amounts as to threaten to impair the national security and instituted a program for regulating these imports. The Director of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization found no threat to national security from imports of certain heavy electrical equipment, fluorspar, and cobalt. Under the escape clause provision of the trade agreements legislation, the President approved a Tariff Commission finding of injury from imports of certain stainless steel flatware products, but disapproved such findings for tartaric acid and cream of tartar. The Tariff Commission found no injury in eight cases and terminated three other cases without formal findings.

In pursuance of its policy of seeking a reduction of barriers to international trade, the United States in October 1958 proposed to the Contract-

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 708.

⁸ For background, see *ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1960, p. 263.

ing Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade that they sponsor a new round of multilateral tariff negotiations. The proposal was approved by the Contracting Parties in May 1959, and the tariff conference is scheduled to begin in September 1960.⁹ Its successful conclusion will permit further progress toward the attainment of higher levels of trade.

CHAPTER 4

A LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1960

Foreign Economic Relations

Stronger efforts must be made at this time to expand United States exports of goods and services. Fiscal and monetary policies designed to restrain inflation provide a solid basis for such efforts, but more needs to be done to strengthen the competitive position of our exports. In this connection, the Federal Government should encourage intensified use of Department of Commerce facilities for disseminating foreign trade information to exporters and potential foreign buyers of American products; strengthen the commercial activities of our Foreign Service; increase the number of our trade missions to other countries; and arrange for more extensive United States participation in trade fairs abroad.

These steps should make more effective the efforts of private businesses to increase foreign sales. Expansion of exports should be a major aim of American business in the coming year. To take full advantage of expanding market opportunities abroad, businessmen will have to price competitively, sell aggressively, adapt and design products to meet the needs of foreign buyers, and offer adequate credit and service facilities.

Markets for United States products were significantly expanded last year, particularly toward the end of the year, by the reduction of quantitative restrictions on dollar imports by many of our trading partners abroad, as described in Chapter 2 of this Report. The United States intends to continue encouraging the removal of remaining restrictions on imports from the dollar area. These efforts, which are expected to result in a

⁹ See p. 291.

further expansion of United States export opportunities, will be made in such international forums as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Monetary Fund, as well as through bilateral consultations with foreign governments.

It is hoped that the industrial countries, consonant with their growing financial ability, will increase their long-term lending to less developed countries, and this subject is being actively discussed with the governments concerned. For its part, the United States will continue vigorously with its plans to aid the economic growth of less developed countries. The efforts of many of these countries have already been fruitful, and the groundwork is being laid for more rapid advances in the future. In many instances, however, the level of living in the less developed countries remains very low.

The efforts of the United States to aid less developed countries to improve their productivity and level of living will be channeled through institutions that have served in the past, including both the Development Loan Fund and the Export-Import Bank (which has just observed its twenty-fifth anniversary), and through appropriate new institutions. The Inter-American Development Bank, which came into existence late last year, will begin operations shortly. This institution, which brings together the United States and the countries of Latin America, manifests the enduring interest that the United States has in the economic progress of its neighbors.

The formation of the International Development Association will also be pursued actively during the year. It is expected that funds for the initial United States subscription will be requested during the year.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean. Hearing before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Part 4. December 7, 1959. 242 pp.

War Claims and Enemy Property Legislation. Hearings before a subcommittee of the House Interstate and

Foreign Commerce Committee on bills to amend the War Claims Act and the Trading With the Enemy Act. April 16–August 6, 1959. 742 pp.

86th Congress, 2d Session

- Mutual Security Program. The 16th semiannual report on the operation of the Mutual Security Program for the period ending June 30, 1959. H. Doc. 299. January 14, 1960. 114 pp.
- Administration of United States Foreign Aid Programs in Bolivia. Report of the Senate Committee on Government Operations made by its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations pursuant to S. Res. 43, 86th Congress, 1st session. S. Rept. 1030. January 20, 1960. 28 pp.
- Authorizing a Payment to the Government of Japan. Report to accompany S. 2130. H. Rept. 1216. January 21, 1960. 3 pp.
- Rehabilitation of the Disabled in Thirty-seven Countries of the World: Domestic Programs and International Activities in Technical Assistance. Report of the Senate Government Operations Committee made by its Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organizations. S. Rept. 1038. January 22, 1960. 152 pp.
- United States–Latin American Relations: United States Business and Labor in Latin America. A study prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the University of Chicago Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change. No. 4. January 22, 1960. 103 pp. [Committee print]
- Expressing the Sense of the Congress That Any Variation in the Traditional Interpretation of the Treaties Between the United States and the Republic of Panama Shall Be Made Only Pursuant to Treaty. Report to accompany H. Con. Res. 459. H. Rept. 1225. January 29, 1960. 2 pp.
- Special Study Mission to Europe. Report, Part I: Special Study Mission to Europe; Report, Part II: A Study of European Economic Regionalism—A New Era in Free World Economic Politics. A report in two parts representing the views of the special study mission of the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. H. Rept. 1226. January 25, 1960. 176 pp.
- If Coexistence Fails: the Khrushchev Visit Evaluated. An analysis of our present position in the cold war and of the diplomatic crisis confronting us by Senator Thomas J. Dodd. S. Doc. 78. January 25, 1960. 31 pp.
- Review of the Administration of the Trading With the Enemy Act. Report to accompany S. Res. 236. S. Rept. 1049. January 29, 1960. 4 pp.
- Study of Refugees and Escapees by the Committee on the Judiciary. Report to accompany S. Res. 235. S. Rept. 1050. January 29, 1960. 3 pp.
- Study of U.S. Foreign Policy. Report to accompany S. Res. 250. S. Rept. 1059. January 29, 1960. 3 pp.
- Study of the Effectiveness of Governmental Organization and Procedure in the Contest With World Communism. Report to accompany S. Res. 248. S. Rept. 1060. January 29, 1960. 4 pp.
- Reception of Foreign Dignitaries. Report to accompany S. Res. 245. S. Rept. 1062. January 29, 1960. 3 pp.
- United States–Latin American Relations: United States and Latin American Policies Affecting Their Economic Relations. A study prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on American Republic Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the National Planning Committee print]

Secretary Requests Authority To Pay Certain IES Expenses

Following is the text of a letter from Secretary Herter to Vice President Nixon requesting enactment of a proposed bill to provide authority for the Department of State to pay certain expenses relating to the International Educational Exchange Program.

TEXT OF LETTER¹

JANUARY 20, 1960.

THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON,
President of the Senate.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: I am transmitting herewith a proposed bill to amend the act of August 1, 1956, entitled "an act to provide certain basic authorities for the Department of State."

One of the most serious problems facing the Department at this time in the operation of its international educational exchange program arises from the inability to provide in a systematic way for certain expenses that are vital to the success of programs arranged for distinguished foreign visitors invited to this country. The objective in inviting these persons is to increase understanding between the people of other countries and the people of the United States. Often this objective can best be accomplished through meetings between these visitors and Americans of similar interests, background, and status. Because these visitors are able to remain in this country for only limited periods of time, and their American counterparts similarly have pressing demands upon their time, programs must be arranged which make maximum use of the time available. Many of the most productive meetings that can be arranged are in the form of luncheons, receptions, or similar functions.

Most of the meetings between these visitors and Americans are arranged by the cooperating agencies, both private and government, that assist in carrying out the international educational exchange program. The Department considers the

¹ Reprinted from *Congressional Record* of Feb. 1, 1960, p. 1484.

cost of luncheons and other similar arrangements for meetings that are in every respect a vital part of the program to be reasonable and proper program expense. The Department believes, however, that it needs specific legislative authority for the payment of such expenses.

The attached draft bill is intended to provide such authority. The authority would be used sparingly and only as program requirements demand. It is estimated that approximately \$20,000 from regular program funds would be used for this purpose over the period of the next fiscal year.

The Department urgently requests the enactment of the proposed legislation at an early date.

The Department has been informed by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this proposal to the Congress for its consideration.

Most sincerely,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER.

PROPOSED DRAFT BILL

A bill to amend the Act of August 1, 1956, entitled "An Act to provide certain basic authority for the Department of State"

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 12 of the Act of August 1, 1956, entitled "An Act to provide certain basic authority for the Department of State" is amended by changing the period at the end of the section to a comma and adding the following: "and the Secretary may provide for the payment of such other expenses as he deems appropriate to assure a suitable program for any participant coming to the United States under the exchange of persons program administered by the Department of State."

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Publications

Convention concerning the international exchange of publications. Adopted at Paris December 3, 1958.¹

¹ Not in force.

February 22, 1960

Enters into force 12 months after the deposit of the third instrument of ratification, acceptance, or accession.

Ratification deposited: Israel, January 4, 1960.

Convention concerning the exchange of official publications and government documents between states. Adopted at Paris December 3, 1958.¹ Enters into force 12 months after the deposit of the third instrument of ratification, acceptance, or accession.

Ratifications deposited: Ceylon, December 7, 1959; Israel, January 1, 1960.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Opened for signature at Washington April 6 through 24, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, for part I and parts III to VIII, and August 1, 1959, for part II. TIAS 4302.

Acceptance deposited: Portugal, January 28, 1960.

BILATERAL

Chile

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of March 13, 1956, as amended (TIAS 3583, 3671, and 3806), to provide for financing the translation, publication, and distribution of books and periodicals, including U.S. Government publications, abroad. Effected by exchange of notes at Santiago January 26 and April 21, 1959. Entered into force April 21, 1959. TIAS 4405.

El Salvador

Agreement continuing in force the Air Force mission agreement of November 21, 1957, as amended (TIAS 3951 and 4206). Effected by exchange of notes at San Salvador January 15 and 22, 1960. Entered into force January 22, 1960.

Japan

Agreement amending the agreement of April 6, 1959, relating to the amount to be made available to the United States during Japanese fiscal year 1959 under article XXV of the administrative agreement of February 28, 1952 (TIAS 2492), for U.S. services and supplies in Japan (TIAS 4227). Effected by exchange of notes at Tokyo January 8, 1960. Entered into force January 8, 1960.

Peru

Agreement further amending the agreement of May 3, 1956, as amended (TIAS 3502 and 3859), for financing certain educational exchange programs. Effected by exchange of notes at Lima December 18 and 21, 1959. Entered into force December 21, 1959. TIAS 4398.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

U.S. To Open New Embassy Office at Murree, Pakistan

Press release 48 dated February 1

The United States this month will establish an office of its Embassy in Pakistan at Murree, near Rawalpindi, the new provisional capital of the country in northern West

Pakistan. The U.S. Embassy on February 22 will become the first diplomatic mission in Pakistan to open an office in the area of the country's new seat of government.

In October 1959 the Government of Pakistan began transferring its capital from Karachi to Rawalpindi. Most senior officials of the Government are now located there. The Foreign Ministry and the bulk of many Government departments remain in Karachi, although it is planned that they will be moved to the new capital when adequate facilities are available. The Government of Pakistan has also announced its decision to construct a permanent national capital on the Potwar Plateau north-east of Rawalpindi and has constituted a Capital Commission to formulate a long-term development plan for the permanent site.

Because of an acute shortage of accommodations in Rawalpindi, Pakistan's President, Field Marshal Mohammad Aynb Khan, has requested foreign missions desiring to establish offices in the provisional capital area to locate them outside Rawalpindi. Consequently, the American Embassy office will be located at Murree, a small resort town about 40 miles north of Rawalpindi at an elevation of 7,400 feet. A number of other foreign diplomatic missions in Karachi have requested facilities at Murree.

The new office will be known as the Murree office of the American Embassy. It is designed to maintain daily contacts with Government of Pakistan officials in Rawalpindi.

American Ambassador William M. Rountree will continue to reside at Karachi, where most of the American Embassy staff and other American personnel will continue to be located until the complete transfer of the

Embassy is made at some time in the future. Ambassador Rountree will take up short-term residence at Murree from time to time and will commute frequently to Rawalpindi to confer with Pakistani officials, as will other senior American Embassy officers.

Christopher Van Hollen, a Foreign Service officer now assigned to the Embassy at Karachi, has been designated as officer-in-charge of the Murree office.

Designations

C. Reed Liggitt as Director, U.S. Operations Mission, Israel, effective February 4. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 49 dated February 4.)

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: February 1-7

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

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*49	2/4	Liggitt designated director, USOM, Israel (biographic details).
†50	2/3	Thayer: "Cleveland's Role in International Cultural Relations."

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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February 29, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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Sharing Common Goals With Latin America

by Under Secretary Dillon¹

We continue to revere Lincoln as the savior of our Union and as a founder of the great Republican Party. Lincoln's wisdom had a timeless and enduring universality from which we can still benefit today. When we face the huge and pressing challenges of the 20th century, we can usefully ask ourselves how Lincoln would have responded to them. For this remarkable statesman fused warm idealism with eminent practicality in shaping policies which not only strengthened the well-being of our own people but ultimately benefited all mankind.

This criterion is met in full measure by one of our most important and most promising programs in the field of foreign policy. I refer to our efforts, in partnership with other prospering free nations, to help the less privileged peoples of the earth realize their mounting expectations for a better life under freedom. I am certain that if Lincoln, with his boundless love of humanity and his deep sympathy for the aspirations of the underprivileged, were alive today he would be at the very forefront of this drive to meet what President Eisenhower has called the "titanic" challenge of our time.

It was Lincoln, of course, who said that we could not endure permanently half slave and half free. Today his words have a timely, broader, worldwide significance. Millions of human beings live under totalitarianism in the Soviet Union and its European satellites. Hundreds of millions more lead a subhuman existence under the anthill regimentation of Communist China.

It is our fervent hope that these nations will gradually evolve toward the freedom and political independence to which mankind instinctively aspires.

But there is also today another kind of slavery which must be conquered if mankind is to continue its onward march in freedom. This is the very real slavery of poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy. Hundreds of millions of people in the free world today are struggling to cast off the shackles of slavery, knowing that they cannot fully enjoy the freedoms of their political independence until they have achieved a measure of success in the fight to improve their standards of living. They know that a better life exists. They want it. And they mean to have it one way or another.

It is in our own direct interest that these peoples should succeed in their struggle. For we cannot long continue freely to enjoy the fruits of our material successes unless these hundreds of millions of people in the newly developing lands also make adequate progress in freedom. We cannot hope to endure as an island of well-being in a sea of poverty.

These peoples, who represent the decisive balance of future world power, are the peoples of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa and the long-independent but newly developing nations of Latin America.

Since the early days of our country we have recognized that our ties and common interests with Latin America are of unique importance in United States foreign policy. It is appropriate that we discuss Latin America tonight as we observe Lincoln's birthday. For Lincoln is known and ven-

¹Address made at a Lincoln Day observance of the Union League Club of Philadelphia at Philadelphia, Pa., on Feb. 12 (press release 62).

erated throughout the Western Hemisphere as a preeminent American in the all-inclusive sense of the term. Earlier this week I was in San Salvador for the opening meeting of the new Inter-American Development Bank.² While there I called on President Lemus of El Salvador. In his office hangs a portrait of Lincoln, who has been described as the precursor of the good-neighbor policy. Nearly a century ago Lincoln voiced our sentiments toward the other Americas in eloquently simple terms which have applicable validity today. In a message to the United States Senate on May 30, 1862, he said:

Several of the Republics of this Hemisphere are alarmed at a supposed sentiment tending to reactionary movements against Republican institutions on this Continent. It seems, therefore, to be proper that we should show to any of them who may apply for that purpose, that compatibly with our cardinal policy and with an enlightened view of our own interests, we are willing to encourage them by strengthening our ties of goodwill and good neighborliness with them.

In those days "good neighborliness" signified cooperation in winning and defending independent sovereignty and fostering the growth of full democracy. These principles still guide us today, but a new dimension has been added: the need to cooperate in improving living standards all over the hemisphere.

Latin American governments are under relentless pressure from their peoples to achieve the kind of material progress they see in the industrialized nations. Knowing the spirit of Lincoln, they naturally turn to the United States for brotherly assistance in their great efforts to narrow the gap between our per capita income of \$2,100 a year and their average per capita income of \$285 a year. We have a sympathetic interest in helping our fellow Americans to enjoy a larger share of the good things of life. We have a national interest in seeing their urgently desired growth achieved in a strengthening environment of freedom. Latin America is also very important to us in the field of trade. Our trade with Latin America is steadily increasing and now amounts to \$4 billion a year in each direction. This is what we mean when we talk of interdependence.

Latin America is presently experiencing a so-called "population explosion." Since 1900 its population has nearly tripled and now numbers some 188 million. If the present birth rate con-

tinues, it has been estimated that in 40 years the population will exceed 500 million. This expansion is indicative of progress because it dramatizes a remarkable drop in death rates resulting from cooperative efforts in which we have joined to extend sanitation, eliminate infectious diseases, and improve nutrition. Accompanying progress in other fields has resulted in a rise in gross national product of about 5 percent a year. But, because of the rapid population increase, per capita income has risen much more slowly.

Need for Economic and Technical Assistance

Both external capital and technical assistance are needed if our sister republics are to make adequate progress toward establishing viable economies under stable, free institutions.

Outside help, of course, can only stimulate and contribute to growth. It cannot substitute—nor should it be employed as a substitute—for economically sound and well-conceived efforts which must be made by the governments of Latin America themselves if they are to satisfy their peoples' legitimate aspirations. Responsible leaders of Latin America recognize this fact.

We are endeavoring to help them achieve the blessings of free development for their peoples through multilateral arrangements with other governments, through our own Government's programs of technical and capital assistance, and through the resources of private United States enterprise. We are guided in our efforts by the spirit of cooperation and mutual respect which has traditionally characterized relations among the interdependent states of the Americas.

The Inter-American Development Bank, which is being launched at the meeting I attended earlier this week in El Salvador, is the newest tool in this effort. It is a billion-dollar institution to which the United States has subscribed about 40 percent of the capital, the rest coming from the Latin American countries themselves. With the sole exception of Cuba all of them have joined with us in creating this new instrument uniquely conceived to meet their development needs.

Perhaps the Bank's most striking feature is that it is more than just a financing association. It is truly a development institution. For it will provide technical assistance to participating countries to insure that development projects are properly prepared, properly engineered, and properly de-

² See p. 344.

signed. Another important service to be rendered by the Bank will be the furnishing of advice on other available sources for financing all or part of individual projects. In this way it is expected to become the central force for the overall coordination of development efforts, both public and private.

In the past many people in Latin America have felt that we have taken them too much for granted. Many also have feared that higher priority was being given to the needs of the newly emerging countries of Asia and Africa, which are comparatively less developed. They therefore hail the Inter-American Bank as an instrument which will give them an active voice in hemispheric development and in the allocation of available funds.

Our membership in the Bank is a concrete expression of our interest in assisting the peoples of the Americas to pursue sound economic policies which will make a maximum contribution to hemispheric growth in an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding. It complements our long-term participation in the work of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, both of which will continue to make financing available to Latin American nations. These institutions have recently increased their resources as a result of our initiative. Another American initiative which will contribute to Latin America's progress is the new International Development Association.³

The other American states will, of course, also continue to be completely free to seek bilateral assistance from our Export-Import Bank and, when they are unable to obtain financing from other free-world sources, from our Development Loan Fund.

U.S. Financial and Technical Programs

Some notion of the size of our bilateral loans to Latin America can be gleaned from these figures: During the past decade the Export-Import Bank has loaned \$2,667 million to Latin America. Since the Bank was founded 25 years ago, more than 40 percent of all its loans have been made to Latin American borrowers. If we add to this record that of the Development Loan Fund and the International Cooperation Administration and its special assistance programs, as well as the

loans made under our P.L. 480 program for the disposal of agricultural surpluses, the grand total is \$3,567 million. Many of these public loans have gone toward the construction of harbors, highways, power, irrigation, and other projects for which adequate local capital was not available but which had to be created before sustained development could begin.

Private United States investments in Latin America, which now total more than \$9 billion, have played an even larger role in development. For the past 5 years private U.S. investment in the area has increased at an average of some \$600 million per year. It has been estimated that U.S. private capital made it possible for Latin America during the 1950's to develop nearly twice as fast as it otherwise would have.

U.S. firms in Latin America have been good "corporate citizens," and many responsible Latin American leaders are now publicly acknowledging the constructive role of U.S. investors in the growth of their countries. Since local capital is inadequate to do the job of development alone, it is vital to Latin America that the rate of private U.S. investment continue.

Naturally, economic progress must be pursued by each country in ways consistent with its own cultural, political, and economic patterns; but if investment is to continue there must always be due regard for the legal and property rights of citizens of other nations. When foreign investors are subjected to expropriation without proper, equitable, and effective compensation, it can hardly be expected that foreign investment will continue to be attracted.

Financial assistance and the benefits of expanding trade are not sufficient, in themselves, to bring about development. People are the most essential ingredient of growth. There is a need in Latin America for a healthy, well-trained labor force, for modern agricultural, industrial, and managerial techniques, and for improved human skills at all levels. We have been working bilaterally with the other governments of the hemisphere since 1942 in joint endeavors to supply these needs. And it is perhaps in this area of technical cooperation that we can take the greatest satisfaction from our programs of assistance.

Our first technical cooperation programs were in public health, agriculture, and education. These programs are still important, but the con-

³ See p. 345.

cept of technical cooperation has been broadened to deal with problems in many other fields, including industrial hygiene, modernization of business methods, development of trained managers and administrators for private enterprise and of qualified civil service personnel for government. Our programs have had a radiating, beneficial effect by stimulating many locally conceived innovations which are aiding progress.

The financial and technical assistance projects which I have been describing are major elements of our Mutual Security Program, or, as it is popularly known, "foreign aid." The Congress will soon begin the annual review of budget proposals for mutual security. I suppose that when public attention focuses on the hearings it is inevitable that we shall hear the same old argument that money spent on foreign aid is a "giveaway."

Ladies and gentlemen, I can assure you that foreign aid is no "giveaway." Mistakes in administration have been made, of course, for the mutual security operation is a human institution and is subject to human frailties. But we are constantly improving our policies and our performance. Speaking as a former investment banker, I want to make it clear that foreign aid is an investment in our own security which is paying handsome dividends by contributing to the strength and progress of the free-world community of nations.

As all of you well know, President Eisenhower regards mutual security as a keystone of his legislative program. I hope that each of you will give it your unqualified support. Foreign aid deserves well of the Republican Party—the party which gave us Lincoln—for it is rooted firmly in the Lincolnian tradition of practical idealism.

Spirit of Nationalism in Latin America

I would like to speak with candor on another subject: There is today a strong spirit of nationalism abroad in Latin America. It sometimes finds a convenient outlet for frustration and impatience through intemperate attacks upon the United States. On occasion it has erupted into violently "anti-Yankee" demonstrations.

In the face of these outbursts we have followed a policy of restraint and forbearance. No other course would be consistent with our profound sympathy for the yearnings of the Latin American people—and let us recall that we have had our

share of nationalism, when we, too, were experiencing the growing pains of a newly developing nation.

We have recently seen heartening evidence that responsible leaders of Latin America are increasingly disturbed by unfounded slanders against our country and its citizens. They are aware that to let this intemperance go unchecked or unanswered by our many friends in Latin America could eventually disrupt the mutually constructive relationship which characterizes the inter-American system.

International communism schemes to capitalize on nationalist leanings through strenuous efforts to fan them into hatred and envy of the United States. These efforts will have little success if, with our help, Latin America's moderate leaders are enabled to steadily improve the lot of their peoples within the framework of free and prospering societies which zealously guard human rights and offer ever brighter opportunities for individual growth. For the best answers to communism are democratic governments which energetically and successfully concern themselves with the welfare of all their people. And the best answers to anti-United States stirrings are concrete demonstrations that we are not preoccupied with the *status quo* but desire to identify ourselves with the surging aspirations of the Latin American peoples and to help them strengthen democracy and attain higher standards of living. Within such a framework of mutual understanding constructive nationalism can be a progressive force in Latin America, as it was in our own country.

A welcome occasion to reaffirm our identity with the new forces that are sweeping the Americas will come later this month, when President Eisenhower visits four of our staunch friends in South America—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay.⁴

A highlight of his trip will be an opportunity to discuss Operation Pan America with President Kubitschek of Brazil. This farsighted initiative of President Kubitschek calls for an ambitious, all-out attack on Latin America's economic ills.⁵ The United States favors the concept of Opera-

⁴ For an announcement of the President's visit, see BULLETIN of Jan. 25, 1960, p. 119.

⁵ For background, see *ibid.*, June 30, 1958, p. 1090, and Oct. 13, 1958, p. 574.

tion Pan America and will lend its warmhearted cooperation to this great idea, which has as its goal a higher standard of living and greater opportunity for all to achieve this goal. It urges greater productivity, a proper degree of self-help to match outside assistance, and the gradual elimination of trade restrictions.

In conclusion let me say that all of our endeavors in Latin America are part of a single common enterprise. We share with other American states the conviction that free peoples who respect human rights, the dignity of the individual, and the equality of nations can, through cooperation, not only preserve their liberties and cultures but also build a better and fuller life for themselves and for their children.

We share with the peoples of the other Americas the same human needs and aspirations, the same spiritual values, the same reverence for democratic ideals, the same faith in the individual. We share with them, in short, the values for which Abraham Lincoln stands as a towering symbol.

Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1960

A PROCLAMATION¹

WHEREAS on April 14, 1960, the peoples of the twenty-one American Republics will honor the seventieth anniversary of the founding of an organization for peace, friendship, and cooperation in the Americas, now known as the Organization of American States; and

WHEREAS the people of the United States view with warm and sympathetic interest the establishment and growth in this Hemisphere of democratic, representative governments, dedicated to serve both the desires and interests of their own peoples as well as those of the inter-American community; and

WHEREAS the American Republics have joined together in programs to increase hemispheric economic progress in this new decade and to meet the rising expectations of their citizens for a better life; and

¹ No. 3333; 25 *Fed. Reg.* 1237.

WHEREAS the spiritual, social, political, cultural, and economic progress of the peoples of the Hemisphere is necessary for the continuing vitality of the inter-American system, and the United States of America is proud to be a part of this progress:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Thursday, April 14, 1960, as Pan American Day, and the period from April 10 to April 16, 1960, as Pan American Week; and I invite the Governors of the States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, and other areas subject to the jurisdiction of the United States to issue similar proclamations.

I also urge our citizens and all interested organizations to share in the celebration of Pan American Day and Pan American Week, as evidence of the friendly interdependence which unites the people of this country with the other peoples of the Americas.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this fifth day of February in the year of our Lord nineteen [SEAL] hundred and sixty, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fourth.



By the President:
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

Chancellor Adenauer To Visit Washington in March

White House press release dated February 6

Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, will call on the President at 10:30 a.m., March 15, 1960. The Chancellor has also accepted the President's invitation for luncheon on the same day.

Chancellor Adenauer will be passing through the United States on his way to Japan, where he will be paying a visit.

It is expected that the Chancellor will remain in Washington until the afternoon of March 17.

Secretary Herter's News Conference of February 8

Press release 53 dated February 8

Secretary Herter: Ladies and gentlemen, I have no prior announcement to make, so I will be ready for questions.

Q. Mr. Secretary, last November at a news conference¹ you told us that you thought the Russians had come a very long way on Berlin since November 1958, when they were threatening to throw us out. Now, in the past 2 or 3 months, Mr. Khrushchev seems to have become a little tougher on it. I am thinking particularly of his statement that, if we don't make a peace treaty on his terms, he will sign a separate treaty with East Germany with all the consequences that entails. Do you feel that, since you talked to us in November on that, he has become tougher in his position?

A. Yes, I think that is the only way one can interpret the statements that have been made since that time—not alone the statements which he has made but also the declaration in the recent Warsaw Pact meeting,² which went pretty far from the point of view of indicating that, if within a given period of time, with no period specified, there were no separate peace treaty with the two Germanies, the Warsaw Pact countries would feel obliged to make a separate peace treaty with East Germany.

Q. Mr. Secretary, does that mean that, in light of the Camp David agreement or understanding between the President and Mr. Khrushchev,³ we feel under some compulsion now to do something about Berlin at the summit meeting in mid-May?

A. I think the words "some compulsion" to do something about Berlin go too far. I think we

have always been in a position where we were willing to discuss the problem of Berlin, the problem of Germany, to negotiate in good faith without undue delay. But, as far as we know, Mr. Khrushchev's agreement that there was no time limit in terms of an ultimatum still stands.

Situation in the Dominican Republic

Q. Mr. Secretary, Venezuela is going to the Organization of American States today to accuse the Dominican Republic of violating human rights and of increasing tensions in the Caribbean. Would you care to tell us what our position is on that issue?

A. The first question, as I understand it, that will come up at the OAS is essentially a procedural question, and that is to which body of the OAS this matter should be referred for consideration. There has to be careful examination of the wording of the Venezuelan request. And I cannot, of course, foretell just which organ it will be. It might be the Peace Committee, or it might be some other organ. But I think that is the first matter that will have to be determined.

Q. Mr. Secretary, last summer, when you went to the Santiago conference, you were one of the signatories to the Santiago declaration,⁴ which called upon all of the Americas to "ensure a system of freedom for the individual and social justice based on respect for fundamental human rights." Do you think that has been observed in the Dominican Republic?

A. I cannot comment with too great assurance with regard to the facts about the Dominican Republic. We have been very much disturbed by the reports of the arrests there. Our Ambassador there, Mr. [Joseph S.] Farland, before leaving

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 14, 1959, p. 864.

² For a U.S. comment on the declaration, see *ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1960, p. 284.

³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1959, p. 342.

called the attention of the Government there to our feelings that, if the reports were correct, this was a difficult and serious situation. However, insofar as the exact facts are concerned, we are not in sufficient possession of those facts, without further investigation, to know to what extent human rights have been violated.

Question of Sharing Nuclear Secrets

Q. Mr. Secretary, on the matter of possibly sharing nuclear secrets or weapons with the allies, has the administration come to a resolution of this issue? Is it going to ask for a change in the law?

A. My impression is that that matter was covered at the White House the other day, where it was stated that no executive piece of legislation has been filed nor is it in the process at the present time.

Q. Well, are you excluding it as a possibility at this session of Congress?

A. No, I wouldn't exclude it. On the other hand, I wouldn't prophesy that it would come.

Q. Well, could you tell us what your idea is, as Secretary of State, considering the part of the argument which has to do with opening up nuclear weapons—the so-called “fourth country” problem—especially since you are wrestling with the disarmament and test-ban issues at this time?

A. I would say that this is a very difficult and a very complex problem. It is one which we have been studying for a considerable period of time. It is one on which, as you may realize, there is a considerable conflict of view as between different nations—those who don't want to see an increase in the spread of nuclear knowledge, those who themselves want to achieve more nuclear capability. And we have to balance all of those factors. And, as I say, no decision has yet been reached.

U.S. Policy on Suez Canal

Q. Mr. Secretary, in February of 1957, when the United States was urging Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula, President Eisenhower said:⁵

We should not assume that, if Israel withdraws, Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal

⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 11, 1957, p. 387.

or the Gulf of Aqaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the Armistice Agreement or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations.

Egypt has repeatedly stopped ships carrying cargoes to and from Israel, the most recent issue involving the cargo of the Danish ship, the Inge Toft. Is the United States now planning to take leadership in the United Nations to deal firmly with this current Suez affair?

A. This is a matter that I have commented on before, but I will repeat my comment as of that time. In my statement before the United Nations this fall⁶ I made a pretty strong statement with regard to our own policy on freedom of transit in the Suez Canal. When this specific incident and subsequent incidents arose, the Secretary-General of the United Nations undertook to try to adjust this matter as between Israel and Egypt. His efforts are still continuing. As of now, they do not appear to have been too successful. But how they will turn out, I cannot say at this time. He may still succeed in working out a modus vivendi which will take care of that problem. Until we know the degree of success or failure which he has achieved, I feel that working through that channel, to which we have given full support, is the best way of handling the matter.

Disarmament and Nuclear Test Suspension

Q. Mr. Secretary, at what stage, sir, do you believe that Communist China should take part in a nuclear or a general disarmament agreement, and would you draw any distinction that is to be made between the two?

A. No, I don't think there is necessarily any distinction that need be made between the two. Insofar as the nuclear test suspension is concerned, it is obvious that while there are only three nations engaged in discussing the matter, should they reach agreement, that agreement can be valid for other sections of the world only if it is adhered to by other nations. At that time the question of the adherence of Communist China would become an important factor and would, I assume, be asked for. Until they can reach agreement among themselves, particularly with the two principal nuclear powers involved, it would

⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1959, p. 467.

seem to me futile to move into the overall international field.

With respect to general disarmament, it is obvious that, if the major powers who are beginning the discussions in that matter should come to general agreement, then, again, the principles on which they made their agreement would have to be spread to other nations. As you may recall, when the 10-power conference was agreed to,⁷ the United Nations was notified that reports would be made to the United Nations on progress in this field in the full expectation that the general Disarmament Commission of the United Nations would take notice of that progress and, if the question of expansion became an important part of general adherence, that the United Nations would undoubtedly carry on from there.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in view of the sort of stalemate which has developed in the talks at Geneva, what expectation or hope do you have that an agreement can be reached on a complete ban on the testing of nuclear weapons? And in that connection what possibility is there that the United States may introduce a proposal for a limited prohibition?

A. This is a matter, of course, to which we are giving very serious consideration. I am hopeful that in the comparatively near future we will be able to make some new proposals which we, of course, hope will be favorably entertained by the Russians. However, until those proposals have actually been made, I feel that I should not discuss the details of them.

Q. Can you tell us, sir, whether, in fact, there is an agreed administration position on new proposals? This story has been widely printed, including the threshold idea.

A. I think we are coming very close to one. As I say, I am hopeful that in the very near future we will be able to make some proposals at Geneva.⁸

Q. Can you tell us on the general disarmament question, in view of the five-power meeting this week, whether there is in that case an agreed United States position with respect to the five?

A. There are a great many matters that have been placed on the agenda for discussion by the five nations. While they are in the course of dis-

cussing them, while they have the opportunity of offering their own ideas, I do not feel at liberty to outline in detail such matters as we have laid on the table. But there is a very considerable amount subject to discussion. The principals, as you know, will be here by Wednesday [February 10]: Mr. [David] Ormsby-Gore from Great Britain and General [E. L. M.] Burns from Canada have already arrived in town; Mr. Jules Moch will arrive for France; and Mr. [Gaetano] Martino, the former Foreign Minister of Italy, will be coming on behalf of Italy. At that time the principals in the negotiations will be going over the preliminary work that has been done up to date.

Prospects for Settlement of Berlin Problem

Q. Mr. Secretary, in answer to an earlier question you said that the only interpretation that you can draw about the recent Soviet statements is that they are a little tougher now on Berlin than they were. Is this a matter of serious concern to us as a government, and does it decrease the prospect that there could be even an interim settlement of the Berlin problem at the summit conference?

A. Well, I will not predict what is likely to happen at the summit conference. But insofar as the seriousness of the situation is concerned, I think that was best expressed by the President at his last conference, at which he said to all intents and purposes that, if unilateral action was taken by the Soviets or the Warsaw Pact countries to abrogate our rights, this would be a very serious thing.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in that connection do you think that this talk about the Soviet desire to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany unless we agreed to their terms to an all-German treaty actually constitutes a violation of the understanding that Premier Khrushchev made with President Eisenhower at Camp David when he said that he would remove the element of threat?

A. If this were done prior to an opportunity for full discussion and negotiation, I would think that it certainly violated the spirit of the agreement reached at Camp David.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there are some tests going on in Louisiana to try to find out if an explosion can be concealed in an underground hole. British and Canadian scientists have been invited to par-

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

⁸ See p. 327.

ticipate—are participating, I understand. Has such an invitation been extended to the Soviets and, if not, why?

A. Well, as yet no invitation has been extended to the Soviets. It's very possible that one might be.

Q. It has not?

A. It's very possible that one might be.

Q. When, sir?

A. I'm going to wait on the details for that until we can announce the proposals which, as I say, we hope will be made very shortly.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in answer to Mr. [John] Scali's [of the Associated Press] question, I think you said that, if this kind of threat was implicit or raised before there was a full opportunity to discuss Berlin, you would consider that a violation of the Camp David agreement.

A. A violation of the spirit—not the spirit of Camp David, but the spirit of the agreement made at Camp David.

Q. Well, now, the question then would be, has what Mr. Khrushchev and the Warsaw Pact people said so far—does that constitute such a violation?

A. No, because they have not put any time limit on this at all.

Passport Legislation

Q. Mr. Secretary, the Supreme Court has ruled that the Secretary of State has the authority to limit travel of American citizens to certain geographical areas but that he does not have discretionary authority to deny a passport altogether. There are several bills now on the Hill which will give the Secretary of State that discretionary authority. There are some people on the Hill that believe that any limitations on passports should be actually written into the legislation. How do you feel about this?

A. Well, I'm not quite certain that the premise on which you base your question is correct. It was my impression that the Supreme Court decision did permit of the denial of passports to individuals because of specified acts which they had committed, not because of their beliefs, politi-

cal beliefs, or membership in a party, but because of actual, concrete acts which they have performed inimical to the interests of the United States. And I think that our passport legislation is based on that decision of the Court. My understanding may be incorrect, but that is my understanding of it.

Q. Sir, do you favor these bills that would give you discretionary authority, I mean to deny passports?

A. Yes, for a very limited number of cases, I do.

Q. You would have the discretionary authority not written actually into the legislation then?

A. No. The discretionary authority would be given to us where we can show that the individual has committed acts inimical to the United States and therefore his travel for the purposes of carrying on such acts would be detrimental to the United States.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in answer to a previous question I understood you to say that, if the time came that the broader disarmament agreement should be expanded to include other countries, the procedure for handling that would be for the United Nations to go on from there. Now, does that mean that the United Nations would seek Communist China's adherence, and would this require Chinese membership in the United Nations?

A. It might well seek Communist China's adherence to the agreement. But I don't think it would necessarily require Communist Chinese membership in the United Nations any more than it would require recognition by any power of China. I was, of course, speculating as to what that next step might be, but I think it's a reasonable assumption that the United Nations would take cognizance of this situation because of their approval of the negotiations of the 10-power group with the proviso that it does its reporting on all of its activities to the United Nations.

Q. Mr. Secretary, assuming that the question of a peace treaty for Germany or for the two Germanies is considered at a summit meeting and there is failure at that meeting to agree, would you consider that full discussion and would you consider a Soviet move to sign a separate treaty after the summit and after it had been discussed a violation of the spirit of the agreement at Camp David?

A. That is a difficult question to answer because a good deal would depend on the discussions at the summit meeting. It's hard for me to visualize that in a few days the men at the top level who are meeting could actually draft a satisfactory agreement in that period of time. And I just assume that, if there came to be even a greater meeting of the minds than exists today, the drafting or an attempt to draft something would be referred to foreign ministers or to deputy foreign ministers, some group at a lower level, perhaps for reconsideration at another summit conference or perhaps for action by their respective governments right away. It's very hard for me to visualize an ultimatum being put up at a summit conference, take it or leave it, in such-and-such form, in which the participants would have only a few days to make up their minds or even to discuss the matter.

U.S.—Cuban Relations

Q. Mr. Secretary, what's your appraisal of the Cuban situation in light of the President's statement here a week or so ago and Mr. Mikoyan's [Anastas I. Mikoyan, First Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.] visit?

A. Well, insofar as Mr. Mikoyan's visit is concerned, I'd rather not comment on that. I don't think that that is a material factor one way or the other. It is something that was arranged quite a long time ago. Insofar as existing relationships between ourselves and Cuba are concerned, there has certainly been a very considerable dampening down of the very violent attack which, during the middle week in January, was so apparent.

The answer to the President's note, or the statement of policy with regard to Cuba,⁹ came to us through the statement of the President of Cuba,¹⁰ the Minister of Foreign Affairs being abroad at the time. That statement had certain conciliatory passages in it, particularly the two paragraphs which dealt with his views that all outstanding questions between us could be settled through normal diplomatic channels. However, we are not quite clear yet that the situation is in such

⁹ BULLETIN of Feb. 15, 1960, p. 237.

¹⁰ The text of a speech made by President Osvaldo Dorticos at Habana on Jan. 27 was transmitted to the American Embassy on Jan. 29 with a third-person note making it clear that the speech was to be considered an official reply to President Eisenhower's restatement of policy.

shape that the resumption of normal diplomatic negotiations through the Ambassador would be worth while. We are still waiting, and no decision has yet been made with regard to Mr. [Philip W.] Bonsal's return.

Q. Mr. Secretary, to get back to the President's statement about the exchange of atomic information or know-how to our allies, can you tell us what has happened that makes this more important and desirable now than it was in the recent past and specifically whether the President had in mind helping the French to make progress in detonating their own nuclear device?

A. Well, I think that it would be entirely inappropriate for me to try to tell you what was in the President's mind when he made that statement. I think that the clarification of it from the point of view of specific action as of now has been made. I think that what the President was indicating was that we were continuously watching this situation, that he gave an opinion himself with respect to seeing that we ought to act on the generous side with regard to sharing, but that he did not make any specific suggestions as to how this should be implemented at the present time.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you said there is no decision on Ambassador Bonsal's return to Cuba. Does that mean that his recall was an act of policy instead of merely a recall for consultations?

A. It was certainly an act of policy insofar as he had been accused by the Cuban Government of plotting against the Government.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in 1957, in effecting the settlement of the Suez crisis, the United States took an active and very successful leadership. Is there any reason to believe that in the current Suez situation Egypt would be less responsive than was Israel to such leadership?

A. There I'm afraid I cannot give you the answer. I just don't know.

U.S. Progress in Space Exploration

Q. Mr. Secretary, what's your opinion as to the status of U.S. international prestige with regard to space exploration? This has been getting kicked around quite a bit lately, and I don't believe you have been heard from yet. (Laughter.)

A. Well, there is no question in my mind but that the Soviet Government has performed a very

remarkable feat in space exploration, technical and scientific. At the same time, we have performed some quite amazing feats in the same field, but they didn't have the same glamour because they were not done on as large a scale or with as big a booster. It's very hard to weigh relative things, certainly from the point of view of sensationalism, dramatic performance. The Russian lunar shots and so on have been very considerable. Ours have not had the same impact. We actually have, I think, in orbit a larger number of vehicles than the Russians have in orbit, but all of those are for various scientific purposes, a number of them rather limited and highly technical, but I think we are making very good progress in this field.

Q. Mr. Secretary, would you consider inviting the Russians to observe nuclear explosions, or were you thinking only of conventional explosives in regard to the —

A. You mean in regard to the suggested tests in Louisiana?

Q. Yes.

A. Those, I think, are conventional.

Q. Do you have any intention of inviting the Russians to observe underground nuclear tests?

A. We haven't made any determination about any continuing nuclear tests yet.

Q. Mr. Secretary, I wanted to ask you if you felt also there was some relation by the other nations of the world to space exploration and our defensive power?

A. I am very sorry—

Q. —the relationship between space exploration and our defensive strength, rather; do you think that this is a factor in public opinion?

A. Yes. I think it's undoubtedly a factor in public opinion, largely because the booster that has been used by the Russians in space exploration is larger than any we are using. I think that factor is always something that weighs in the public's mind.

Q. Mr. Secretary, since the United States and Japan signed their new security treaty,¹¹ on January 19, the Soviet Union has informed Tokyo that

¹¹ For background and text of treaty, see BULLETIN of Feb. 8, 1960, p. 179.

it does not feel that the return of Habomai and Shikotan Islands is any longer justified. Would you comment on that, sir?

A. Yes. I have given considerable thought to this and have actually jotted down some thoughts, which I'd be very glad to give to you. The Soviet note attempts to call into question the right of the Japanese people to provide for their own defense. I think the Japanese Government has correctly characterized this note as unwarranted interference by the Soviet Union in the affairs of another country. Such interference is all the more striking in a note which emphasizes the Soviet Union's capacity for the destruction of Japan. Threats of this sort underline the necessity which compels the nations of the free world to take steps to assure their self-defense. I also find distressing the unilateral repudiation by the Soviet Union of its previous commitment to the Japanese Government to return the islands of Habomai and Shikotan at the conclusion of a future peace treaty with Japan. I consider the Soviet attitude to Japan to be out of keeping with their protestations of noninterference in the affairs of other nations and their professed desire for a relaxation of international tension.

Q. Mr. Secretary, sir, can you tell us the status of current negotiations to arrange for ICBM installations on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees Mountains?

A. I very frankly can't. I didn't know any such negotiations were under way. (Laughter.)

Question of the Missile Gap

Q. Mr. Secretary, the Soviet Union apparently is leading the United States, according to some critics, in a military posture vis-a-vis the United States. First of all, sir, do you think this is so? Are the Soviets ahead of us in military strength through missiles, and secondly, if this is so, does this account for the stiffening Soviet attitude on such questions as Berlin?

A. Well, in the first place, you are asking me to get into the current estimate of relative strength, on which I think a great deal has been said by much better experts than I am in this field. Whoever has done the estimating, I think, has agreed that the Soviets are gaining in strength in the missile field, and it's possible that the Soviets feel that their increased strength from a military point

of view—not necessarily from the point of view of being able to take the offensive without an unacceptable retaliatory strike but from the point of view of their defensive capacity—has made them—has given them greater assurance in what they are saying in the international field. But there again that is only speculation. And I think that sometimes it's unfruitful to get into speculation of that sort.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in that same vein, sir, do you think that the United States ought to make a greater effort to close the gap, then, if this is creating a sense of increased strength on the part of the Soviets in their dealings with us and the rest of the free world?

A. Now you are getting into a very technical field, the question of the closing of the gap. This is a matter that has, of course, been given a great deal of very serious consideration by people in the administration, by people up on the Hill. And there are some conflicting views in our military on the subject.

Insofar as I am concerned, I have heard a number of the discussions on this matter and have faith in the President's and the Joint Chiefs' and Mr. Gates' [Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr.] evaluation that we are taking steps to close that gap as effectively and as soon as we can and that there will not be a disparity in strength in the coming years which would in itself tempt the Russians to make a sudden attack upon us.

Q. Mr. Secretary, to come back for a moment to the Dominican question, do we have any new initiative in mind before the OAS on that problem, especially in view of reports by congressional visitors—U.S. congressional visitors—in Latin America that we are projecting the image that we are more concerned with the property rights than with the human rights in the Western Hemisphere?

A. No. I think that we have been examining the situation very carefully, particularly in relation to American citizens. And, as I say, it's been a matter of concern to us. There have been reports that there can be expected almost momentarily an amnesty from the point of view of the large numbers who have been arrested. Whether or not this is true, we don't know. But as you know, there have been representations particularly

from prominent people in the church down there, requesting that there be such amnesty.

The developments, as I say, are not very clear. We are doing our best to ascertain what the situation is, and in this matter of human rights I think that it is quite right that this should be discussed with the OAS as being a matter of interest to all Latin American countries.

Canal Zone Problem

Q. Mr. Secretary, it's been over 2 months since President Eisenhower expressed his belief that there should be some visual evidence of Panama's titular sovereignty in the Canal Zone. In that period there have been meetings between the representatives of the State and Defense Departments on a recommendation to make to the President, but it hasn't gone forward yet. Could you tell us what is holding up that recommendation?

A. I have not yet received from the lower levels a recommendation to pass on to make to the President. The matter is being considered and considered in the light of a great many different factors, including, of course, the recent congressional resolution on the subject.¹² It's a bothersome problem. It's an intricate problem, and all I can say is that we still have it under study.

Q. Mr. Secretary, a number of people in high places are saying that the U.S. must begin nuclear testing, at least underground, by this summer or early fall. Does this mean that the State Department has a sort of deadline by which time it must produce some sort of agreement?

A. No, we have no deadline that I know of.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the Air Force Chief of Staff [Gen. Thomas D. White] told Congress last week that depredations against American bases in the Philippines and American personnel had gone beyond the dealings of a commander on the spot with the local authorities and would reach diplomatic levels. Can you tell us if anything has been done diplomatically between the United States and the Philippines?

A. No, that is a matter which I am not familiar with. I'd be very glad to look into it and let you have the answer. But I know nothing about it.

Q. Thank you.

¹² H. Con. Res. 459, 86th Cong., 2d sess.

U.S. Presents New Proposal on Nuclear Weapons Tests

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

White House press release dated February 11

The United States is today presenting in Geneva a proposal, involving the ending of nuclear weapons tests, to end the apparent deadlock in the negotiations. This Government has stood, throughout, for complete abolition of weapons testing subject only to the attainment of agreed and adequate methods of inspection and control. The present proposal is designed to end nuclear weapons tests in all the environments that can now be effectively controlled.

It would end forthwith, under assured controls:

- (1) all nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere;
- (2) all nuclear weapons tests in the oceans;
- (3) all nuclear weapons tests in those regions in space where effective controls can now be agreed to; and
- (4) all nuclear weapons tests beneath the surface of the earth which can be monitored.

This proposal will permit, through a coordinated program of research and development, a systematic extension of the ban to the remaining areas, especially those involving underground tests, for which adequate control measures appear not to be possible now.

These are initial but far-reaching and yet readily attainable steps toward a complete ban on nuclear weapons tests. If adopted, they will prevent increases in the level of radioactivity in the atmosphere and so allay worldwide concern. They are steps which offer an opportunity to consolidate the important progress made in the negotiations thus far. It is our hope that the Soviet Union will join with us in this constructive beginning.

WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT

White House press release dated February 11

The United States Representative [James J. Wadsworth] at the Geneva Conference on the

Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests is presenting today a proposal for the ending of nuclear weapons tests in all the environments that can now be effectively controlled.

The new United States proposal would ban all tests above ground up to the greatest heights to which effective controls can now be agreed, all tests in the oceans, and all underground tests above the present limit (or "threshold") of detection and identification.

At the same time the proposal includes provision for a program of joint research and experimentation by the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States to improve the detection of small tests underground and thus permit the extension of the ban to such tests. Extensive research and experimentation is already under way in the United States to improve detection instruments and techniques.

The new approach, if agreed to, should allay worldwide concern over possible increases in levels of radioactivity since it discontinues all tests which can release radioactivity into the atmosphere.

As for underground tests the proposal represents an effort to find ways around the significant disagreements that remained unresolved in the technical working group which reported to the conference in December.¹ The proposal would ban those tests which cause seismic magnitude readings of 4.75 or more. This is the level that can now be adequately monitored. We propose to express the level in terms of signal strength since Soviet and Western scientists are in substantial agreement as to the measurement of signals but not on the equivalent kiloton yields of seismic disturbances.

The United States, since the inception of the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, has persistently sought a lasting, safeguarded agreement banning all nuclear weapons tests. We have, at the same time, indicated willingness, as in our proposal of May 5, 1959,² to move immediately to consolidate in a first-step agreement the broadest existing area of agreement while remaining difficulties are being worked out.

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Jan. 18, 1960, p. 78.

² *Ibid.*, June 8, 1959, p. 825.

The Price of Freedom

*Remarks by President Eisenhower*¹

With the failure to reach agreement after the technical conference which ended on December 19, 1959, it became clear that a controlled, comprehensive agreement could not, at this time, be achieved without great improvement in instrumentation or a degree of on-site inspection which would be impractical to attempt. Lack of agreement at this conference has left unresolved major technical difficulties in detecting underground explosions as well as the procedures that must be established if on-site inspections are to be satisfactorily initiated and carried out.

In this situation, the United States is determined to make all possible progress toward the ultimate objective of the negotiations. We believe that the proposal placed before the conference today, if entered into in good faith by the parties concerned, will lead toward eventual prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests under the practical and adequate safeguards that we deem as indispensable prerequisites.

If accepted, the proposal will end forthwith, under assured controls:

- (1) all nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere;
- (2) all nuclear weapons tests in the oceans;
- (3) all nuclear weapons tests in those regions in space where effective controls can now be agreed; and
- (4) all controllable nuclear weapons tests beneath the surface of the earth.

Moreover, it will permit, through a joint program of research and experimentation, the ban to be systematically extended to remaining areas under ground, where adequate control measures are not now possible to incorporate.

These are initial, far-reaching, but readily attainable steps. They are steps which offer an opportunity to consolidate the important progress made in the negotiations thus far. These steps will also allay worldwide concern over possible increases in levels of radioactivity. More importantly, they will greatly enhance the prospects for future international arms limitation and control agreements.

It is our hope that the Soviet Union, in the light of a reasoned and objective appraisal of the facts, will join with us in this constructive beginning. Such an agreement could be a milestone toward the securing of a just and enduring peace.

It is an honor to participate in this moving tribute to American veterans, living and dead. The emblem of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, here established, will be, I am told, perpetually lighted, symbolizing the Nation's eternal gratitude for the service and sacrifice of those who served its colors in the cause of freedom.

The struggle for freedom does not stop when the guns of war cease firing. Nor will it stop, so long as freedom is suppressed or threatened anywhere in the world.

Freedom makes its rightful claim upon the daily life of everyone who enjoys its benefits. No deed is too small to count. Every one of us contributes in his own way to the strength of America, and the strength of this country is dedicated to the preservation of freedom.

So our efforts add up to more than simply our own health, our own well-being and economic development. They answer the disbelieving and the doubtful that in freedom man can achieve his rightful destiny and that men of all nations and races can live in dignity together as they seek the common goal of peace with justice.

Our daily preoccupations too often divert us from our duty in the service of this noble cause. We accept freedom much as the air we breathe. We lose sight of the connection between our own acts and the vigor of our governmental representatives in preserving the values we deem priceless. We tend to forget the high price that was paid for the privilege of living in freedom and the price that would be exacted from all mankind if freedom should ever be allowed to shrivel or weaken in the earth.

This is why it is well for us to pause to acknowledge our debt to those who paid so large a share of freedom's price. As we stand here in grateful remembrance of the veterans' contributions, we review our conviction of individual responsibility to live in ways that support the eternal truths upon which our Nation is founded and from which flows all its strength and all its greatness.

Thank you very much.

¹ Made at the dedication of the Washington Memorial Building of the Veterans of Foreign Wars at Washington, D.C., on Feb. 8 (White House press release).

The Military Assistance Program as a Tool for Peace With Honor

by Gen. W. B. Palmer, USA¹

The theme of your forum is "peace with honor." No theme could better bring out the existing dangers to the security of the United States and what we can and should do to avert those dangers—as President Eisenhower described it in his state of the Union address of 7 January 1960,² "the calamitous cycle of frustrations and crises which, if unchecked, could spiral into nuclear disaster; the ultimate insanity." The frustrations and crises have all been caused by threats directed at peace with honor, at peace with freedom, at peace with justice.

President Eisenhower also said in that message:

... concern for the freedom of other peoples is the intellectual and spiritual cement which has allied us with more than 40 other nations in a common defense effort. Not for a moment do we forget that our own fate is firmly fastened to that of these countries; we will not act in any way which would jeopardize our solemn commitments to them.

To open the discussions of your forum, I have been asked to speak tonight on "The Military Assistance Program as a Tool for Peace with Honor." It is self-evident that our military assistance program is a tool for peace with honor; I am not going to talk about that. The question is how effectively the tool is being used.

There has probably never been a time when a report on that subject was more timely and appropriate. The United States Government has been conducting its military assistance program for some 10 years, during which the principal factors of military strength have undergone rev-

olutionary changes; and accordingly during the past year there have been some searching reviews of the program. The results have by now been pretty well crystallized, and tonight I can summarize for you the present status of the military assistance program as brought out in exceptionally careful and thorough studies by exceptionally able and distinguished men.

A Shield of Common Defense

Our military assistance program is not a private affair of military men; it is an instrument of our foreign policy. Military assistance is a part of our broad program of aid to foreign countries which in total is called the Mutual Security Program. Since it is an instrument of our foreign policy, the Mutual Security Program, including military assistance, comes under the supervision and general direction of the Secretary of State. The whole broad Mutual Security Program is flexibly designed to meet military threats where they exist and to contribute toward economic development among the nations of the free world.

It is to be hoped, of course, that our leadership in assisting underdeveloped countries toward a better standard of living and a richer life will in the long run produce great benefits for the entire world; but the position of the peoples of the free world at the present moment is a good deal like that of our pioneer ancestors who carried the frontiers of civilization westward across America—while they cleared the wilderness and planted their crops, they had to keep their rifles always within arm's reach. Military security is a prerequisite to economic progress, and it is the shield of common defense which permits the nations of the free world to pursue independence and

¹ Address made before the Women's Forum on National Security at Washington, D.C., on Jan. 28. General Palmer is Director of Military Assistance in the Department of Defense.

² BULLETIN of Jan. 25, 1960, p. 111.

economic growth in honorable peace. That shield of common defense, formed by the combined military strength of the United States and its free-world partners, is in large measure the creation of the military assistance program.

It must be obvious to everyone that there is a close relationship between our military assistance to many countries and the availability to us of overseas bases for the deployment of our own advanced forces and missiles: that our national security is strengthened by the collective security of our alliances, while reciprocally our allies are strengthened by measures primarily designed for the national security of the United States.

As Secretary McElroy said to the American Legion convention a year ago:

We intend through our military assistance program to continue to build up the forces of our allies. These are the forces which in many parts of the world would have to take the initial brunt of an aggressor's attack. Dollars spent wisely on them will increase our limited war, as well as our unlimited war, capabilities and save us many dollars in our own defense expenditures. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff recently stated, with complete unanimity, that they would not want one dollar added to our own defense expenditure if that dollar had to come out of our military assistance program.

Let me give you some figures that show what the Joint Chiefs of Staff were talking about. The total of all our major national security expenditures over the fiscal years 1951 to 1959 was approximately \$377 billion. Of this immense sum the military assistance program got approximately \$23 billion, about one-sixteenth.

About half of the \$23 billion was spent during and immediately after the Korean war, when we were striving to strengthen our allies in a hurry. For the past 5 years the expenditures on military assistance have averaged about \$2,400 million a year. We believe that it will be necessary to maintain a level of spending of about \$2 billion a year on military assistance for several years yet. I would not care to guess how many.

You understand that each of the countries to whom we give military assistance has a large military budget of its own; and, as far as possible, we expect it to raise its own forces, feed, pay, clothe, and train them, and furnish them with military equipment to the extent its resources permit. And as the economy of each country has recuperated and become capable of carrying a larger burden, we have asked them to do so.

Some countries have become almost wholly self-sufficient and self-supporting; some we are assisting only with the most complex and difficult of ultramodern devices, which are either beyond their technical capacity or beyond their financial means; while at the other extreme some of our sturdiest and most important allies, like the Turks and the Koreans, are entirely willing to keep large forces in the field, and are immensely valuable to the United States and to the whole free world for that reason, but simply do not have the financial resources to arm, equip, and train such forces and keep them on the payroll without our assistance.

Serving U.S. National Self-Interest

We should all realize that our assistance is forthcoming for reasons of our own national self-interest. Our national self-interest is best served by allies whose defense posture is adequate, whose self-confidence has become stronger, whose determination to resist has become steadily firmer as they have acquired the ability to protect themselves against the threats and probings of aggressors. Knowing that they do not stand alone but that the United States stands with them, they have not faltered nor fallen back when the going got tough.

Consider the inflexible courage with which Norway and Denmark have invariably rebuffed Soviet threats; consider the staunch replies of Greece and Turkey whenever they are threatened—and it is not infrequently.

Consider especially the fine manifestation of NATO's unity in the face of the threatening Soviet moves against Berlin a year ago. The Soviets have endeavored most persistently to split the NATO alliance asunder. They are always full of slogans about "the liquidation of foreign bases." They have never been able to open up even a small crack in the bonds of collective security which our military assistance program has nourished.

The existence of NATO's integrated fighting forces is attributable in large part to our military assistance program and is perhaps the single strongest bulwark against Communist aggression. It protects all of Western Europe—an area of more than 1 million square miles, with 270 million people, possessing many of the highest technical, managerial, and cultural skills of the world.

Or consider the effective response of the Chinese

Nationalist forces to the attempted aggression in the Taiwan Strait in the late summer of 1958, a response made possible through equipment and training provided by our military assistance program.

Indeed, all around the perimeter of the Communist bloc, allied forces which the military assistance program has helped to train and equip stand ready to repel Communist aggressions. These allied forces deter and contain Communist probes designed to test the free world's ability and will to resist. I say again that, by the calculation of our own self-interest, the military assistance program has been an effective tool in giving us peace with honor.

Recommendations of Draper Committee

In November 1958 President Eisenhower appointed a committee of very eminent private citizens, under the chairmanship of the Honorable William H. Draper, Jr.,³ to make an "independent, objective, non-partisan analysis of the military assistance aspects of our Mutual Security Program. . . ." The Committee gathered an extremely able staff and over some 9 months examined the subject very thoroughly. Following a series of interim reports, the Committee made its final report last August.⁴

Considering the Mutual Security Program as a whole, the Draper Committee saw no competitive relationship between our military and economic assistance and did not consider that the military assistance program is too great in relation to the economic aid and development program.

The Committee concluded that the Mutual Security Program has played a significant role in deterring a third world war, in keeping many nations free, in supporting our strategic system of alliances and overseas bases, and in providing hope for economic progress among the peoples of the less developed countries.

The Committee found:

That the military assistance program has pro-

³ For names of the members of the Committee, see *ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1958, p. 954.

⁴ The Composite Report of the President's Committee To Study the United States Military Assistance Program is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (vol. I, 60 cents; vol. II (Annexes), 81).

vided cohesion, strength, and credibility to our collective security arrangements. It has been one of the principal instruments abroad supporting our foreign policy objectives.

That it provided a large part of the weapons, material, and other support which made possible the rearmament of Europe. For the past decade further Communist encroachment in this vital area has thereby been denied, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization continues as an essential security bulwark of the free world.

That it had achieved the strengthening of the nations around the periphery of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

That the military assistance program had influenced a shift in current Communist tactics from direct military aggression to subversion, propaganda, and economic offensives.

As to the future, the Draper Committee concluded that the necessary average level of expenditures that should be marked for military assistance over the next few years is not likely to be less in general than that required in the recent past. A moment ago I remarked that the average expenditures over the past 5 fiscal years have been at the rate of \$2,400 million, approximately, and that we believe we must continue to spend at least \$2 billion annually for some years to come. I am not sure that this nonpartisan Committee of eminent private citizens would not favor a rate of spending somewhat higher than that, but they did say specifically that the appropriation last year should be for \$2 billion. The Congress actually appropriated \$1,300 million.

The Draper Committee recommended that the military assistance appropriation should be placed in the Department of Defense budget, in competition with the appropriations for our own Army, Air Force, and Navy, rather than in competition with appropriations for economic assistance, such as the Development Loan Fund and funds for technical help.

The detailed conclusions and recommendations of this Committee of eminent citizens would fill several pages—too much to cover in full here—but I can say that the Department of Defense has moved promptly to strengthen the administration of the military assistance program along the lines the Committee recommended. One of the first measures taken was to project the planning of

the program 5 years into the future. The object of this is to provide a long-range, time-phased schedule of actions by areas and by countries, intended to assure that the furnishing of military assistance directly supports the United States military and foreign policy objectives.

At the same time the planning of the military assistance program has been very much decentralized to the unified commanders of the United States Armed Forces in overseas regions, particularly to our Commander in Chief in Europe, our Commander in Chief in the Pacific, and our Commander in Chief in the Latin American area. It was felt that control had become too much centralized in Washington.

The Draper Committee also felt that too much time elapses between the day when the Congress passes the military assistance appropriation and the day when the money gets into the hands of the man in the executive branch who is to use it. The considerable number of Government agencies which have a legitimate say in how and where we shall use the military assistance tends to slow things down. Nevertheless, spurred by the Draper Committee, much improvement has been made already, and I believe there is good ground for hope that next year we may put the money to work within the time limits the Committee recommended.

And last, the Defense Department adopted the Draper Committee recommendation that there should be in the Defense Department a Director of Military Assistance who would have full responsibility for the operation of the program. That position, as it turned out, fell upon me, and here I am.

Management of Military Assistance Program

Taking all these measures together, they obviously effect a major change in the whole management of the military assistance program. I have just moved in this month, but of course like any U.S. general I have had a good deal to do with military assistance in many earlier assignments.

We embarked on this program 10 years ago in a time of extreme danger and urgency, and like all emergency programs, in the early years it had to be executed before it could be well planned.

During these 10 years thousands of dedicated people have worked their hearts out to make the program work in spite of all handicaps. Perhaps

the most characteristic difficulty has been countries' offering to raise forces beyond their actual capacity to raise and take on modern weapons and equipment far beyond their actual capability in technical and mechanical skills while neither they, nor we on the American side, knew—or could know without years of investigation—what they really could handle. The world would not wait for us to spend those years investigating. The program had to proceed anyhow. Nobody has been more aware of these problems than the people who were sweating to make the program work. I have seen their efforts, and I take off my hat to them.

There has been a steady improvement in the management; I have been in Europe during the past 3 years and noted a great improvement during that time. And when Mr. Draper came over to explain the task of his Committee and what help they would want from us over there, I thought it was the most timely thing I had ever seen. There had been a lot of self-improvement, and it was now time for suggestions from some distinguished outsiders.

As I have reported to you, the Committee found the military assistance idea entirely sound and more than that—essential. They supported and recommended continuance of the level of spending in recent years and made some excellent suggestions which the Defense Department has moved promptly to put in effect.

Need for an Informed Public

There remains one area which greatly disturbed the Draper Committee. In their very first report they recommended “that every effort be made within the legislative and executive branches of the Government to bring clearly before the American people the relationship between the Mutual Security Program and the national interest. . . .”

And in their final report they said:

Now, after much further study, we re-emphasize the importance of this effort.

The average American citizen does not now relate his own security to the effectiveness of the military and economic assistance programs. . . . He is often unable to acquire a personal *feel* of the intensity of the cold war—of the deadly seriousness and growing strength of the Soviet threat. It is essential to bridge this gap of understanding.

They urged a major, sustained effort to make available to the public all the facts about the program and “that unjustified attacks upon the pro-

gram be answered publicly, promptly and forcefully."

You ladies and the 15 patriotic organizations you represent could undertake no greater service at this time, could make no greater contribution to the security of our country, than by undertaking to spread the facts on this program and convince the public that this program should be fully supported by annual appropriations. Make them understand that the military assistance appropria-

tions are a part of the cost of our national security just as much as the Army, Navy, and Air Force funds. Make them realize that this program is designed to protect the future of your children and your children's children. I beg you to consider how your organizations can tackle this job and then go home and get them behind it. You ladies have the strength to shake the world, and if you use it for this cause you will have served the Republic well.

Cleveland's Role in International Cultural Relations

by Robert H. Thayer¹

The subject of my speech today is Cleveland's role in international cultural relations. I should think that you would feel it pretty presumptuous for anyone not a citizen of Cleveland to come here and talk about Cleveland's role in anything. "A typical U.S. Government attitude," I can hear some of you say. But let me reassure you right now I have not come to Cleveland to tell you what your role is or is not or ought or ought not to be. I have come to tell you that we in the United States Government believe that what Cleveland is doing in the field of international cultural relations is one of the finest examples in the entire United States of this new exacting movement that has challenged the imagination of the American people—a movement to build mutual understanding through the relation of people to people. The Cleveland International Program is pioneering in a field that can make a greater contribution to lasting peace than any other activity today; and I have come here on behalf of the Department of

State to thank all of you who are engaged in this work and to congratulate you, Mr. Mayor, and the city of Cleveland on being such public-spirited citizens.

The city of Cleveland has an outstanding reputation at the State Department for its work in the promotion of community participation in foreign affairs and in the Bureau of International Cultural Relations, which I have the honor of heading. People like Katherine Bang, Henry Ollendorff, and Elizabeth Brown are considered regular members of our team. The Department of State is proud to be associated with the Cleveland International Program as it prepares for a fifth year of operation. I want to hear about Cleveland's role as an example which, I feel sure, will be followed by every city in the United States.

This international program of yours and its increasing success and rapid growth is proof positive that in this jet age today international diplomacy is not the province of government alone; it is the responsibility of every single citizen. The old forms of diplomacy, the relations of government to government, are not alone adequate today to assure the kind of peace that is worth having—peace with justice and freedom and dignity

¹ Address made before the Cleveland International Program for Youth Leaders and Social Workers, Inc., at Cleveland, Ohio, on Feb. 3 (press release 50). Mr. Thayer is Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for the Coordination of International Educational and Cultural Relations.

for the individual. They must be reinforced by what I call cultural diplomacy—the relations of people to people. Cleveland's program represents a model in the field of cultural diplomacy.

Importance of People-to-People Relations

Why are these relations between people and people, the people of distant lands and the American people, so important today? One answer to this question was well expressed to me by a high official in the Government of the United Arab Republic in Cairo last April. He pointed out that war has been for centuries a common way of settling serious disputes. But today war is self-destructive and unthinkable. Disputes must be arrested before they become violent enough to lead to war, and there is no greater arresting force to violence than mutual understanding. No matter how much you may disagree with someone, or even dislike someone, if you understand him or her, it becomes much easier to reach a *modus vivendi*. So mutual understanding and relations of people to people are the surest way to mold the cultural understanding which is essential as a force to maintain peace.

But there is another reason for the importance of mutual understanding between the American people and the people of other lands: The people of Africa and Asia are moving forward to take their places in the sun. They are forming new nations and in so doing are meeting the same difficult problems we faced as a new nation less than 200 years ago. They are seeking as did we to develop their lands in peace. We have much to contribute to this development, particularly in helping them achieve peace with freedom and justice and dignity for the individual, but the peoples of these countries are not going to blindly follow our example unless first there can be established between us mutual understanding.

What is mutual understanding? I can tell you what it is not. It is not trying to impose the American way of life on other peoples; it is not trying to make them into Americans; it is not ignoring or thinking queer their customs, their background, their way of thinking and of expressing themselves because they are not like ours. I think Mrs. Katherine Bang expressed the reasoning of mutual understanding as well as it can be expressed in a statement she made 2 years ago to the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*. Discussing the

World Affairs Council's hospitality program for foreign visitors, she said: "We hope our visitor from abroad will like what he sees of our country, but we are not trying to indoctrinate or make him into an American. We want him to go back home with a sympathetic understanding of our ways and national ideals."

It is the Government's hope that this "sympathetic understanding" of which Mrs. Bang spoke will someday be mutual and widespread. Without it no amount of traditional diplomacy, economic assistance, or military maneuver will suffice to eradicate the prejudice, ignorance, and fear that inhibit the natural desires of people to live in peace and cooperate for the benefit of mankind. The task of developing sympathetic understanding and building confidence is not something that can be legislated by Congress or negotiated by the Department of State. This is truly a process that starts in the hearts and minds of men. The development of understanding between peoples must begin at the grassroots or else international exchange programs are only an empty gesture.

This is certainly an era of revolution and massive change in all phases of human endeavor. While the Western nations cope with the complexities of political and economic interdependence, Africa and Asia are giving birth to new sovereign nations; the menace of international communism hovers over millions of people in the Soviet bloc. Events of the next 10 years will test this country's honored traditions far more than they have been tested during the past 180 years. At the same time we will find it necessary to discard inadequate and obsolete methods to meet the unprecedented challenges of a world in ferment.

Make a quick survey of international affairs today and I think you will agree that complacency and lack of imagination are two of our greatest potential dangers. The United States is in a position of dynamic world leadership. How successfully that leadership will be exercised depends upon a number of factors—our military alertness, our economic vitality, our ability to guide three-quarters of the earth's peoples into an industrial age. All of these factors combine to measure a nation's strength—or lack of it. But one more vital ingredient is needed to turn that prescription for strength into one for effective leadership.

a solid dose of compassion for the values, aspirations, cultural achievements, and tribulations of the people of other lands who refuse, and rightfully so, to be mere statistics in a geography textbook.

Call it "sympathetic understanding" or "mutual understanding" or "cultural diplomacy." They all mean the same thing—a conscious desire to go more than halfway to meet the other fellow on his home ground and listen to what he has to say and appreciate what his culture has to offer. I submit that this is one of the most difficult tasks for a people to accomplish in a world that is accustomed to the harshness of national isolation and economic degradation. It is a task that demands an effort far greater than the production of more steel or the building of bigger rockets. It is a job that can be done only if we divest ourselves of a conditioned antipathy toward peoples who look, act, and think differently than we. It is a goal toward which shortsightedness and feelings of superiority can effectively bar our path. It requires a quality that I am afraid we Americans are sometimes somewhat short of, perhaps because our struggles to build a great nation discouraged its growth; it is the quality of humility.

I do not feel the need to convince any of you here this afternoon of the importance of having the American people identify themselves with the strivings of their brothers in the family of man. I am sure that you would not be associated with the Cleveland International Program if you thought otherwise. And I think you are all aware of the importance which your Government attaches to this aspect of international living today. Indeed, even the diehard traditionalists in Government are beginning to realize that world leadership without mutual understanding between peoples is no leadership at all. The creation of the position that I hold is evidence of the interest of the Government in cultural relations.

Government and Cultural Relations

Let me tell you about what the Government is doing in the field of international cultural relations. Much of this will be known already to you here today, active as you are in this field, but I am constantly amazed by the number of people who apparently do not appreciate all that the Government is doing.

The International Educational Exchange Pro-

gram, which most people know through such familiar terms as Fulbright and Smith-Mundt scholarships, has sponsored more than 70,000 exchanges of students, teachers, professors, leaders, and specialists between the United States and 100 countries of the world. The alumni of this program are the leaders and future leaders of the free world, the people who are in a position to disseminate the facts of international life to millions of their compatriots.

Under the President's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations, American orchestras, theatrical troupes, jazz combos, dance groups, and athletic teams are assisted in traveling and appearing abroad. Attractions like the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, the San Francisco Ballet, the Benny Goodman Sextet, and the Westminster Singers have appeared on every continent to help dispel widespread misconception abroad that the American people are preoccupied with material objectives. Furthermore, we are conducting a survey in certain areas of the world of how we can broaden the base of our audiences and reach some of the people at the grassroots as well as the more sophisticated audiences in the big cities. We want very much to send some of our imaginative young nonprofessional talent abroad and give them a chance by spending a larger time at each place to make a greater impression on the local population through personal contact, lectures, and seminars.

During the past 2 years we have been able to open the first of what we hope will be a growing number of channels of communication between the American and Soviet peoples. The epic-making cultural, technical, and educational exchange agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union of January 1958 has recently been extended for another 2 years,² with arrangements for increased exchanges of students, professors, and experts in various fields.

We have also noticed with a great deal of satisfaction that our participation in the programs of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is bringing an awareness of other cultures to the many thousands of American citizens who cooperate with the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

² For text of an agreement signed at Washington, D.C., on Nov. 24, 1959, see BULLETIN of Dec. 28, 1959, p. 951.

Through the steadfast and able work of the United States Information Agency, millions of foreign citizens are able to buy inexpensive American books which are translated into their own languages; thousands of foreign educational institutions receive American textbooks and teaching materials; 200,000 foreign students in 55 countries receive instruction in the English language each year; and American reading rooms and libraries are open for business in a majority of the world's major cities.

Through the technical assistance programs of the International Cooperation Administration, about 8,000 foreign citizens come to the United States for technical training each year and more than 3,500 American technicians go abroad to teach the skills other people need to grow more food, build better tools, and maintain their health. These people are engaged in cultural interchange as much as the students, teachers, and professors who take part in educational exchange programs.

The same situation exists for the foreign citizens who come to the United States and the American citizens who go abroad under the military assistance programs of the Department of Defense or the fellowship programs of the National Academy of Sciences and the research programs of the National Institutes of Health. In all, 15 Government agencies conduct programs that involve the movement of persons, cultural materials, and ideas between the United States and other countries.

It was the recognition by the Department of State and the administration of the need to find a common focus for this vast proliferation of programs with an impact on our cultural relations that led to the creation of the position I now hold. I have not been assigned to coordinate the international cultural relations activities of the United States Government in order to create a new bureaucratic hierarchy. My primary job involves keeping other policymakers informed about trends and activities and underscoring common objectives in the area of foreign affairs and pointing out gaps that need filling and increasing overlaps in our cultural effort.

During my first 12 months in office I feel we have made a great deal of headway in persuading many responsible officials to include in their planning a long-range view of what we are trying to achieve in the field of cultural relations. Repre-

sentatives of different agencies are talking to each other more often these days about such common subjects of interest as the development of educational systems abroad; the teaching of English as a foreign language; and the orientation of exchange grantees to ease the changeover from one society to another.

Private Enterprise and Cultural Relations

Outside the Government the work of private enterprise to foster international cultural exchange is far more extensive than the efforts of all Government agencies combined. Organizations like the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Institute of International Education were already highly experienced when the Department of State began its first educational exchange programs with Latin America in 1938. Missionary groups had already founded hundreds of American schools in Latin America, the Middle East, and South Asia. Service clubs and professional groups, like Rotary and the American Association of University Women, had well-established international fellowship programs.

Today American universities have an annual population of approximately 50,000 foreign students and educators. On many college campuses the job of foreign-student adviser is a full-time faculty position.

According to the most recent available statistics, 184 American universities are conducting 382 international programs involving exchanges of students, faculty members, and materials with educational institutions and government agencies in 93 countries. Many of these programs are sponsored by the International Cooperation Administration in recognition of the university's role in economic development.

More and more American institutions of higher learning are including foreign travel in their curricula. Right here in Ohio, Oberlin College is sending third-year music students to the Mozarteum in Salzburg for a full 10 months of instruction; and the Western College for Women at Oxford, Ohio, has an excellent course called "The Development of World Civilizations" which includes a summer of travel in an area of the world that has been thoroughly studied by the participating students for an entire year.

Several Eastern schools have conducted junior-year-abroad programs in Western Europe for many years. This year, for the first time, three junior-year programs are being conducted in Brazil, Peru, Costa Rica, and Chile by New York, Indiana, Kansas, and Fordham Universities with the assistance of the Department of State.

In addition to our universities, many hundreds of philanthropic foundations, labor unions, service clubs, professional societies, religious groups, and civic organizations are conducting educational and cultural programs with foreign countries. These include the teenage exchanges of the 4-H Clubs, the American Field Service teenage program, the professional affiliations of the Inter-American Bar Association, and the educational programs of the League of Women Voters. Last week I spoke in Louisville to the National Convention of Ruritan,³ and I was told that 1,000 farm families had opened their homes to receive foreign visitors.

We haven't even begun to take stock of the work that is being done and the money that is being spent in the cause of mutual understanding by hundreds of thousands of individuals and perhaps thousands of organizations in the United States, although we are trying to make a survey, country by country, of all that is being done. In one small country there are 12 Government agencies and 93 private agencies with programs in the field of international educational and cultural relations.

How, for example, does one measure the contribution made by the 200 host families of the Cleveland International Program? Can you say that these families spend a total of \$10,000 for extra groceries and recreation over a 6-week period and be done with it? Or take the family of Dr. and Mrs. Ernst W. Erickson of Ypsilanti, Michigan. Last year Dr. and Mrs. Erickson received Department of State grants to help set up a new library and teach high-school subjects in Katmandu, Nepal. They took their three teenage children with them at their own expense and enrolled them in local schools. In typical American teenage fashion, these children had their Nepalese classmates coming to their home after school. They gave social dancing lessons which became so popular that the students were soon being accompanied by their parents and relatives. The Ericksons

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1960, p. 240.

were finally forced to set up a Friday night dancing class to control the demand. How do we measure the contributions of this family? Certainly not in dollars and cents.

Receiving Foreign Visitors as Individuals

I think you will certainly agree after this recitation that cultural diplomacy is on its way, but let me emphasize something of very great importance. You in Cleveland are using the greatest care in the selection of those who come here from abroad and of the Americans who go overseas. You are taking foreign visitors into your homes, and you are making certain that they are receiving the closest possible attention while they are in this country. Both of these factors are of vital importance. We must guard against the American propensity to do things on a mass basis. We must be certain that private organizations and institutions, and particularly the Government, in their enthusiasm for carrying on this vitally important activity of cultural diplomacy do not forget that the visitors from abroad do not want a canned trip around the United States. They want to live in American homes and have time to themselves to find the flavor of American life in their own way. We must give more careful thought to our visitors as individuals; we must take care lest in our enthusiasm we unintentionally turn our visitors from other lands into an assembly line. I think that this type of partnership between private and public effort that exists today between the Cleveland International Program and the Department of State is one of the greatest safeguards against this danger.

And above all we must not forget the all-important task of preparing the generations to come in our own country for the task of living in a world where their next-door neighbor is not from Cleveland but from Kabul, or Cairo, or Karachi. Our children and grandchildren must be taught at least one if not two languages other than their own and taught early enough in elementary and secondary schools so that they can speak fluently. They must learn to communicate rather than study the language as a language. They must be taught to understand the peoples of other countries. They must be ready to live their lives outside of their own environment. For this we must have more teachers of foreign languages and area

specialists. Are we doing enough to train these teachers and specialists? The United States of America is living in a world community; in this world community there is as much pioneering to be done as there was in the early days of the founding of this great land of ours. I am told that juvenile delinquency has increased because there is not a sufficient challenge to the youth of today to give them the physical and spiritual fulfillment that growing minds and bodies require. But I submit to you that the fault lies not in the environment of modern American life today nor in the nature of young America. It lies in the lack of imagination in those responsible for the bringing up of our youth, in the lack of vision to see the great tasks that lie ahead, in the lack of a sense of international responsibility to help guide the great masses of the peoples of the new nations of the world to a life of freedom and justice and to help guard them from the force of evil in the shape of international communism.

You in the city of Cleveland have shown that you have that imagination, that vision, and that sense of responsibility. Don't keep it to yourself. The role of Cleveland in international cultural relations goes far beyond Cleveland. It can by example be used to enlist similar activity by every city and town not only of Ohio but of the other 49 States of the Union.

And finally may I emphasize that you private citizens are the ones who can succeed in establishing mutual understanding between the people of America and the people of the rest of the world. We in Government stand ready to help you and to serve in this effort; but you are the people, and cultural diplomacy is a peoples' program. And only through this program lies the certainty of lasting peace.

I speak for my children and my grandchildren and those who come after them when I say, may God be with you and give your efforts continued success.

Chinese Art Exhibit To Tour United States

Press release 61 dated February 12

The Department of State announced on February 12 that a comprehensive exhibition of Chinese art will be shown in the United States in 1961-62. The exhibition will consist of selected master-

pieces from the National Palace Museum (formerly in Peiping) and the National Central Museum (formerly in Nanking). They will be sent to this country by the Government of the Republic of China, which has preserved the art treasures in Taiwan (Formosa) since evacuation from the Chinese mainland.

The exhibition is scheduled to open about June 1, 1961, at the National Gallery of Art. Following its showing in Washington, the exhibition will go to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Art Institute of Chicago; and the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

An agreement covering the arrangements for the exhibition was initialed on February 12 by Ambassador George K. C. Yeh of the Republic of China and Huntington Cairns, Secretary-Treasurer and General Counsel of the National Gallery of Art.

The exhibition will include approximately 100 rare paintings as well as examples of calligraphy, pottery and porcelain, bronzes, jades, and lacquers from prehistoric times to the 19th century. This will be the most important exhibition of Chinese art ever to be held in the United States.

The works of art in the exhibition are the property of the Government of the Republic of China and will be returned to Taiwan at the conclusion of the exhibition in 1962.

NATO Science Fellowship Program for 1960 Announced

Press release 55 dated February 11

The Department of State and the National Science Foundation announced on February 11 the 1960 program of North Atlantic Treaty Organization fellowships in science. Approximately 40 of these fellowships, which are designed to encourage further study in the sciences abroad, will be awarded to citizens of the United States who have demonstrated ability and special aptitude for advanced training in the sciences and who, by the beginning of the fellowship, will have earned a doctoral degree in one of the fields of science listed below or who have had research training and experience equivalent to that represented by the doctoral degree. Awards will be made in the mathematical, physical, and engineering sciences:

medical and biological sciences, including anthropology and psychology (excluding clinical psychology); and in certain social sciences. Included, as well, are interdisciplinary fields which overlap two or more scientific disciplines.

In view of the sponsorship and objectives of the program it is expected that recipients of awards will, in nearly all cases, plan to study abroad in a country that is a member of the NATO community. Other member nations of NATO are: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, and the United Kingdom; these countries also select recipients of NATO fellowships from among their own citizens. Awards to U.S. citizens are not, however, restricted to study in a NATO country, and consideration will be given to those planning study elsewhere.

Evaluation and selection of candidates will be solely on the basis of ability. Applications will be evaluated for the National Science Foundation by panels of scientists appointed by the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council.

Stipends for NATO fellowships will be \$4,500 for the full year and \$3,375 for the academic year. Limited round-trip travel and dependency allowances will be provided.

Applications and detailed information may be obtained from the Fellowship Office, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Ave., NW., Washington 25, D.C. Fellowship applications must be received by the NAS-NRC by April 11, 1960. Awards will be announced on May 23, 1960.

President Acts on Imports of Almonds, Clothespins, and Safety Pins

Almonds

White House press release dated February 5

The President announced on February 5 his decision on the U.S. Tariff Commission report concerning imports of almonds. The President accepted as the findings of the Tariff Commission the finding of two Commissioners that restrictions on almond imports were not warranted un-

der section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended.

The other two Commissioners participating in this case found the contrary and recommended a tariff quota of 3 million pounds with an over-quota fee of 10 cents per pound. Where, as here, the Tariff Commission is equally divided, section 330 (d) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, authorizes the President to accept the findings of either group of Commissioners as the findings of the Commission.

The Commission issued its report on September 25, 1959.¹ Its investigation and report, which the President requested on July 28, 1959,² were made pursuant to section 22, which authorizes the limitation of imports in order to prevent material interference with Department of Agriculture price-support or marketing-order programs.

Spring Clothespins and Safety Pins

White House press release dated February 5

The President has concurred with the U.S. Tariff Commission's recent findings that no formal investigation should be instituted at this time to determine whether the tariff should be reduced on imports of spring clothespins and safety pins. The President found, with the Tariff Commission, that there is not sufficient reason at this time to reopen the escape-clause actions which resulted 2 years ago in increases in the tariffs on these items.³ The President's decision means that the increased rates of duty established in December 1957 as the result of escape-clause actions will continue to apply without reduction or other modification.

The President's action was taken after consultation with the Trade Policy Committee. The Tariff Commission studies were made pursuant to Executive Order 10401, which requires periodic review of affirmative actions taken under the escape clause. The Commission reports on spring clothespins and safety pins, respectively, were submitted to the President on December 7 and 31, 1959.

¹ Copies of the Commission's report may be obtained from the U.S. Tariff Commission, Washington 25, D.C.

² BULLETIN of Aug. 17, 1959, p. 240.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1957, p. 958, and Dec. 23, 1957, p. 1009.

Aspects of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy

Statement by Edwin M. Martin

*Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs*¹

I welcome the opportunity to comment on the report on *Worldwide and Domestic Economic Problems and Their Impact on the Foreign Policy of the United States*.

The Department of State is happy to endorse what it conceives to be the five main policy conclusions of this report:

1. The importance of sustainable rates of economic growth with stable prices, both to our domestic well-being and the success of our foreign policy.

2. The continued need, in this and other matters, to recognize and allow for the increasing impact on the success of our foreign policies of decisions taken on primarily domestic economic issues.

3. The value of a continued liberal approach to our policies on trade with our friends in the free world.

4. The essential contribution to our peace and well-being which can be made by an expanded flow of public and private capital from the industrialized countries to those still struggling to reach economic maturity and independence.

5. The significance for their political aims of

the recent increased capacity of the Soviets to engage in foreign aid and other economic programs in areas of special interest to them.

The goal of economic growth at home is closely related to success in assisting in securing an adequate rate of growth in the newly developing parts of the world by providing large capital resources from outside. Growth at home makes it easier for us to allocate the resources we need to devote to fostering growth abroad. It facilitates the internal adjustments we need to make to meet foreign competition without taking restrictive measures that would hurt our friends and neighbors as well as ourselves. It provides a growing and stable market for the countries of the free world who depend on trade for growth. On the other hand, periodic slumps in our economic activity are hurtful not only to ourselves but particularly to the less developed countries whose economies are susceptible to even relatively small declines in demand for their export products. And, not unimportantly, confidence in the U.S. as a country competent to manage its own affairs, confidence in the dollar as a reserve currency, confidence in a free-enterprise economy as a system for organizing economic activity, in sum, confidence in the U.S. as a country worthy of emulation and leadership is affected by our ability to maintain steady growth.

Parenthetically, one might get the impression from the report that it is the reported high rate of Soviet growth that makes stable, steady growth at

¹ Made before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Feb. 11 (press release 56) during a hearing on a report prepared for the committee by the Corporation for Economic and Industrial Research, Inc. For a list of other studies in this series and a statement by Wallace R. Brode, Science Adviser of the Department of State, see BULLETIN of Feb. 22, 1960, p. 271.

home important. Whether the income of the Soviet Union is growing at 3 percent or 6 percent or 9 percent is not a matter of indifference to us, since a high growth rate enables the Soviet Union more effectively to pursue policies inimical to our interests. But we are not in a competition of growth rates. Achieving steady growth without inflation was a persistent problem for us in the postwar years before we were alerted to the high growth rate of the Soviet Union, and it is a problem we would want to come to grips with even if there were no Soviet threat at all. We want a high and sustained level of economic activity to enable us to fulfill objectives of our own choosing.

How to achieve an advancing level of economic activity without inflation in the U.S. is not properly within the purview of the Department of State. We are primarily concerned with the problem of fostering economic growth abroad.

Economic Growth and Political Development

It is not necessary to dwell at any length on the importance, in political and in human terms, of accelerating economic growth in the vast underdeveloped areas of the free world. The countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are part of the free world, but they are not committed irrevocably to freedom. They *are* committed to economic growth. The question is whether they can achieve the economic growth they so urgently desire in an environment of freedom or whether, overwhelmed by massive problems, they turn to totalitarian rule at home and aggression abroad. Whether the free world contracts or expands, whether the U.S. is forced back on itself in a hostile world or maintains its free and open character in a world society of likeminded nations, rests in large part on the direction the less developed countries take. Today they are numerous but weak. In the years ahead they will count more heavily in the world balance. They will affect importantly the political shape of the world of the future.

It takes no special act of imagination or sympathy to grasp the human meaning of economic growth, to appreciate the tyranny that poverty and disease can exercise over man. But the relationship of economic growth to political developments is less direct and obvious. Political developments have a momentum of their own, and

it would be unduly optimistic to believe that just so long as our aid is large and our trade free all will be well, or just so long as the less developed countries achieve an increase in income of 2 percent or 4 percent or 6 percent a year they will establish and maintain democratic governments and respect for international law. The relationship of economic growth to political development is not so simple as that.

But we know that there *is* a relationship. We know that frustration with backwardness and poverty is widespread in the less developed countries today. It is felt by the landless laborers who want land, by the unemployed who want jobs, by the peasants who want security of tenure and a larger share of the fruits of their labor, by students, lawyers, and journalists whose talents have outrun their opportunities. We know also that, if present moderate governments can offer their people nothing but continued stagnation, they will not long survive. Demagogues of one stripe or another will come forward to capitalize on discontent and frustration.

If, on the other hand, there *is* economic progress, if the unemployed can hope to find jobs, if the peasants can hope to acquire land, if schools are being established and health clinics organized, if local leaders in towns and villages are encouraged to undertake the small and large community improvements that hold out hope for future betterment, in a word, if opportunities are opening up, we could expect morale to be good. People are not likely to seek radical solutions in societies where morale is high because they have hope for the future, a sense of opportunity, the feeling that tomorrow will be better than today, that their children will enjoy opportunities they themselves have been denied. It does not matter that progress may seem slow in an overall statistical sense. The important thing is the direction, the trend, the sense of forward movement.

Whether the governments of the less developed countries operating within the framework of free institutions can meet the challenge of growth successfully depends in no small part on what we and our more industrialized allies do or fail to do. We cannot bestow economic growth or export it in a package. The countries concerned must establish the social and political institutions on which growth depends, must organize

and administer and inspire their own people. But our help can make a difference, perhaps a critical difference. It is, in any case, important that we try. If they fail because we have failed them, the loss will be as much ours as theirs.

Steps Being Taken To Expand Capital Outflow

As a result of its studies of this subject, the report makes suggestions for future action. We believe important steps which are in line with its approach have been and are being taken.

When it became clear that loans by the International Bank were reaching a new high level and that further resources would be needed, we proposed an increase of 100 percent in Bank subscriptions. When it became clear that the technical assistance program of the United Nations was unable to provide the systematic and sustained assistance in basic fields that was needed, especially in the survey of resources and the establishment of training institutes, we proposed the establishment of the U.N. Special Fund. We set up the DLF [Development Loan Fund] to meet the need for loan capital on more flexible terms, and we will shortly come before this committee to ask support for the establishment of an International Development Association² to fill the same need. We have established, together with the countries of Latin America, a regional development financing institution to provide capital for development in the Americas.³ We proposed an increase in quotas in the International Monetary Fund to put the Fund in a better position to tide countries over temporary balance-of-payments difficulties arising from unfavorable turns of trade and other events. We are continuing to explore new ways of expanding the flow of private investment to the less developed countries.

The current outflow of capital and technical assistance from private and public sources in the free world is in the neighborhood of \$6 billion. Clearly the current outflow is not enough. There are meritorious projects that would give momentum to growth that are not now being financed for lack of funds; there should be a rising curve for the period ahead. To meet this need it is, as the report notes, essential that other of the wealthier nations enlarge their role in providing capital to the less developed areas and that all of our programs be

² See p. 315.

³ See p. 311.

made as effective as possible in promoting sound economic expansion.

With this in mind in January in Paris, Under Secretary of State Dillon proposed that the industrialized free nations who are in a position to make significant bilateral contributions to development meet together as a development assistance group, on an informal basis but with some regularity, to have full and frank discussions on how we can do a larger, more sustained, and more effective job.⁴ The development assistance group would be a consultative forum for the discussion of appropriate national measures, such as the establishment or expansion of national agencies to provide long-term development capital, and for the exchange of views and information on aid policies, procedures, and operations. The 20 nations meeting in Paris agreed to this proposal, recognizing a wider interest in and responsibility for the continued economic growth of the less developed areas of the world.

At the first meeting of the development assistance group, which we hope will be held in Washington in the first half of March, we would hope to provide information on our own lending, assistance, and investment guaranty operations with the thought that our experience might be useful to others in considering their own programs. Subsequent meetings may be held in the capitals of other members of the group. Our approach will be flexible and pragmatic.

Before leaving this subject, there are several points raised by the CEIR report on which comment seems desirable.

Providing an Alternative to Soviet Aid

The first comment has to do with Soviet aid. The thrust of the report would appear to be that we must do much because the Soviets are doing much. It is important to emphasize that the Soviet Union's tardy entrance into the aid field is not the reason for our effort to promote the development of the less developed countries and the Soviet Union's exit from the aid field—should they conclude, as they might, that the cost exceeds the benefit—cannot be the occasion for any slackening of effort on our part. It is not Soviet aid, as such, that will subvert the less developed countries. Soviet aid is only one of a range of tech-

⁴ BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139.

niques that the bloc uses to make friends and influence people; it is not necessarily the most important tool in their kit. It supplements local diplomacy, the exchange of visiting dignitaries, the Russian ballet, study tours in the Soviet Union, the flood of books and pamphlets, the Voice of Moscow presenting the image of a benevolent but powerful U.S.S.R. on the march in science, in industry, in military weaponry, in space exploration, the enemy of colonialism and the friend of aspiring peoples. The danger to the developing countries is less the volume of Soviet aid than it is that their own efforts, the essential foundation of any successful program, even reinforced by external aid, may still be inadequate, that growth will lag too far behind aspirations, and that discontent will push extremist leaders to the fore. So long as the uncommitted countries are aware that the West shares their aspirations for economic and social progress in freedom and independence and is prepared to give them timely and substantial aid, so long, that is, as they have a real alternative to dependence on the bloc, they can resist any improper pressures that the Soviets might seek to apply.

"Growth With Consumption" Only a Slogan

The slogan "growth with consumption" that is used in the CEIR report is, in the end, only a slogan and, as such, of rather limited usefulness. Growth with consumption is an obviously desirable system, but the real issue is always how much of each. The temptation is always to sacrifice the savings necessary to growth in favor of consumption. The objection to the Soviet system is more the police-state manner in which saving is forced and used for militaristic purposes than the proportion of income which goes into saving. The less developed countries will need to plough back into investment a substantial part of their incremental income if they are to move forward. They will have to invest in schools, in community development, in health facilities, in training institutes, in power plants, factories, and roads. But investment in these basic facilities, although undertaken at the expense of current consumption, will increase current opportunities and offer the promise of greater opportunities to come.

Nor does it seem possible to say at what particular rate the less developed countries must progress so that community morale will be high.

Many mathematical models have been constructed which, starting with a magic target of x percent increase in per capita income, derive the investment requirements associated with such an increase—abstracting from the economic and social environment in which growth is taking place—subtract from the requirement the local savings likely to be generated, and arrive thereby at the investment gap that must be provided by external sources. The CEIR suggests a 5 percent increase per annum in total output and an associated external capital gap of \$10 billion to \$15 billion a year. This overall approach is apt to prove an unrewarding exercise.

Expansion of World Trade Vital to U.S.

To turn to trade, there is not much new to be said or to be added to the report on why continued efforts to expand world trade are vital for the United States. For most countries of the free world, trade, expanding and unrestricted trade, is vital to their well-being. It is not a marginal matter. They must export to import. For the less developed countries, trade is critical. To import the industrial materials and capital equipment which they need for growth, the developing countries must find markets for their products. Typically, they are dependent on the export of a few mineral and agricultural products whose prices fluctuate widely in the world market. In the years ahead, as they begin to modernize their economies and diversify their output, they will move increasingly into fabrication of consumers goods and light industries of a labor-intensive kind, and they will seek to market these products abroad. If we are seriously concerned to promote their economic growth, we cannot put up barriers to the output of their mines and factories. The United States is too large and too critical a market to take such action without doing serious injury to its friends and to its foreign policy purposes.

Intimately related to trade policy is our balance-of-payments problem, to which the CEIR report also addresses itself. The economic report of the President⁵ goes into this question in considerable depth, and there is no need to repeat what is said there. Preliminary reports suggest that our payments position has improved somewhat since the CEIR report was issued; it is expected to improve

⁵ For excerpts, see *ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1960, p. 301.

a bit further in 1960. Our main reliance for closing the payments gap must be the expansion of world trade, especially United States exports. In 1959, as recommended in the report, we intensified our efforts in the GATT and the IMF and bilaterally toward this end. Partly as a result, many countries have recently taken important steps to reduce their barriers against United States exports. We expect this trend to continue. Over the long term, with steady, stable growth at home and abroad, we have good reason to expect an increasing income from our investments abroad and a large growth in United States exports, permitting us to retain world confidence in our economy and to continue to carry on those overseas programs so essential to our security and well-being.

In conclusion may I express the appreciation of the Department of State for the action of the committee in arranging for this series of reports to be prepared and published and for giving the Department this opportunity to express its views.

**INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
AND CONFERENCES**

Under Secretary Dillon Attends Inter-American Bank Meeting

The Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank held its inaugural meeting at San Salvador February 3-16.¹ Following is a statement made by Under Secretary Dillon on February 7 upon his arrival at San Salvador and a statement made on February 11 upon his return to Washington.

STATEMENT AT SAN SALVADOR, FEBRUARY 7

I am delighted to be here in the lovely city of San Salvador for the inaugural meeting of the Inter-American Development Bank.

This unique Bank, which represents the fulfillment of desires long held by the countries of Latin America for a development institution tailored to their special needs, should provide new impetus in

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 15, 1960, p. 263.

spurring the forward progress of the hemisphere. My Government takes great satisfaction from its participation in a project which symbolizes the vitality and creativeness of the inter-American system.

The Bank is a concrete expression of the desire of the peoples of the Americas to pursue sound economic policies which will make a maximum contribution to development in an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding. The great degree of flexibility and responsiveness which has been built into the Bank should lead to realistic measures designed to encourage the flow of needed public and private capital into Latin America.

It is a particular pleasure for me to visit El Salvador, a country which has consistently contributed to the unity of the Americas. I look forward to seeing President Lemus, whom I had the honor of meeting in Washington last spring,² and for whom I have a message of personal greeting from President Eisenhower. My presence here is also a welcome opportunity to renew acquaintance and friendship with officials of the other American Republics who are attending this auspicious meeting.

STATEMENT AT WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 11

Press release 59 dated February 11

I have just returned from a meeting in San Salvador which marks the start of a fresh, coordinated approach to the development problems of the Western Hemisphere.

The new Inter-American Development Bank—to which the American states are contributing in proportion to their resources—has the special virtue of a development institution which is uniquely fitted to the needs of Latin America. I believe that its operations will have a very constructive influence in promoting economic growth along sound lines.

By a happy coincidence the inaugural meeting of the Bank took place at the same time that the first common-market agreement in this hemisphere was signed between El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. This common market should not only serve to strengthen the trading position of participating governments but can be expected to stimulate the sort of economic climate which is needed to attract new private investment.

² *Ibid.*, Apr. 6, 1959, p. 478.

My visit to El Salvador gave me a welcome opportunity to see and talk once again with President Lemus and to renew acquaintances with my many friends among the delegations to the Bank meeting. The atmosphere which prevailed throughout the meeting demonstrated once again the strength and vitality of the inter-American system.

IDA Articles of Agreement Ready for Acceptance by Members

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced on January 31 that the articles of agreement of the International Development Association, the proposed new financing institution to be affiliated with the World Bank, are now ready for acceptance by prospective member governments.

By authorization of the Bank's Executive Directors, the text of the articles of agreement, together with a report by the Executive Directors drawing attention to certain features of the articles, is being transmitted to the 68 member governments of the Bank. The next step will be for those governments desiring to join IDA to take whatever legislative or other action may be required to accept membership and to subscribe funds. The articles provide that IDA will enter into force when governments whose subscriptions aggregate at least 65 percent of total initial subscriptions have accepted membership. The articles will remain open for signature by original members until December 31, 1960. The earliest date on which IDA may come into being is September 15, 1960.

A preamble to the articles states the conviction of the signatory governments that mutual cooperation for constructive economic purposes, healthy development of the world economy, and balanced growth of international trade foster peace and world prosperity; that higher standards of living and economic and social progress in the less developed countries are desirable, not only in the interests of those countries but also for the international community as a whole; and that achievement of these objectives would be facilitated by an increase in the international flow of capital, public and private, to assist in the development of the resources of the less developed countries.

The main features of IDA, as proposed, are as follows:

Purposes

The purposes of IDA are defined:

... to promote economic development, increase productivity and thus raise standards of living in the less developed areas of the world included within the Association's membership, in particular by providing finance to meet their important developmental requirements on terms which are more flexible and bear less heavily on the balance of payments than those of conventional loans, thereby furthering the developmental objectives of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (hereinafter called "the Bank") and supplementing its activities.

Membership and Initial Subscriptions

Membership of IDA is to be open to member countries of the Bank.

The initial resources proposed for IDA total \$1 billion, an amount which will be obtained if all existing member countries of the Bank join IDA and thereby accept the subscriptions assigned to them. IDA subscriptions are to be roughly proportionate to subscriptions to the Bank's capital and will be payable over a 5-year period.

A unique feature of IDA is that member countries have been divided into two groups for purposes of subscription of funds. The 17 more industrialized member countries of the Bank will pay their subscriptions in gold or freely convertible currencies, whereas the 51 less developed member countries will pay 10 percent of their subscriptions in gold or freely convertible currencies and 90 percent in their national currencies, which IDA will not be free to convert into other currencies or to use to finance exports from the country concerned without its consent.

Resources and Use of Currencies

IDA is to keep the adequacy of its resources under regular review. It is contemplated that the first review would take place during the first 5-year period and subsequent reviews at intervals of approximately 5 years thereafter. General or individual increases in subscriptions may be authorized at any time.

IDA may also enter into arrangements to receive from any member, in addition to its own subscription, supplementary resources in the currency of another member provided that the member whose

currency is involved does not object. For example, the United States has indicated that it might offer to IDA some of its holdings of foreign currencies arising through sales of surplus commodities under Public Law 480. The provision of such supplementary resources would not entitle the subscribing member to any additional voting rights.

Organization and Management

The structure of IDA is adapted to administration by the Bank. Thus IDA is to have a Board of Governors, Executive Directors, and a President, all of whom will be the holders of those positions in the Bank, serving *ex officio* in IDA.

Other articles contain detailed provision for such matters as withdrawal or suspension of membership; status, immunities, and privileges; amendments; interpretation and arbitration; and signature and entry into force.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1914 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.¹
Signature: Honduras, February 10, 1960.

Cultural Relations

Agreement for facilitating the international circulation of visual and auditory materials of an educational, scientific, and cultural character, and protocol. Done at Lake Success July 15, 1949. Entered into force August 12, 1954.²
Acceptance deposited: Iran, December 30, 1959.

Narcotics

Protocol bringing under international control drugs outside the scope of the convention limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs concluded at Geneva July 13, 1931 (48 Stat. 1543), as amended (61 Stat. 2230; 62 Stat. 1796). Done at Paris November 19, 1918. Entered into force December 1, 1919. TIAS 2308.

¹ Not in force.

² Not in force for the United States.

Acceptance deposited: El Salvador, December 31, 1959. Protocol for limiting and regulating the cultivation of the poppy plant, the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium. Dated at New York June 23, 1953.¹

Ratification deposited: Iran, December 30, 1959.

Accession deposited: El Salvador, December 31, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1960. TIAS 4390.

Notifications of approval: Yugoslavia, October 16, 1959; India, December 22, 1959; Belgium (with reservations), December 23, 1959; Union of South Africa and Territory of South-West Africa, December 23, 1959.

Trade and Commerce

Declaration on relations between contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Done at Geneva May 25, 1959. Entered into force November 16, 1959; for the United States November 19, 1959. TIAS 4385.

Signatures: Brazil, November 9, 1959; Australia, January 11, 1960.

BILATERAL

Indonesia

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of May 29, 1959 (TIAS 4248). Effected by exchange of notes at Djakarta November 18, 1959. Entered into force November 18, 1959.

Israel

Agreement amending the agreement for cooperation concerning civil uses of atomic energy of July 12, 1955 (TIAS 3311). Signed at Washington August 20, 1959. *Entered into force:* January 28, 1960.

Italy

Agreement amending the agreement of April 27, 1954, for the loan of two U.S. submarines to Italy (TIAS 3124). Effected by exchange of notes at Rome January 29, 1960. Entered into force January 29, 1960.

Korea

Agreement for the loan of an additional U.S. naval vessel to Korea. Effected by exchange of notes at Seoul October 22, 1959, and January 29, 1960. Entered into force January 29, 1960.

Venezuela

Research and power reactor agreement concerning civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington October 8, 1958. *Entered into force:* February 9, 1960.

Research reactor agreement for cooperation concerning civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington July 21, 1955. TIAS 3323.

Terminated: February 9, 1960 (superseded by agreement of October 8, 1958, *supra*).

Yemen

General agreement for economic, technical, and related assistance to Yemen. Effected by exchange of notes at Taiz August 3 and 5, October 18, and November 8, 1959. Entered into force November 8, 1959.

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*52	2/8	Educational exchange (Latin America).
53	2/8	Herter: news conference.
*54	2/9	Achilles nominated Counselor (biographic details).
55	2/11	1960 NATO science fellowship program.
56	2/11	Martin: "Aspects of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy."
†57	2/11	Supplemental P.L. 480 agreement with Poland.
†58	2/11	Appointments to Department's science program (rewrite).
59	2/11	Dillon: statement on return from Inter-American Bank meeting.
*60	2/12	Fossum designated Director, USOM, Colombia (biographic details).
61	2/12	Chinese art exhibit tour.
62	2/12	Dillon: Union League Club of Philadelphia.
*63	2/12	Hepler receives ICA award (biographic details).

*Not printed.
†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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Vol. XLII, No. 1080

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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March 7, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

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Strengthening Friendship and Trust Among the American Republics

*Address by President Eisenhower*¹

My friends: Early tomorrow I start a journey to several of our Latin American neighbors, with three major purposes in mind. These are: to learn more about our friends to the south; to assure them again that the United States seeks to cooperate with them in achieving a fuller life for everyone in this hemisphere; and to make clear our desire to work closely with them in the building of a universal peace with justice.

Our interest in our sister republics is of long standing and of deep affection. This, in itself, is reason sufficient for the journey. But in these days of world tension, of awakening ambitions, and of problems caused by the growing interdependence of nations, it is vital for national partners to develop better understandings and to improve common programs.

The bonds among our American Republics are not merely geographic; rather they are shared principles and convictions. Together we believe in God, in the dignity and rights of man, in peace with justice, and in the right of every people to determine its own destiny. In such beliefs our friendship is rooted.

Yet even among close comrades friendships too often seem to be taken for granted. We must not give our neighbors of Latin America cause to believe this about us.

So I shall reaffirm to our sister republics that we are steadfast in our purpose to work with them

hand in hand in promoting the security and well-being of all peoples of this hemisphere.

To do so calls for a sustained effort that is, unfortunately, sometimes impeded by misunderstandings.

One such misunderstanding, at times voiced in Latin America, is that we have been so preoccupied with the menace of Communist imperialism and resulting problems of defense that we have tended to forget our southern neighbors. Some have implied that our attention has been so much directed to security for ourselves, and to problems across the oceans to the west and east, that we neglect cooperation and progress within this hemisphere.

It is true that we have given first priority to worldwide measures for security against the possibility of military aggression. We have made many sacrifices to assure that this security is and will be maintained.

But I hope to make clear on my journey that our military programs at home and abroad have been designed for one purpose only—the maintenance of peace, as important to Latin America as to us.

That there is need for these programs, postwar history clearly proves.

For the first 5 years following World War II, we in the United States, hopeful of a global and durable peace, pursued a policy of virtual disarmament. But the blockade of Berlin, the military weakness of our European friends living face to face with the Communist menace, and finally the Korean war—together with arrogant threats against other peaceful nations—belatedly made it

¹ Delivered to the Nation by television and radio on Feb. 21 (White House press release: as delivered). President Eisenhower left Washington on Feb. 22 for a 2-week trip to Latin America with stops in Puerto Rico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay.

clear to us that only under an umbrella of military strength could free nations hope to make progress toward an enduring and just peace. World uneasiness rose to the point of alarm.

Developing Deterrent Strength

Since then our Nation has developed great arsenals of powerful weapons to sustain the peace. We have created a great deterrent strength—so powerful as to command and justify the respect of knowledgeable and unbiased observers here at home and abroad.

Our many hundreds of Air Force bombers deployed the world over—each capable of unleashing a frightful destruction—constitute a force far superior to any other, in numbers, in quality, and in strategic location of bases. We have, in addition, a powerful nuclear force in our aircraft carriers and in our host of widely deployed tactical aircraft. Adding constantly to these forces are advanced types of missiles steadily augmenting the armaments of all ground and other military units.

As for longer range ballistic missiles, from a standing start only 5 years ago we have literally leaped forward in accomplishments no less than remarkable. Our Atlas missile, already amazingly accurate, became operational last year. Missiles of intermediate range are in forward bases. The first Polaris missile submarine—an almost invulnerable weapon—will soon be at sea. New generations of long-range missiles are under urgent development.

Collectively, this is a force not unduly dependent upon any one weapon or any one service, not subject to elimination by sudden attack, buttressed by an industrial system unmatched on this earth, and unhesitatingly supported by a vigorous people determined to remain free. Strategically, that force is far better situated than any force that could be brought to bear against us.

As we have strengthened these defenses, we have helped to bolster our own and free-world security by assisting in arming 42 other nations—our associates in the defense of the free world. Our part in this indispensable effort is our Mutual Security Program. It makes possible a forward strategy of defense for the greater security of all, including our neighbors to the south.

I am certain that our Latin American neighbors, as well as you here at home, understand the significance of all these facts.

We have forged a trustworthy shield of peace—an indestructible force of incalculable power, ample for today and constantly developing to meet the needs of tomorrow. Today, in the presence of continuous threat, all of us can stand resolute and unafraid—confident in America's might as an anchor of free-world security.

Working for Progress in Western Hemisphere

But we all recognize that peace and freedom cannot be forever sustained by weapons alone. There must be a free-world spirit and morale based upon the conviction that, for free men, life comprehends more than mere survival and bare security. Peoples everywhere must have opportunity to better themselves spiritually, intellectually, economically.

We earnestly seek to help our neighbors in this hemisphere achieve the progress they rightly desire.

We have sought to strengthen the Organization of American States and other cooperative groups which promote hemispheric progress and solidarity.

We have invested heavily in Latin American enterprise.

New credits, both public and private, are being made available in greater volume than ever before. Last year these approximated \$1 billion. Our outstanding loans and investments in Latin America now exceed \$11 billion.

With our sister republics, we have just established the Inter-American Development Bank. With them we hope this new billion-dollar institution will do much to accelerate economic growth.

Additionally, we have expanded technical cooperation programs throughout the Americas.

To improve our own knowledge of our neighbors' needs, we recently established a distinguished panel of private citizens under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State.² This National Advisory Committee will, by continuous study of inter-American affairs, help us at home better to cooperate with our Latin American friends. Members of this Committee will accompany me on my journey tomorrow.

² BULLETIN of Dec. 7, 1959, p. 823, and Dec. 21, 1959, p. 904.

This will be a busy trip, for our neighbors' problems are many and vexing—the lack of development capital, wide fluctuations in the prices of their export commodities, the need for common regional markets to foster efficiency and to attract new credits, the need to improve health, education, housing, and transportation.

All these are certain to be subjects of discussion in each of the countries I visit.

Basis of U.S.-Latin American Relationships

And wherever I go I shall state again and again the basic principles and attitudes that govern our country's relationships in this hemisphere. For example:

Our good-partner policy is a permanent guide, encompassing nonintervention, mutual respect, and juridical equality of states.

We wish, for every American nation, a rapid economic progress, with its blessings reaching all the people.

We are always eager to cooperate in fostering sound development within the limits of practical capabilities; further, we shall continue to urge every nation to join in help to the less fortunate.

We stand firmly by our pledge to help maintain the security of the Americas under the Rio Treaty of 1947.

We declare our faith in the rule of law, our determination to abide by treaty commitments, and our insistence that other nations do likewise.

We will do all we can to foster the triumph of human liberty throughout the hemisphere.

We condemn all efforts to undermine the democratic institutions of the Americas through coercion or subversion, and we abhor the use of the lie and distortion in relations among nations.

Policy of Nonintervention

Very recently, in a faraway country that has never known freedom—one which today holds millions of humans in subjugation—impassioned language has been used to assert that the United States has held Latin America in a colonial relationship to ourselves.

That is a blatant falsehood.

In all history no nation has had a more honor-

able record in its dealings with other countries than has the United States.

The Philippines are independent today—by their own choice.

Alaska and Hawaii are now proud partners in our federated, democratic enterprise—by their own choice.

Puerto Rico is a commonwealth within the United States system—by its own choice.

After the two world wars and the Korean war, the United States did not annex a single additional acre, and it has sought no advantage of any kind at the expense of another.

And in all of Latin America, I repeat, we adhere honorably and persistently to the policy of nonintervention.

It is nonsense to charge that we hold—or that we desire to hold—any nation in colonial status.

These are but a few of the matters that friends in this hemisphere need to talk about. I look forward with the keenest pleasure to exchanging views with the Presidents of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay and with their colleagues.

It is my profound hope that upon my return I shall be able to report to you that the historic friendship and trust among the nations of this hemisphere have been strengthened and that our common cause—justice and peace in freedom—has been reaffirmed and given new life.

Good evening, and to my Latin American friends, *buenas tardes*.

Letters of Credence

Bolivia

The newly appointed Ambassador of Bolivia, Victor Andrade, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on February 15. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 64 dated February 15.

Uruguay

The newly appointed Ambassador of Uruguay, Carlos A. Clulow, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on February 16. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 66 dated February 16.

National Security With Arms Limitation

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY HERTER¹

Press release 73 dated February 18

I. Introduction

I would like to talk today about a very important element of American foreign policy—our search for safeguarded arms limitations and progress toward general disarmament. As you know, we are about to make a new effort in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee that will meet in Geneva about the middle of March.²

This effort is designed not only to strengthen international peace and avoid wasteful use of the world's resources but also to promote our national security, in the real sense of that term. It complements the national military programs and collective security arrangements that we carry out to this same end.

America's deep commitment to a policy of arms limitation and disarmament is of long standing.

In 1946, just after the war's end, when the U.S. still had a complete monopoly of atomic weapons, we proposed full international control of atomic energy. In what must surely stand as one of the tragic turning points of human history, the Soviet Government turned down this extraordinary proposal.

In 1953, as part of President Eisenhower's great atoms-for-peace proposal, the Soviet Union was urged to make with us a start in siphoning off nuclear weapons materials into international control. Although an International Atomic Energy Agency was created, the Soviets have refused to fulfill the original intent of this proposal as a means of reducing nuclear weapons stockpiles.

In 1955 President Eisenhower proposed at the Geneva summit that the United States and the Soviet Union accept mutual aerial inspection. Again the Soviets held back; their secrecy was a "must."

In March 1956 President Eisenhower wrote Bulganin proposing an inspected cessation of all production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, and gradual contributions of such materials from national weapons stockpiles to international control. This proposal fell on deaf ears.

The United States and its allies then worked out a series of partial arms limitation measures, including safeguards against surprise attack, cessation of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, restraints on the transfer of nuclear weapons to other states, reductions of conventional forces, and steps to assure peaceful use of outer space. These measures were proposed to the U.S.S.R. in August 1957 at London. Again the Soviets showed little serious interest and the talks collapsed.

Since 1957 we have tried twice to single out specific limited areas for discussion with the Soviets:

First, a suspension of nuclear tests, on which negotiations are now under way at Geneva. I shall have more to say of this in a moment.

Second, technical discussions about safeguards against surprise attack. These surprise-attack discussions came to nothing because the Soviet Union showed little interest in serious technical work that might have paved the way for later political discussions.

And that is where our search for arms limitation stood when it was agreed last year to set up a new Ten-Nation Committee to try again.

¹ Made before the National Press Club at Washington, D.C., on Feb. 18.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438; Dec. 21, 1959, p. 902; and Jan. 11, 1960, p. 45.

II. The Prospect

We approach these new negotiations with some hope that the Soviet leaders may be coming to realize that the arms race offers unacceptable risks. This realization could induce them to attach a high priority to progress in arms control, as being in their own national interest.

This progress is the more needed because of the new dangers which we confront as the arms race continues. Let me mention two of these dangers:

First: Spiraling competition in strategic delivery systems with ever shorter reaction times could lead to *war by miscalculation*. Such miscalculations might, for example, cause an international crisis to develop into general war without either side really intending that this should happen.

Second: The *proliferating production of nuclear weapons* might eventually enable almost any country, however irresponsible, to secure those weapons. We are not so concerned with regard to the free nations which might be the next to produce nuclear weapons. But we *are* concerned lest the spread become wholly unmanageable: The more nations that have the power to trigger off a nuclear war, the greater the chance that some nation might use this power in haste or blind folly.

These dangers make our task urgent.

Great as are these dangers, however, they are less than the dangers that would arise if we were to enter an unsafe arms control arrangement.

Under existing conditions, the free world depends on our present relative strength for its survival. We are conscious of the extent and the importance of that relative strength. We will not compromise it out of a desire for quick but illusory results in arms control.

If real progress on arms control is to be made, the great weapons systems that have been built up during the long years of the arms race must be carefully and reciprocally reduced. This is no short-term task.

United States *action* cannot be based alone upon another nation's *promise*. Our deeds will only be done in step with verifiable deeds of others. We will insist on inspection procedures that will permit verification.

We will, however, *gage* each possible agreement not by some abstract standard of perfection but by one practical yardstick: Would United States

and free-world security be greater—or less—under the agreement than without arms agreement?

We will not enter an agreement which fails to meet this test.

III. Our Preparations

If the Soviets should wish to negotiate seriously in the Ten-Nation Committee, they will find us ready. Your Government is making intensive preparations.

We in the State Department have conducted an extensive review of the disarmament problem.

The disarmament office in the Department of Defense is being expanded, and a special group under the Joint Chiefs of Staff has been established to assist in arms control studies and negotiations.

To augment the studies continually being made for the Secretary of Defense and myself by our own staffs, a special committee under the leadership of Mr. Charles Coolidge has reviewed the arms control question.³

And the President's Science Advisory Committee has established a special panel for continuing study of disarmament problems under the leadership of its former chairman, Dr. [James R.] Killian [Jr.].

Mr. Fredrick Eaton, who is here with us today, will lead our delegation at Geneva; he and his staff are now developing a common approach to these negotiations with our allies in the Ten-Nation Committee: Canada, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom.

These countries share equally with us the task of preparing agreed proposals for the forthcoming negotiations. Each of them will, I am sure, make an important and distinctive contribution.

We will also consult closely with all our NATO partners and a number of other treaty friends.

We shall keep in constant consultation with the Congress.

And the United Nations will, of course, be kept fully informed.

IV. The American Purpose

Speaking generally, we will have two major goals in the forthcoming negotiations:

Urgently, to try to create a more stable military environment, which will curtail the risk of war

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1959, p. 237.

and permit reductions in national armed forces and armaments.

Subsequently, to cut national armed forces and armaments further and to build up international peacekeeping machinery, to the point where aggression will be deterred by international rather than national force.

These two goals are equally important. I should like to discuss each of them.

V. Creating a More Stable Military Environment

A more stable military environment will require measures to control the two types of dangers of a continuing arms race to which I referred.

First, to meet the danger of miscalculation, there is need for safeguards against surprise attack.

If these safeguards are effective, there will be less chance of one side being moved to surprise attack by a mistaken belief that the military moves of the other side portend such attack. This danger may be particularly acute in a major international crisis, when tensions are high and both sides are moving to heightened readiness.

These safeguards could include zones for aerial and mobile ground inspection. In the past we have suggested such inspection in Europe, the Arctic area, and equivalent areas of North America and the U.S.S.R.

Arrangements for more selective inspection in larger regions might also be feasible. Our August 1957 proposals⁴ provided that ground observers might be stationed outside, as well as inside, agreed zones of aerial and mobile ground inspection. Such observers might prove useful, during a major crisis, in helping to verify that neither side was preparing a surprise attack upon the other.

Other arrangements for exchanging information might be developed to assure against potentially dangerous misunderstandings about events in outer space.

These different kinds of measures to increase the information available to each side could, where appropriate, be complemented by controls over armaments which would also be designed to reduce the danger of miscalculation and surprise attack.

The *second* danger—that of the promiscuous spread of production of nuclear weapons—is one

that we, our major allies, and the Soviet Union should all view with real concern.

To guard against this danger, the testing of nuclear weapons and eventually the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes must be prohibited under effective inspection.

We are trying to take a first step to this end in the Geneva test-suspension negotiations.

We proposed, and have as our objective, a suspension of all nuclear tests under effective international controls. At present, however, there is no agreed technical basis for the establishment of effective controls over nuclear tests in the smaller yield ranges. Accordingly the President suggested on February 11⁵ that we agree on a prohibition of those kinds of nuclear tests which could be controlled within the limits of present scientific knowledge and under the limited inspection procedures that the Soviets seemed prepared to accept.

The U.S.S.R. has now submitted a counter-proposal for a comprehensive suspension which may reflect a changing view of the inspection procedures that are acceptable to the Soviet Government. We will give this proposal very careful consideration.

An inspected suspension of nuclear tests would be a useful step toward the goal of halting the proliferation of national nuclear weapons stockpiles. To fulfill this goal, our eventual objective would remain the cessation of *all* production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons.

These modern measures to meet the major dangers of a continuing arms race, and thus to maintain a stable military environment, are very different from the efforts that were made to eliminate certain weapons and dismantle national military establishments in the years between the two world wars. Arms control problems in the nuclear era are as different from the problems of a quarter century ago as those problems differed from the efforts made to ease the rigors of war in the Middle Ages.

We cannot progress toward disarmament, against the present background of a wide spectrum of complex weapons, merely by repeating or endorsing hollow slogans such as "ban the bomb," "give up foreign bases," or "cut armed forces by one-third." One measure of the Soviets' serious-

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1957, p. 451.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 29, 1960, p. 327.

ness in the forthcoming negotiations will be their recognition of this fact.

In the absence of arms control, the bomb, the bases, the forces—all respond to an urgent need for deterring aggression. The purpose of initial arms control measures should be to permit this need to be met in a way which will reduce—rather than increase—the existing risk of war.

As we thus move toward a more stable military environment, progressive, gradual, and balanced reductions in national military forces can and should be accomplished. Manpower ceilings should be placed on national forces and designated quantities of conventional armaments transferred to international custody.

VI. General Disarmament

These measures to create a stable military environment would be the first stage in our approach to disarmament.

They would enhance our national security and reduce the danger of war.

They would also leave our essential national freedom of action and our relative national capabilities unimpaired. Since large national forces would thus still be under arms, national force—not international law—would still be the ultimate resort.

To assure a world of peaceful change, we should project a second stage of general disarmament. Our objective in this second stage should be twofold:

First, to create certain universally accepted rules of law which, if followed, would prevent all nations from attacking other nations. Such rules of law should be backed by a world court and by effective means of enforcement—that is, by international armed force.

Second, to reduce national armed forces, under safeguarded and verified arrangements, to the point where no single nation or group of nations could effectively oppose this enforcement of international law by international machinery.

Unless *both* these objectives are kept firmly in view, an agreement for general disarmament might lead to a world of anarchy. In the absence of effective international peacekeeping machinery, nations might violate the disarmament agreement with impunity and thus seek to gain a decisive headstart in building up their armaments. More-

over, since each state would be allowed to retain internal security forces, populous states would retain quite substantial forces which they might—in the absence of such peacekeeping machinery—use effectively against their smaller neighbors.

To guard against these dangers, we should, as general disarmament is approached, work toward effective international arrangements which will maintain peace and security and promote justice according to law. We are ready now to take part in appropriate studies to this end. A useful framework and a considerable body of experience already exists in the United Nations.

These studies could focus on two types of basic and needed change:

First, the strengthening and development of international instruments to prevent national aggression in a world that has been disarmed, except for internal security forces.

Second, the strengthening and development of international machinery to insure just and peaceful settlement of disputed issues in a disarmed world.

Progress along both these basic lines will be needed if the goal of general disarmament is to be fulfilled.

We need not—and *should not*—wait, however, to make a start in taking more limited measures that would have independent value in promoting the growth of institutions for keeping the peace and that would facilitate progress toward disarmament. I have in mind such actions as enhancing the usefulness of the United Nations International Law Commission and supporting Secretary-General Hammarskjöld's efforts to develop standby arrangements for a United Nations Force and other forms of U.N. presence in places where there is danger of a resort to force. We plan to consult in the United Nations on a series of such specific measures.

VII. Conclusion

These, then, are the broad lines of the renewed effort which the United States Government is about to make to enhance U.S. national security through arms control and eventual general disarmament. The specific elements of that effort will, of course, have to be the product of the consultations now underway with our allies.

If this initiative is to have any chance of

success, it will need the understanding and support of the American people and Congress. We shall consult closely with the Congress and report fully to the American people at each stage.

The success of this effort will depend, in part, on what the Soviet Union conceives to be the alternative to safeguarded arms agreements. If the Soviet leaders believe that the free world is likely to disarm unilaterally, they will see little reason to enter into safeguarded agreements. Continued and effective prosecution of U.S. and other free-world military programs and of our Mutual Security Program is thus essential if we are to have any prospect of progress in arms control.

If the Soviet Union wishes to achieve such progress in an effort to find a better way than the spiraling arms race to try to maintain peace and security, it will find us responsive.

The peril that confronts every man, woman, and child in the world today is too great to admit of anything but the most strenuous, devoted, and persistent effort to this end.

QUESTION-AND-ANSWER PERIOD

Press release 75 dated February 18

There was a question-and-answer period following Secretary Herter's address. Ed Edstrom, president of the National Press Club, read the questions and the Secretary answered, as follows:

Q. The first question I have here is: Why has Russia repeatedly fought for the minimum inspection in all disarmament negotiations?

A. I think that the answer to that is comparatively simple. The Russians have a very real military advantage in the secrecy lying behind the Iron Curtain. For many, many years, as you know, they have not allowed travel in many sections of their country. They have guarded assiduously their installations of a military nature. They have let a minimum of information trickle out from the country itself.

Their great worry is that they may give up that military asset of secrecy without getting an adequate *quid pro quo*. And it is for that reason I think that they have resisted the kind of inspection that we felt was essential in a safeguarded agreement.

Q. I will just read these questions as they come up from the audience, Mr. Secretary.

It has been reported that our distinguished foreign guests have been disappointed that the United States has no disarmament plan ready. The Coolidge Committee has been working on this problem. Was this report not ready? If not, why?

A. I think there are two questions that are involved there. I will begin with the Coolidge report. That report was a study made for the benefit of the Secretary of Defense and myself and was not necessarily to have been a complete guideline in the matter of disarmament. It has been a useful instrument for us to work with.

With regard to the disappointment of our colleagues who are working together with—and in this matter I think I should probably have to ask them to speak for themselves. I don't think I have a right to speak for them. But in trying to reach an agreed position, which we are all trying to do, it is obvious that one should explore as many phases of this whole matter, both from a positive and a negative point of view, as is possible within the framework of their particular instructions and within the time that has been allowed.

I can only repeat what I indicated in my statement, that I am hopeful that before we meet the Russians we will have a satisfactory agreed position. (Applause.)

Q. Are the prospects for peace better or worse than during the September Camp David summit meeting?

A. I don't think there is any way of judging that. Mr. Khrushchev in his travels and in his speeches since the Camp David meeting has been speaking softly in one respect—namely, his confidence that we can reach agreement in the disarmament field—and more harshly with respect to the political problems that are involved in connection with Berlin and Germany. There is, of course, no way of predicting what will happen at the summit conference nor the degree of importance that will be attached to the various matters that are likely to be discussed there. But insofar as the chances of making headway at the summit are concerned, I would say that as of the moment they are neither better nor worse than they were at the time of the Camp David talks.

Q. Here is a name we haven't heard in a long time, Mr. Secretary. In view of Harold Stassen's experience in disarmament negotiations, do you anticipate he will be needed again in this administration? (Laughter.)

A. I personally have a very high regard for Harold Stassen's ability. However, he has now been out of the disarmament field for the past 2 years, and it would be my guess that he would not necessarily be reentering that field, unless there would be a very real need for additional services beyond those which I expect to be performed brilliantly in the person of Mr. Fredrick Eaton. (Applause.)

Q. How can you expect Russia to accept inspection of its armaments when its capacity to conceal its missile bases remains such an advantage?

A. I think that that question comes very much under the same category as the first question—that this is a great advantage, that the Russians are not going to be willing to give up that advantage lightly without feeling that they have an assurance of a *quid pro quo* that compensates them for giving it up. This, again, is one of the very serious problems that I think all of us here recognize we will have to face in trying to work out adequate inspection. And without adequate inspection and verification I can see very little progress being made in the whole disarmament field.

U.S.-Cuban Relations

Q. We now come to the big one, Mr. Secretary. There have been a number of questions on Cuba. These questions have various technical things: About at what point will the United States take retaliatory economic action against Cuba by cutting its sugar quota, the pegged price, or tariff preference? Are you considering Brazil or Argentina as a third power to mediate the United States-Cuban problem? The report is that the State Department is readying a new "get tough" policy on Cuba. I think it all boils down to two questions: (1) Plaintive: "When are we going to do something about Cuba?" (2) Belligerent: "What about Cuba?" (Laughter.)

A. In the presence of Ambassador [Philip W.] Bonsal here, I hesitate answering any of these questions because, to my mind, he is one of the finest ambassadors that we have. He is one of the

most levelheaded and has been conducting his mission with very great skill. (Applause.)

I am not surprised that there are many questions in regard to Cuba. It is, obviously, as I think both the President and I have said before, a situation which gives us very real concern.

The question of economic retaliation is one that has to be gaged, obviously, in the framework of a great many other considerations.

Let me speak of the Sugar Act, which is usually referred to in this connection: In the first place, by international agreement we have taken a pledge that we would not utilize either political or economic means to interfere in the internal affairs of any nation in Latin America. That was our agreement under the OAS [Organization of American States]. In the second place, the sugar agreement has many ramifications. It was first written and the preference was established in 1934, at a time when there was chaos in the sugar market and our own producers, our own refiners, and those in many other nations were plagued by the competition of surplus production and the fact of very uncertain markets.

When that Sugar Act was written, as you know, there were other countries involved in it as well as the United States, and its purpose was to inject into the overall sugar picture a degree of stability—which it was very successful in doing. And I would say there are at least five other nations, very friendly nations to us, who are involved and who share a part of the preferential quota market, in which, of course, Cuba has the very largest share of all.

So in looking at the Sugar Act as a possible means of economic retaliation, it is obvious that there are a great many considerations that have to be studied and studied very carefully, so that in trying to accomplish a given objective we may not be creating for ourselves some other problems of an equally serious nature.

With respect to the remainder of our relations, we are exercising, I think, a degree of restraint and patience which the situation warrants. I am obviously not going to discuss what I have termed a deteriorating situation, and which I still consider a deteriorating situation, in great detail now. But we still have faith that the latent friendship between the Cuban and the American people will bring order out of the present picture without the

extremes that may ensue and that, naturally, all of us dislike very much viewing as a prospect.

I am hopeful that perhaps one of these days you will have Mr. Bousal with you as a guest here when you can go into many more of the details, and I can assure you that you can find no better informant nor one with better judgment to talk to you about them. (Applause.)

Q. Now, what does the President of Brazil mean when he talks about the "wall of silence" that exists between the United States and the Latin American countries?

A. I frankly don't know. (Laughter.) I hadn't seen that quotation before, so that it's an entirely new one to me. If he is referring to a wall of silence with respect to additional financial aid for Brazil, that might be possible. We have been discussing with Brazil the financial situation for a long period of time and in a very amicable way. Brazil, however, has also been discussing its troubles with the Monetary Fund, and we are all trying to work together in order to help Brazil to solve its own internal economic problems. It's very possible that with the coming visits we shall have additional talks on that subject, and I'm hopeful that in time we can get such economic problems as exist between us straightened away.

Q. Sir, how do you rate biological warfare as a threat to the West compared to the nuclear threat?

A. I am afraid there is no way of making a comparison unless one knows what the intentions of the other fellow are to use them. Biological warfare, as far as I know, can mean a great variety of things. It can mean bacterial, it can mean lethal gases, it can mean other types of chemical warfare. It's a very, very wide field, and naturally we haven't the vaguest idea in what form or in what quantity it might be used against us. Unless one could measure that, it would be very difficult to set it up as against nuclear warfare, although obviously nuclear warfare is likely to cause many more casualties much faster than is particularly biological warfare. I don't think that at this time there is any basis of comparison.

Q. Do you know of any place in the United States Government where studies of the effects of disarmament on the United States economy and corrective measures are being studied seriously?

A. I do not know of any such studies that are being made. I cannot conceive of disarmament coming in terms of a sudden \$40 million cut in the United States budget and the cancellation of all production that is now under way in the United States. The preparations for defense are requiring a considerable part of our budget, of course, and a considerable part of our gross national product. However, if we begin to fear what disarmament might do to us from an economic point of view, I think we are in a very sad situation.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you favor accepting the new passes which the Russians are now insisting that Allied military missions carry while traveling in East Germany?

A. That is a matter which is still under discussion in Berlin. I think that it has been made clear from the press stories that have been issued so far that we are not at all keen to accept the new designation on those passes which indicates that instead of being issued for travel in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany they are for travel in the "German Democratic Republic." As I say, however, this is a matter still being discussed with our French and our British colleagues, and I would not want to go into a further discussion of that while these talks are still continuing.

Q. What do you hear about that submarine off Argentina? (Laughter.)

A. I'm afraid that my firsthand knowledge of the subject is no greater than yours. The Navy group that went down there that were requested by the Argentine Government have, as far as I know, not yet returned. I don't think we have any formal report from them. It seems clear that, in the particular bay in which one or perhaps two were reported to be cooped up, they are no longer there. I notice that our Soviet friends announced that it was not a Soviet submarine, or they were not Soviet submarines, but the announcement came after the announcement that the submarines had escaped.

Q. A naval friend of mine said that certainly was a whale of a story. (Laughter.)

Communist China

Q. Is Communist China a greater menace to our national security than the U.S.S.R.?

A. There again it's very hard to make any comparison. The attitude that Communist China is today adopting toward the United States is, of course, a great deal tougher one publicly than that adopted by the Soviet Union. Even in comparable meetings where they are together, it's the Chinese who say the nastiest words about us. This may be a calculated thing at a time when the Russians are trying to increase the spirit of what they call Camp David. This question obviously would have to be divided into two parts, and that is present and future. At the present I would say the answer is definitely "No." For the future everything depends on the rapidity of Chinese development both from a military and an economic point of view. And I think it would be foolhardy for anyone to predict what in 15 or 20 years from now might be the greater menace to us. Let us hope that the sanity of the world will have progressed to a point where perhaps as menaces we can feel that there is a standoff potential which will not make either of them a menace.

Q. Here are two questions on the French atomic experiments. Now that France is an atomic power, has she been invited to join the Geneva talks? Will she be? And, two, do you believe that the French nuclear weapon experience qualifies France under American law to receive nuclear information and materials? If not, do you favor a change in the law?

A. Again there are two questions. I think I ought to address them both to my good friend sitting at my right here, Mr. [Jules] Moch. As far as I know, there have been no discussions with France whatsoever about entering into the Geneva talks, nor have I heard any question discussed as to what might be anticipated in that direction. This is something that still has to develop.

I may say that I personally do not know whether the tests that the French are conducting will be continued or not. There have been reports that there may be more. But I certainly don't know on my own, and I rather doubt whether Mr. Moch would want to say anything about that at this time.

Insofar as the existing law and the explosion of this weapon are concerned, the reading of the legislative history of that law would not be encouraging from the point of view of saying that the shooting

off of this weapon would automatically entitle France to a sharing of atomic secrets. The legislative history is long and complicated. And obviously the Atomic Energy Committee of the Congress has a great deal to say with respect to this matter. I cannot predict what will happen. As of the moment, as the President has said, the administration is not prepared to send up any change in the law to the Congress. Nor have we discussed this matter with the French since the bomb has been exploded.

Q. Mr. Secretary, we have a Press Club certificate of appreciation for you, given to the Honorable Christian Herter in recognition of meritorious service to correspondents of press, radio, and television in the Nation's Capital.

Anniversary of Independence of Baltic States

Statement by Secretary Herter

Press release 65 dated February 15

Forty-two years ago Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia proclaimed their national independence. These declarations of independence were based on strong national traditions which had endured for centuries despite periods of heavy oppression. The Soviet Government was among those which granted early recognition and claimed to renounce forever all sovereign rights in the new Baltic nations. However, after two decades of freedom the Baltic countries were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union.

We wish on this occasion to reaffirm our strong and lasting friendship for the people of the Baltic States and to assure them once again that they remain very much in our thoughts. Our close ties with the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia stem from a common devotion to freedom as well as from the important contribution which people from these lands have made to the development and enrichment of the cultural, economic, and political life of the United States. We retain the strong conviction that the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are entitled to governments of their own choosing and look to the day when the Baltic countries can again enjoy national independence.

President Authorizes Seizures of Arms Being Illegally Exported

White House press release dated February 18

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President issued on February 18 an Executive order which confers upon the Attorney General certain seizure powers set forth in section 401 of title 22 of the United States Code. Under the terms of this order the Attorney General is authorized to seize and detain arms, munitions of war, and other articles intended to be or being illegally exported from the United States, together with the means used or intended to be used in effectuating the illegal exportation.

The order provides specifically that the Attorney General is authorized to seize and detain arms or munitions of war or other articles and to seize and detain any vessel, vehicle, or aircraft containing such items which has been, or is being, used in exporting or attempting to export such arms or munitions of war or other articles, whenever an attempt is made to export or ship from or take out of the United States such arms or munitions of war or other articles in violation of law, or whenever it is known, or there is probable cause to believe, that such arms or munitions of war or other articles are intended to be, or are being or have been, exported or removed from the United States in violation of law.

The order further provides that the authority thus conferred upon the Attorney General may be exercised by any official of the Department of Justice whom the Attorney General may designate. The Attorney General will designate the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to exercise the authority conferred by this order. These seizure powers are intended to aid the Department of Justice in carrying out its investigative responsibilities in the enforcement of this country's neutrality statutes, especially that provision which makes it unlawful for anyone knowingly to set on foot or take part in a military or naval expedition or enterprise against a government with which this country is at peace.

This order in no way affects the seizure powers vested in the Secretary of the Treasury by section 401 of title 22 of the United States Code. The Secretary of the Treasury will continue to exercise these powers with respect to the enforcement of statutes within his jurisdiction.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10863¹

AUTHORIZING THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO SEIZE ARMS AND MUNITIONS OF WAR, AND OTHER ARTICLES, PURSUANT TO SECTION 1 OF TITLE VI OF THE ACT OF JUNE 15, 1917, AS AMENDED

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 1 of Title VI of the act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 223, as amended by section 1 of the act of August 13, 1953, 67 Stat. 577 (22 U.S.C. 401), it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The Attorney General is hereby designated under section 1 of Title VI of the act of June 15, 1917, as amended by section 1 of the act of August 13, 1953, as a person duly authorized to seize and detain arms or munitions of war or other articles, and to seize and detain any vessel, vehicle, or aircraft containing such items or which has been, or is being, used in exporting or attempting to export such arms or munitions of war or other articles, whenever an attempt is made to export or ship from or take out of the United States such arms or munitions of war or other articles in violation of law, or whenever it is known, or there is probable cause to believe, that such arms or munitions of war or other articles are intended to be, or are being or have been, exported or removed from the United States in violation of law.

SEC. 2. The authority conferred upon the Attorney General by section 1 of this order may be exercised by any officer of the Department of Justice designated for such purpose by the Attorney General.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 18, 1960.

Seven Additional Scientists Assigned to Overseas Posts

The Department of State announced on February 13 (press release 58 dated February 11) the appointment of seven additional scientists for its science program.² Three of the appointees are assigned as science officers at New Delhi, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janeiro, four as deputy science officers at London, Stockholm, New Delhi, and Tokyo.

The men selected are: Earnest C. Watson, dean of the faculty, California Institute of Technology, as science officer for New Delhi; Neal Weber, pro-

¹ 25 *Fed. Reg.* 1507.

² For names of the science officers whose appointments were announced on December 13, 1958, see BULLETIN of December 29, 1958, p. 1048.

fessor of zoology, Swarthmore College, as science officer for Buenos Aires; Harry W. Wells, chairman, upper atmospheric section, Carnegie Institution of Washington, as science officer for Rio de Janeiro; John B. Bateman, biophysicist, U.S. Army Chemical Corps, as deputy science officer for London; William H. Littlewood, zoologist and oceanographer, U.S. Navy Hydrographic Office, as deputy science officer for Stockholm; David C. Rife, International Cooperation Administration adviser to the Government of Thailand and formerly professor of zoology, Ohio State University, as deputy science officer for New Delhi; and Marshall Crouch, professor of physics, Case Institute of Technology, as deputy science officer for Tokyo.

This is the second series of appointments to be made for the science program of the Department of State under Wallace R. Brode, Science Adviser to the Secretary.³ The first appointments assigned science officers to our embassies in London, Paris, Rome, Bonn, Stockholm, and Tokyo.

The science program of the Department has been extremely well received at home and abroad and has become an integral part of the Department and its Foreign Service. The latest science officer appointments maintain the high standards set by Dr. Brode in the initial selection of scientists: a reputation in science on the international scene, a facility with the language of the country, and a knowledge of the status of science in the country of assignment. In all cases the scientific discipline of the deputy complements that of the science officer in order to insure more adequate representation and coverage of science.

The deputy science officer will assist the science officer, whose duties are as follows: advise the ambassador and his staff on science matters, keep abreast of changes in the organizational structure of science in the government of the assigned country, evaluate the interaction of science with foreign policy, assess current scientific programs abroad, and enhance liaison between the United States and foreign scientists and engineers. All of the men will enter on duty within the next few months with the exception of Dr. Crouch, who began his term at Tokyo 7 months ago.

³ For a statement by Dr. Brode on "The Role of Science in Foreign Policy Planning," see *ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1960, p. 271.

U.S. Rice Policy in Asia

*Statement by U. Alexis Johnson
Ambassador to Thailand*¹

My Government and I are concerned at the apparent misunderstanding concerning some aspects of policies and facts respecting American rice exports to Asian countries. Further, speculation without full knowledge of the facts conceivably may unsettle the rice market in Thailand and other countries and cause hardship to the farmers who produce the rice.

Thai and Americans are good friends, and in the spirit of that friendship I should like to present the facts as they appear to my Government and do what I can to remove any misunderstanding.

Rice has long been a United States crop, but its growth was expanded greatly in World War II, when my country moved to meet world food needs. Because of this, the United States has been a major exporter of rice both during and after World War II. Asian countries have been among the buyers of this rice.

At the end of the war other nations began to resume normal food production, with the result that a rice surplus began to build up in the United States.

The United States has done several things in its attempts to protect and reconcile the economic interests of its own farmers as well as those of Thailand and other rice exporters of the free world.

This is what my country has done to meet this situation:

First, it cut its own rice acreage by 47 percent, or nearly half, during the last 5 years and, as much as is possible within a free economy, took energetic measures to encourage domestic consumption both in food and in industry.

Second, in 1954 Congress enacted what is popularly known as Public Law 480. Under the provisions of this law, the United States Government, when requested by governments with limited foreign exchange resources, has sold rice to these countries against payment in local currencies, thus providing food which could not otherwise have reached these people.

Such sales have only been made with the ex-

¹ Issued at Bangkok, Thailand, on Feb. 9.

pressed assurance by those governments that they would not be allowed to upset normal trade patterns with Thailand or other friendly countries or obstruct commercial transactions which would have been made in the absence of such sales. Indeed, it is the hope of the United States that Thailand may fully share in the growing markets resulting from the improving and expanding economies of the rice importing countries. In this connection it should be noted that the local currencies received in payment for such surplus agricultural commodities made available in these countries under Public Law 480 have also provided funds for their internal economic development. (The proceeds from tobacco sold to Thailand under Public Law 480 have been used to finance both industrial development and the Fulbright program.)

Third, in the interest of stabilizing prices, the United States has, over the past 5 years, on the average withheld from the world market, at the expense of the United States Government, more rice than it has exported.

It has been the consistent practice of the United States Government, before entering into agreements for the sale of rice in this area, to inform the Government of Thailand of the proposed transactions. Any views that the Thai Government may desire to express in this regard are carefully and sympathetically considered by my Government. This practice will be continued.

During the past 4 U.S. fiscal years (July-June), from July 1955 through June 1959, agreements provided for sales of rice under this program to Asian countries averaging 328,000 metric tons annually. I believe the record shows that during these years the rice exports of Thailand and of other exporters in the area were maintained at high levels. The amount contemplated for this year under the Public Law 480 program is somewhat below the previous average noted above. Thus, there is no basis for rumors that the United States intends to flood the Asian rice market.

As a final point of clarification, I refer to reports which have been published that the United States intended to sell large quantities of rice to Singapore. The United States has no plans for selling rice to Singapore under any government program. American exporters are, of course, entitled to sell freely on a commercial basis. However, responses to our inquiries do not indicate

that any such commercial sales are being made in Singapore.

I hope that the foregoing information may be useful in clarifying any misunderstanding and be of assistance in dispelling rumors that may operate to the detriment of the economy of Thailand and the welfare of its farmers in which my Government and people continue to be so deeply interested.

King and Queen of Thailand To Visit the United States

White House press release dated February 17

The White House announced on February 17 that Their Majesties the King and Queen of Thailand have accepted the President's invitation to visit the United States. Their Majesties will be in the United States for a 10-day state visit, beginning at Washington June 28.

Sixth SEATO Council Meeting To Be Held at Washington

Press release 74 dated February 18

The sixth meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization will convene at Washington May 31, the Department of State announced on February 18. The Council meeting, which will continue through June 3, will be preceded by a meeting of the SEATO Military Advisers from May 25 through May 27.

Both meetings will be opened with ceremonies in the Departmental Auditorium on Constitution Avenue between 12th and 14th Streets. Keynote speakers for these occasions as well as lists of delegates from member countries will be announced at a later date.

Foreign ministers from all SEATO member countries are expected to attend the Council meeting. The Military Advisers meeting will be attended by senior military representatives of the member countries. The purpose of these meetings is to review developments during recent months and to make plans for the future.

The countries belonging to SEATO are Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the

Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Last year's Council meeting was held at Wellington, New Zealand.¹

President of Greek Parliament Visits United States

The Department of State announced on February 19 (press release 78) that the President of the Greek Parliament, Constantine Rodopoulos, will arrive at New York on February 22 to begin a 2-week visit to the United States at the invitation of the Department. He will be accompanied by Mrs. Rodopoulos.

Mr. Rodopoulos will arrive at Washington National Airport on February 23 and will be greeted by Assistant Secretary of State G. Lewis Jones on behalf of the Department of State and by Greek Ambassador Alexis Liatis. During his stay in Washington, he will meet with Acting Secretary Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary Livingston Merchant, Assistant Secretary Jones, and other officials of the Department of State. He will also meet with George V. Allen, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, James Riddleberger, Director of the International Cooperation Administration, Chief Justice Earl Warren, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and House Speaker Sam Rayburn. An official welcome to the city of Washington will be extended by Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin. A luncheon will be given in his honor at the President's Guest House by Under Secretary of State Merchant.

After leaving Washington, Mr. Rodopoulos will visit California, where he will meet with Gov. Edmund G. Brown and address the California Legislature. He will also meet with the acting Mayor of San Francisco and tour the University of California at Berkeley and the radiation laboratory there. While in San Francisco, he will be feted by the Greek community on February 28.

Mr. Rodopoulos will arrive at New York on March 2 for a stay of about 5 days. While in New York he will meet with Mayor Robert Wagner, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, Archbishop James of the Greek Orthodox Church, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, and former Governor W. Averell Harriman.

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 27, 1959, p. 602.

President Appoints Committee on Information Activities Abroad

White House press release dated February 17

The President on February 17 announced the appointment of a committee to be known as the President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad. The Committee will survey and evaluate the Government's overseas information programs and related policies and activities but will not concern itself with organizational matters. A similar study was made in 1953 by the President's Committee on International Information Activities.¹

The members of the new Committee are:

Mansfield D. Sprague, *chairman*

C. D. Jackson

Philip D. Reed

Livingston T. Merchant, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

George V. Allen, Director, United States Information Agency

Allen W. Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence

Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Karl G. Harr, Jr., Special Assistant to the President for Security Operations Coordination

John N. Irwin II, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Waldemar A. Nielsen will be Executive Director of the Committee.

U.S.-Canadian Economic Committee Concludes Talks at Washington

Following is the text of a communique issued at Washington on February 17 at the close of the fifth meeting of the Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs.

Press release 70 dated February 17

1. The fifth meeting of the Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs was held at the Department of State, Washington, February 16 and 17.

2. Canada was represented at the meeting by the Honourable Donald M. Fleming, Minister of Finance; the Honourable Gordon Churchill, Minister of Trade and Commerce; and the Hon-

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 9, 1953, p. 217, and July 27, 1953, p. 124.

ourable Douglas S. Harkness, Minister of Agriculture.

3. The United States was represented by the Honorable Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State; the Honorable Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary of State; the Honorable Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Treasury; the Honorable Fred C. Scribner, Under Secretary of the Treasury; the Honorable Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of Interior; the Honorable Ezra T. Benson, Secretary of Agriculture; the Honorable Frederick H. Mueller, Secretary of Commerce; and Mr. Don Paarlberg of the White House.

4. The members of the Joint Committee were accompanied by Ambassador Heenev of Canada and Ambassador Wigglesworth of the United States, and senior officials of departments and agencies of the two governments.

5. The Committee reviewed recent economic developments in the United States and Canada. They noted that the expansion of economic activity was continuing in both countries and that output and employment had reached new high levels. Sustained efforts to avoid inflation had been made in both countries and price increases in 1959 had been slight. The Committee agreed on the desirability of policies designed to bring about even greater expansion of trade on a multilateral basis.

6. The Committee noted with satisfaction the substantially improved economic and financial position of most other countries and in this connection welcomed the considerable progress made since the last meeting¹ in the removal of restrictions and the elimination of discrimination against exports from the dollar area. However, the Committee emphasized the importance of securing the complete removal of the remaining quota discrimination in world trade.

7. In reviewing agricultural problems the Committee noted the prevalence of special restrictions on agricultural trade throughout the world and emphasized the importance of pursuing policies which would encourage an expansion of trade. The Committee agreed that incentives leading to an accumulation of burdensome surpluses should be avoided. In regard to programs of surplus disposal, the Committee emphasized the importance of continuing to safeguard normal commercial markets. In this connection the

Committee noted with satisfaction the useful work at the quarterly consultations of United States and Canadian officials on wheat and flour problems.

8. There was discussion in the Committee concerning certain restrictions on agricultural trade between the two countries. Canadian interest was expressed in the removal of United States import restrictions on flaxseed, linseed oil, and cheddar cheese. The United States representatives expressed interest in the removal of Canadian import controls on turkeys.

9. The Committee discussed recent developments in the fields of petroleum and natural gas. They agreed upon the desirability of close cooperation between the National Energy Board of Canada and the United States Federal Power Commission. The Committee recognized also that the two governments should keep each other closely informed of developments in either country bearing on trans-border movements of petroleum and natural gas.

10. Canadian Ministers expressed their continuing concern about the quota restrictions imposed in September 1958² by the United States on imports of lead and zinc, and urged that these temporary restrictions be withdrawn and no other barriers to trade placed in the way of sales of these basic materials to the United States. It was noted that the recent report of the United Nations' Lead and Zinc Study Group³ indicated a good balance between available supply and demand for zinc and some improvement in this respect for lead. The United States representatives noted the Canadian views and pointed out that while the restrictions could not be withdrawn until there had been substantial improvement in the distressed segments of the United States lead and zinc mining industries, the question of import treatment of lead and zinc is under continuous review and is now before the United States Tariff Commission as well.

11. Canadian and United States representatives discussed the outlook of the uranium industry in both countries and agreed on the importance of keeping each other informed of development prospects.

12. Canadian Ministers drew attention to the difficulties which are created for the Canadian

¹ For text of a joint communique issued at the close of the last meeting, see BULLETIN of Jan. 26, 1959, p. 128.

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1958, p. 579.

³ Study Group doc. No. 7, Feb. 19, 1960.

cotton textile industry by the United States equalization payments on cotton products. The United States representatives explained that no fundamental change in their system, which is designed to equalize the cost of raw cotton to manufacturers in the export trade, appeared practicable at this time, but both sides agreed that the matter should receive continued study.

13. The United States representatives expressed concern about the introduction of a new charge for the use of air navigation facilities by civil aircraft over-flying Canadian territory on North Atlantic routes. The Canadian Ministers pointed out the charge covered only a part of the large and growing costs of these facilities.

14. The Committee exchanged views on the increasing activity of Soviet bloc countries in world trade and the possible implications of this development for the future.

15. The Committee considered the problems which have arisen from rapid increases of imports into Canada and the United States in certain lines of low-cost manufactured goods. They were agreed on the importance of finding a general international solution which would provide exporting countries with adequate outlets for their products, would insure that the impact of low-cost competition would be more evenly distributed among the importing countries, and would at the same time, safeguard the industries of importing countries from serious injury. It was noted that a study of this important problem had been undertaken by the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

16. The Committee also discussed economic developments on the international scene with particular reference to the Paris economic meeting of January 12-14.¹ This included a review of the situation arising from the establishment of the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association, as well as an evaluation of the role Canada and the United States may play with regard to these developments. The Committee were agreed on the desirability of finding solutions to current trade problems in Europe on a multilateral basis which would take full account of the interests of other countries.

17. The Committee noted the importance of the level to be established for the common tariff of the European Economic Community including the

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139.

tariff rates for basic materials and certain other products which are still under negotiation within the Community. The Committee considered that arrangements for trade in agricultural products in Europe should be such as to facilitate imports of agricultural goods from other countries on a competitive basis and agreed on the importance of intensified international efforts to deal with this problem.

18. There was an exchange of views on other matters arising from the Paris economic meetings, including development aid to the less developed countries and proposals for the reconstitution of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

19. The Committee reaffirmed the value of their periodic joint meetings, and expressed satisfaction at the high degree of understanding and cooperation between the two governments. It agreed to hold the next meeting in Ottawa.

Peter I. B. Lavan Appointed to U.S. Committee for U.N.

The White House announced on February 16 that the President on that date had appointed Peter I. B. Lavan to be Chairman of the U.S. Committee for the United Nations for 1960.

President Determines Tariff Quota on Wool-Fabric Imports for 1960

White House press release dated February 8

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President has determined the application for 1960 of the wool-fabric tariff quota established by his 1956 proclamation¹ invoking the so-called Geneva wool-fabric reservation. These woollen and worsted fabrics are also the subject of a peril-point study being held by the Tariff Commission prior to a renegotiation of the wool-fabric provisions of U.S. tariff schedules.

The President notified the Secretary of the Treasury that he set the 1960 breakpoint of the tariff quota at 13.5 million pounds, which was also the 1959 level.²

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 8, 1956, p. 556.

² *Ibid.*, May 18, 1959, p. 720.

Until 1960 imports reach the breakpoint, the rates of duty remain at 30¢ or 37½¢ per pound (depending on the nature of the fabric) plus 20 percent or 25 percent ad valorem (again depending on the nature of the fabric). Imports during 1960 in excess of the breakpoint will, with certain exceptions, be subject to an ad valorem duty of the full 45 percent allowed by the Geneva reservation.

Under the exceptions which were adopted in earlier years, the overquota rate of duty is 30 percent ad valorem for certain handwoven and "religious" fabrics and for a maximum of 350,000 pounds of overquota imports of certain high-priced, high-quality fabrics. The President noted in earlier years the many problems arising under this tariff quota. In the effort to find a more satisfactory solution, the United States has issued formal notice of its intention to renegotiate the tariff provisions involved.³ Accordingly the President requested peril-point findings from the U.S. Tariff Commission on October 21, 1959. When the Commission reports its findings, further steps will be taken.

The Geneva wool-fabric reservation is a right that was reserved by the United States in a 1947 multilateral trade agreement at Geneva. Under that reservation the ad valorem rates of duty applicable to most woolen and worsted fabrics entering the country may be increased when such imports, in any year, exceed an amount determined to be not less than 5 percent of the average annual U.S. production of similar fabrics for the 3 preceding calendar years. The 1947 tariff concession and the reservation apply to woolen and

worsted fabrics dutiable under paragraphs 1108 and 1109(a) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as modified. Most woolen and worsted fabrics entering the United States are dutiable under these paragraphs.

PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO SECRETARY ANDERSON

FEBRUARY 8, 1960

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Proclamation 3160 of September 28, 1956, as amended by proclamations 3225, 3285, and 3317 of March 7, 1958, April 21, 1959, and September 24, 1959, respectively, provides for the increase of the ad valorem part of the duty in the case of any of the fabrics described in item 1108 or item 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Geneva—1947) or in item 1109(a) in Part I of that Schedule (Torquay—1951) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption in any calendar year following December 31, 1958, in excess of a quantity to be notified by the President to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Pursuant to Paragraph 1 of that proclamation, as amended, I hereby notify you that for the calendar year 1960 the quantity of such fabrics on imports in excess of which the ad valorem part of the rate will be increased as provided for in the seventh recital of that proclamation, as amended, shall be 13,500,000 pounds.

On the basis of presently available information, I find this quantity to be not less than five per centum of the average annual production in the United States during the three immediately preceding calendar years of fabrics similar to such fabrics. Although it is believed that any future adjustments in statistics will not be such as to alter this finding, in the event that they do, I shall notify you as to the revised quantity figure.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The Honorable ROBERT B. ANDERSON
Secretary of the Treasury
Washington, D.C.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 724.

The Mutual Security Program for Fiscal Year 1961

Following is the text of President Eisenhower's message to the Congress on the Mutual Security Program for fiscal year 1961, together with statements made by Secretary Herter and Under Secretary Dillon before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS¹

To the Congress of the United States:

A year ago in my message to the Congress on the mutual security program,² I described it as both essential to our security and important to our prosperity. Pointing out that our expenditures for mutual security are fully as important to our national defense as expenditures for our own forces, I stated that the mutual security program is not only grounded in our deepest self-interest but springs from the idealism of the American people which is the true foundation of our greatness. It rests upon five fundamental propositions:

- (1) That peace is a matter of vital concern to all mankind;
- (2) That to keep the peace, the free world must remain defensively strong;
- (3) That the achievement of a peace which is just depends upon promoting a rate of world economic progress, particularly among the peoples of the less developed nations, which will inspire hope for fulfillment of their aspirations;
- (4) That the maintenance of the defensive strength of the free world, and help to the less developed, but determined and hard working, na-

tions to achieve a reasonable rate of economic growth are a common responsibility of the free world community;

- (5) That the United States cannot shirk its responsibility to cooperate with all other free nations in this regard.

It is my firm conviction that there are only a few in the United States who would deny the validity of these propositions. The overwhelming support of the vast majority of our citizens leads us inexorably to mutual security as a fixed national policy.

The mutual security program is a program essential to peace. The accomplishments of the mutual security program in helping to meet the many challenges in the mid-20th century place it among the foremost of the great programs of American history. Without them the map of the world would be vastly different today. The mutual security program and its predecessors have been an indispensable contributor to the present fact that Greece, Turkey, Iran, Laos, Vietnam, Korea, and Taiwan and many nations of Western Europe, to mention only part, remain the home of free men.

While over the past year the Soviet Union has expressed an interest in measures to reduce the common peril of war, and while its recent deportment and pronouncements suggest the possible opening of a somewhat less strained period in our relationships, the menace of Communist imperialism nevertheless still remains. The military power of the Soviet Union continues to grow. Increasingly important to free world interests is the rate of growth of both military and economic power in Communist China. Evidence that this enormous power bloc remains dedicated to the extension of Communist control over all peoples

¹ H. Doc. 343, 86th Cong., 2d sess.; transmitted on Feb. 16.

² BULLETIN of Mar. 30, 1959, p. 427.

everywhere is found in Tibet, the Taiwan Straits, in Laos, and along the Indian border.

In the face of this ever-present Communist threat, we must, in our own interest as well as that of the other members of the free world community, continue our program of military assistance through the various mutual security arrangements we have established. Under these arrangements each nation has responsibilities, commensurate with its capabilities, to participate in the development and maintenance of defensive strength. There is also increasing ability of other free world nations to share the burdens of this common defense.

Obviously, no one nation alone could bear the cost of defending all the free world. Likewise, it would be impossible for many free nations long to survive if forced to act separately and alone. The crumbling of the weaker ones would obviously and increasingly multiply the threats to those remaining free, even the very strongest.

Collective security is not only sensible—it is essential.

That just peace which has always been and which remains our primary and common goal can never be obtained through weakness. The best assurance against attack is still the possession and maintenance of free world strength to deter attack.

The nations of Europe are increasingly assuming their share of the common defense task. None of our NATO partners other than Greece, Turkey, and Iceland now requires nor receives any economic assistance. Indeed, in rising volume, these nations are now providing economic assistance to others. Our NATO allies are also meeting their military needs to an increasing degree; several major countries now require no help. Our military programs in NATO countries today are largely designed and executed as joint cost sharing arrangements whereby vital additional defense needs are met through mutual effort.

It is clear that while every possibility to achieve trustworthy agreements which would reduce the peril of war must be explored, it would be most foolish to abandon or to weaken our posture of common deterrent strength which is so essential a prerequisite to the exploration of such possibilities. The need is for steadfast, undramatic, and patient persistence in our efforts to maintain our

mutual defenses while working to find solutions for the problems which divide the World and threaten the peace.

The mutual security program is a program essential to world progress in freedom. In addition to its mutual defense aspects, it also is the American part of a cooperative effort on the part of free men to raise the standards of living of millions of human beings from bases which are intolerably low, bases incompatible with human dignity and freedom.

Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world have learned that it is not ordained that they must live in perpetual poverty and illness, on the ragged edge of starvation. Their political leaders press the point home. In a variety of ways this drive is moving forward by fits and starts, often uncertain of its direction. It is sometimes involved in free world struggle against communism, sometimes not. It is clearly in the interests of the United States that we assist this movement so that these countries may take their places as free, independent, progressing, and stable members of the community of nations. It is equally clear that it would be against our interests if this forward movement were stifled or hindered. The result would be to breed frustration and explosive threats to political and economic stability in areas around the world.

Equally with military security, economic development is a common necessity and a common responsibility. An investment in the development of one part of the free world is an investment in the development of it all. Our welfare, and the welfare of all free men, cannot be divided—we are dependent one on the other. It is for each of us, the strong and the weak, the developed and the less developed, to join in the great effort to bring forth for all men the opportunity for a rewarding existence in freedom and in peace. World economic expansion and increase in trade will bring about increased prosperity for each free world nation.

New challenges, with corresponding opportunities, are now visible before us: the acceleration of the achievement of independence of peoples in Africa; the growing restlessness in the less developed areas; and the increasing potential for partnership and assistance to these areas as a result of the continued growth of the now healthy econo-

mies of the industrialized Western European nations and of Japan, Canada, and Australia.

Free world cooperation is becoming the watchword of this effort. In the past year the capital of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was doubled and that of the International Monetary Fund was increased by half. In addition, a United States proposal for an International Development Association to be affiliated with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has been accepted in principle and a draft charter recently has been submitted to member governments. I expect to transmit to the Congress recommendations on this matter in the near future. The industrialized nations of Europe, together with Japan and Canada, are notably stepping up their participation in cooperative efforts among themselves and with the less developed countries to promote growth. Similar approaches will be discussed at a meeting of representatives of a number of nations, to be held in Washington in March.³

In our own Western Hemisphere society of nations, we are now joined in a great new venture, the Inter-American Development Bank. This new institution, formed in partnership with our neighboring nations, should prove of immense value in promoting the more rapid development of the member nations. Our participation in this joint effort is significant of the special interest which we have in the progressive development of our neighbors. Together with the very considerable dimensions of private and government investment taking place in the hemisphere, and the mutually beneficial technical cooperation we have so long enjoyed with our neighbors, it should serve to accelerate progress.

Thus the military and economic resources which we provide through the mutual security program, to help create and maintain positions of strength, are properly to be regarded as what they are—investments in the common defense and welfare and thus in our own security and welfare. This is a *mutual* security program.

Our concepts are sound, our policies of proven value, and our will to meet our responsibilities undiminished and constant.

³ For background on the establishment of a development assistance group, see *ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139. The group will convene at Washington on Mar. 9.

The Proposals for Fiscal Year 1961

The form and general structure of the mutual security program for fiscal year 1961 remains essentially that which has stood the test of experience. In the administration of the various mutual security programs, changes have been instituted in organization, programing, and management controls. It was in part for the purpose of analyzing and making recommendations for improving the administration of the program that I appointed last year a distinguished group of citizens headed by General Draper. Many of the recommendations that they made have already been put into effect.⁴ We are constantly seeking additional management improvements to meet the program needs and difficult problems of operating these diverse programs on a worldwide basis. The categories of activity are the same as those with which the Congress is familiar. Adjustments in the nature and dimension of activity are proposed which reflect and are responsible to the changes in the world scene, in the degrees of need and of capability for self-help. These adjustments also are consistent with an analysis of future needs and of future changes and capability for self-help. This forward analysis was, in part, conducted in conformance with the requirement of law that plans of future grant economic assistance be developed and presented to the Congress. The detailed plans and conclusions on future assistance will be submitted to the Congress in the near future.

Military Assistance

For military assistance I am requesting in the pending Department of Defense budget an appropriation of \$2 billion. This is more than was requested, or than was provided for fiscal year 1960. The request for a larger appropriation is not made in order to increase the proportionate share of U.S. participation in the common defense. Nor does it reflect an intent to embark on a vast expansion of the military assistance program.

⁴ The composite report of the President's Committee To Study the Military Assistance Program, of which William H. Draper, Jr., was chairman, is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (vol. I, 60 cents; vol. II (Annexes), \$1).

The amount requested for military assistance within the Defense budget is in my considered judgment, and in that of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a need for our defense equally compelling and of equal importance with the needs of our own services provided for elsewhere in the Defense budget.

The amount requested is the result of careful and detailed review of the needs of our allies to enable them to maintain the level of combat effectiveness made possible by previous military assistance and to provide, mostly on a cost-sharing basis, for certain essential force improvement projects. Without adequate provision for maintenance, the moneys previously spent would be largely wasted. And without force improvement, without the provision of more advanced weapons, the free world forces would inevitably fall behind in their ability to counter modernized aggressor forces.

The fact, if it is a fact, of reductions in Soviet military manpower,⁵ does not alter the need for the maintenance of our collective defense. Soviet military power, as Mr. Khrushchev's own statements make clear, remains great. Our plans have never attempted to match Soviet armed manpower: they have been and are designed to deter aggression. Of special importance is the maintenance of a strong and effective deterrent posture in the NATO alliance. As indicated earlier, the improving economic position of Western Europe as a whole makes it possible for Europe to share increasingly in the cost of the common defense, and for certain major European countries to maintain their defense efforts without U.S. assistance. At the same time, the requirements for modernization and improvement are of such dimension that our participation in joint cost-sharing projects with certain European countries over the immediate future is still essential. Provision for such contributions is included in the proposed program.

The amount requested for fiscal 1961 is consistent with the recommendations of the bipartisan committee of distinguished citizens headed by General Draper, which I appointed last year to review our policies and programs. This committee strongly urged the maintenance of a delivery program of approximately \$2 billion annually.

⁵ For a U.S. comment on the proposed Soviet reduction, see BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1960, p. 147.

In recent years, annual deliveries have averaged about \$2.2 billion. Deliveries in fiscal year 1960, however, reflecting the reduced appropriations of recent years, will fall back to \$1.8 billion or less. Unexpended balances carried over from previous years have now been reduced to a minimum and deliveries in future years will closely approximate the annual appropriation level.

In my considered judgment, an appropriation of \$2 billion for fiscal year 1961 is the minimum amount consistent with the maintenance of a firm and adequate collective defense posture. Anything less in effect precludes essential modernization and improvement of forces and limits us to a bare maintenance program.

Economic Assistance

Defense Support

For 12 of the nations with whom we are joined in collective or mutual security arrangements, we have for some years been contributing not only military resources required in the common defense but economic resources in the measure needed to permit the maintenance of such defenses without incurring political or economic instability. This category of resource contribution we term "defense support"—economic resources to assure a defense posture. These 12 countries maintain forces of over 3 million men, more than the total number in the U.S. Armed Forces, and each of these underdeveloped countries, except for Spain, is part of the exposed land and offshore island belt that forms the immediate southern and eastern boundary of the Sino-Soviet empire. Requirements in this defense-support category have decreased somewhat; for fiscal year 1961 I am requesting for these programs \$724 million or \$111 million less than I asked for last year. This reduced requirement reflects in some measure a gradual but perceptible improvement in the economic situations in these countries. More than half, 56 percent, is for the three Far Eastern countries of Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam, which have the common characteristics that they are divided countries facing superior Communist forces on their borders, forces which the Communists previously have demonstrated their willingness to use, thereby compelling these frontier nations to support armed forces far in excess of their unaided capacities to maintain. The amounts requested for these purposes

represent the least we can contribute and retain confidence that adequate defenses will be maintained.

Special Assistance

Another category of international cooperation in the mutual security program is the provision of economic resources to other nations where such resources are essential to the maintenance of their freedom and stability. This category of cooperation we term "special assistance." I am requesting \$268 million for these purposes in fiscal year 1961. Such provisions will enable us, for example, to continue aid to the young nations of Morocco, Libya, and Tunisia, to strengthen the stability of Jordan and the Middle East, to combat the encroachment of Communist influence in Afghanistan, and to undergird the economies in Bolivia and Haiti. Special assistance will also enable our continued participation in such vital programs as the worldwide antimalaria campaign.

Aid to Development

The achievement of economic progress, of growth, depends on many things. Through collective security arrangements, through defensive measures, by giving military aid and defense support, we and other nations can achieve a measure of security and stability within which the process of development is possible and can be fostered. The primary and essential prerequisite internally is the determination to progress and take the actions needed and to make the sacrifices required. No matter how great the determination, however, there will remain tremendous needs for both technical improvement and capacity and for development capital. If a pace of development is to be achieved which will meet the essential demands of these peoples, outside help is a necessity.

Technical Cooperation

Through our long-established program of technical cooperation and by our contributions to the United Nations activities in the technical assistance field, we make a major contribution toward the satisfaction of this thirst and need for growth in knowledge and technical capacity. The mutual security program proposed for fiscal year 1961 continues these vital activities and provides for the enlargement and extension of our technical assistance programs in the newly emerging nations

of Africa. For bilateral technical assistance I request \$172.5 million; for our participation in United Nations technical assistance programs I ask \$33.5 million; and to supplement our much larger bilateral program with our neighbors to the south, I ask \$1.5 million for the program of technical assistance which we conduct in cooperation with them through the Organization of American States.

Africa

Of inescapable interest to the United States in the world today is the increasing assumption of self-government by the peoples of the great continent of Africa, especially in the area south of the Sahara. This vast area deserves and commands the full attention and assistance of the free world if it is to develop its institutions and its economy under freedom. While the needs of Africa south of the Sahara for development capital are real and can be expected to grow, there is an imperative and immediate requirement for increased education and training. The request for appropriations for special assistance includes an amount of \$20 million for a special program to be instituted for the improvement of education and training in Africa south of the Sahara, with particular emphasis to be given to the meeting of needs which are common to all the countries of the area. It is my belief that this initial effort must grow significantly in the immediate years ahead and complement similar efforts on the part of other free world nations so that the capacity of the new and other developing nations in Africa to manage and direct their development can be strengthened and increased rapidly and effectively. Without such strengthening and development of education and training, the preconditions of vigorous economic growth cannot be established.

Development Loan Fund

In the field of development assistance, the Development Loan Fund is proving to be an increasingly effective instrument for response to those needs which cannot be satisfied from private investment, the World Bank, or other like sources. It has assisted in the installation of basic facilities, such as power and transportation, necessary for growth in the less developed areas. Particularly important are the expanded activities of the Development Loan Fund in the field of private enter-

prise. The Development Loan Fund is opening new opportunities to build an effective partnership with American private enterprise wherein the private resources of the country can make an increased contribution to development in the less developed nations. The history of the Development Loan Fund activity over the past 2 years indicates that the flow of such loan capital has tended to respond to the degree of need and of capability. In other words, those areas where the determination and the will to progress are greatest and the capacity to use such resource effectively is the greatest, have been the leading recipients of loan assistance from the Development Loan Fund. I request \$700 million for the Development Loan Fund for use beginning in fiscal year 1961.

South Asia

Over the past 2 years a major share of Development Loan Fund loans have been made to the two great nations of south Asia—India and Pakistan—where half a billion people are deeply committed and irrevocably determined to develop and maintain institutions of their own free choice, and to raise their standards of living to levels of decency. The force and drive of this great effort is unmistakable; it warrants the full and warm support of the free world. We have joined with other nations in helping these countries; we envisage the total public and private effort to assist south Asia not only continuing but expanding. An increased amount is expected to be devoted to this great cause from the resources requested for the Development Loan Fund for fiscal year 1961 as these countries increase even further their own self-help efforts.

The Indus Basin Development

A development of major significance in south Asia is the substantial progress being made under the auspices of the World Bank to effect a solution to the complex and difficult problem of the use of the waters of the Indus River Basin as between India and Pakistan. Vital interests of both countries are involved; the solution must involve a plan whereby the waters, on which the agriculture, the food supplies, and the economies of the region depend, can be equitably developed and shared. It is anticipated that an agreement on such a development plan may be reached in the near future.

Essential to its fruition is the willingness of nations outside south Asia to assist in the development plan, the cost of which cannot be borne by these nations unaided. Under World Bank auspices, plans are being developed whereunder the Bank, British Commonwealth nations, West Germany, and the United States will each contribute to the costs of the development plan and the supervision and management of the enterprise will be undertaken by the Bank. We propose to provide a measure of assistance to this activity through the mutual security program in fiscal year 1961 and in subsequent years as needs arise. To assure that we can effectively participate in this multilateral undertaking, I am asking for authorization to exercise flexibility in the application of regulations normally applied to bilateral undertakings, if and when such exceptional action is required for this great project. The solution of this troublesome international issue should be of great assistance in promoting a peaceful and cooperative resolution of other divisive issues and encourage a maximum concentration on the major goals of peace and prosperity.

Republic of China

The mutual security program can be expected also to be responsive to the needs of other areas and countries as their determination and capacity to employ development capital grows. We have received proposals from the Government of the Republic of China for an expanded and accelerated program of economic reform and development to which we are giving close and careful attention. The vigorous and skilled population on Taiwan, the record of growth in investment and output, the very real potential for acceleration, offer a prospect for a convincing demonstration that under free institutions a pace and degree of achievement can eventually be obtained in excess of that resulting under totalitarianism. For this purpose, we envisage the full employment of both grant and loan assistance to hasten the day of ultimate viability and self-sustaining growth.

Contingency Fund and Other Programs

In addition to the major categories of cooperation which I have mentioned, military assistance and defense support, special assistance, technical

cooperation, and the Development Loan Fund, I am asking also for a contingency fund of \$175 million and for \$101 million to continue a variety of small but important programs.

The contingency fund is an essential safeguard against the unforeseen or not wholly predictable need. The record of the past several years clearly demonstrates its value as enabling prompt and effective response to the altering course of international events.

The \$101 million requested for other programs will permit our continued participation in UNICEF, in refugee programs, and in the foreign programs for peaceful uses of atomic energy. It also will provide for administrative costs to administer the economic and technical programs.

For the total mutual security program I ask \$4.175 billion. The need for these amounts has been examined and reexamined with great care in the executive branch. I am entirely satisfied that the needs for which funds are sought are needs which must be met and that the funds sought are the most reasonable estimates of requirements we can produce. There is no question but that the Nation can afford the expenditures involved; I am certain we cannot afford to ignore the needs for which they are required.

Conclusion

The United States is a privileged nation. Its citizens enjoy a measure of prosperity and well-being and an extent of liberty under free institutions unequalled in the history of the world. Our ideals and our ideology place upon us a responsibility for leadership and for cooperation with other nations and other peoples which we accept willingly and with pride.

My recent travels impressed upon me even more strongly the fact that free men everywhere look to us, not with envy or malice but with hope and confidence, that we will in the future as in the past be in the vanguard of those who believe in and will defend the right of the individual to enjoy the fruits of his labor in peace and in freedom. Together with our fellow men, we shall not fail to meet our responsibilities.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 16, 1960.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY HERTER, FEBRUARY 17

Press release 68 dated February 17

I am pleased and privileged to appear before you today, to open again this year the hearings on the Mutual Security Program. As I am sure you realize, I consider the Mutual Security Program to be vital to our security and an indispensable instrument of our foreign policy. My purpose today is to express to you as candidly and as clearly as I can the reasons for my convictions. Such an explanation is your due and also my duty. The heavy responsibility of meeting the challenges with which we are faced in the world in which we live is a mutual one which we share.

The Current Scene

This world today may be said to be characterized by change. New and constantly expanding discoveries in the various fields of knowledge necessitate frequent and sometimes difficult adjustments in our way of life, yet hold great promise for the future growth and development of civilization.

Despite the growth of man's knowledge and the limitless possibilities which such growth portends, we must also recognize that there are some things which have not changed, things which must affect our daily lives now, and in the future, and with which we must deal as they are, rather than as we would like them to be.

The harsh and basic fact is that we live in a world in which but a fraction of the world's peoples enjoy both freedom and prosperity. The harsh and basic fact is that approximately a third of the people of the world live under the domination and control of a Communist dictatorship. The harsh and basic fact is that outside the Communist bloc hundreds of millions of people in the world today are struggling to rid themselves of the curse of poverty, and that these peoples are greatly concerned to find the shortest and most effective way to improve their material conditions.

The harsh and basic fact is also, and this is of the greatest importance, that the masters of the Communist world and their followers are deeply and firmly dedicated to the proposition that the extension of their control over the rest of the world, both the prosperous and the less fortunate parts, is inevitable, and to be pursued by any and all means that may be available.

The strength and vital force of this Communist dedication must not be underestimated. It is an undeniable fact that, while millions of people live under Communist control imposed on them against their will, there *are* those who believe in the Communist ideology as fully and as fervently as any American patriot believes in the American ideology. It is an undeniable fact that the Communist masters, the dedicated Communists, are unrelenting in their advocacy of their beliefs, are constantly preaching to the young, the adult, and the old, at home and abroad, the virtues of their concepts, the irresistibility of their power, and the inevitableness of their victory. To this end, the full resources of the state and its citizens are employed without let or hindrance from any process of democracy.

This powerful, crusading, and dedicated force is indeed a threat to our security which we cannot ignore without the gravest peril. Our own ideology, our way of life, is so basically different from the Communist ideology that we have difficulty in crediting and comprehending their beliefs. These basic beliefs are the most significant of the facts with which we must deal, and deal effectively, if the values we hold dear are to survive. Let me make clear my understanding of the Communist creed. These people *believe* that it is inevitable that the capitalistic system must collapse and that it must be succeeded by classless socialist societies. They *believe* that those who understand this principle of historic inevitability have a right and an obligation to impose their views on others for the furtherance of the cause. These men *believe* that any action which advances their cause is *morally right*. They believe that totalitarian government under the control of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the right, necessary, and natural form of government until the capitalist states of the world have been brought into the fold and capitalism eliminated from their lives and minds. Ultimately, they believe, a world of freedom and plenty for all can be attained in a stateless and classless Communist society. No Communist leader denies this creed; on the contrary, its promulgation is constantly reiterated.

The Communists do not just talk about their creed. They use the resources, human and material, of a great empire controlling a third of the people of the world. They have great military strength, they are well organized, their progress

in educating and developing their people has been truly remarkable. These very real powers support and are fully employed to advance the cause to which they are dedicated.

Collective Defense

In the face of this great force, this revolutionary movement, where do we stand? It is and has been obvious to us all that to stand idly by while the rest of the non-Communist world is swallowed up bit by bit would be the height of folly. Our policies for over a decade now have recognized the essentiality and importance to us of an end to the expansion of the Communist empire by force or the threat of force. We long since determined to create and maintain defensive military strength which could assure that such aggression could not succeed. We long since recognized that the creation and maintenance of such defensive strength required the full and free cooperation and joint effort of many nations. We long since recognized that our assistance to such other nations to enable those which needed help to create and to maintain an adequate defense was an essential and integral measure for our own security. Our efforts to create this defensive strength have been successful efforts. The collective power of ourselves and our allies has served and must be maintained at a level that will continue to serve as a barrier to the expansion of Communist control through the use of force.

Economic Strength

We long since recognized as well that military defenses are not enough to thwart the spread of Communist control, if we ignore the needs and demands of free peoples for economic security and a decent standard of living. In our own case it is imperative to maintain a strong and healthy economy, for upon such economic strength our true power to defend ourselves depends. In the case of our European allies, it was imperative to achieve recovery and rehabilitation after years of the devastation of war. This task has been accomplished and the greater part of free Europe today is healthy and strong. In the case of Asia and the Near East, along the perimeter of the massive Communist bloc, a quite different and much more difficult problem has faced us. Some of these nations have chosen to identify them-

selves clearly as adherents to our ideology. Others, inexperienced and only recently reaching independence of foreign domination or control, were less certain of their future and desired an independent course. The common characteristic, however, is a deep and growing desire and determination to improve their lot, to achieve material progress. Confronted with great and almost overwhelming shortages of both material and trained human resources, it is not surprising that the discontented and impatient may be attracted by the radical solutions of communism pointing to an ultimate visionary goal of peace and prosperity in a classless society. In these circumstances, it is clear that if the appeal and pressures of communism are to be resisted, it is essential that there be a choice available to these nations—an alternative to communism which is more than the preservation of the *status quo*. The road to a decent life for these masses of human beings is not a short nor an easy one. The process of improvement is necessarily gradual and laborious. To achieve improvement requires determination and sacrifice. But determination and sacrifice are not enough if human and natural resources are lacking, or cannot be developed without help. It has been our policy and our practice to endeavor to provide that help, that marginal element of technical and economic assistance which, with their own efforts, enables these people to advance within institutions of their own choosing toward a fuller and freer life. Our mutual efforts have been successful, though the completion of the task lies far ahead. These nations have not been absorbed into the Communist empire; they are making visible and noteworthy progress in their arduous struggle for a decent life.

In Africa, we see a rapid evolution of new nations after centuries of submergence and decades of foreign control. Independence is being achieved at an increasing rate. Certainly the American people welcome and encourage the political evolution in this great continent which permits and provides for government by consent of the governed. At the same time, independence brings not only freedom and opportunity, but responsibilities for achieving successful political and economic development which seriously strain the human and material resources available to these nations in their present stage of development. A paramount and compelling requirement

for success is the rapid development of human skills and institutions so that material resources can be more effectively employed and exploited. It is inescapably in our interest that these people and nations receive our support and encouragement in their efforts to progress in institutions of their own choice.

Similarly in our own hemisphere, the peoples of the other American Republics are striving at a growing tempo to achieve a more rewarding and fruitful existence. The program of inter-American technical cooperation was the first such program for the United States, and it continues today to serve as a concrete demonstration of international cooperation among sovereign nations. The newly created Inter-American Development Bank is the most recent expression of our common interest and our common determination that together we can foster and assist the achievement of our common goals of progress in the hemisphere.

Communist Aid

The Sino-Soviet bloc has not ignored the opportunity offered by the growing demand for progress among the less developed nations. 1954 marked the initiation of the bloc economic offensive. By the end of 1959, agreements had been signed with 19 less developed countries to provide \$3.2 billion in credits and grants, of which \$2.5 billion was for economic aid. Bloc aid reached a high level in 1958, when aid agreements concluded totaled slightly more than \$1.0 billion. The \$921 million of credits and grants extended during 1959 was almost entirely for economic purposes, by far the largest amount extended for economic development in a single year. A feature of the bloc campaign which has had great appeal to the recipients is the apparent willingness to provide types of projects which an underdeveloped country wants without requiring economic justification for the project or attempting to secure governmental reform of various economic policies. Nor does the bloc appear to require the various accounting checks which are involved in United States programs. That bloc aid is not without its political objectives and conditions, however, has been well illustrated by the historic "postponement" of credits to Yugoslavia when ideological conflict occurred and the pressure on Finland when government policies offended. No

one who will listen to the clear enunciation of policy of the Communist leaders can doubt that the basic purpose of bloc aid is to promote the achievement of a Communist world.

American Purposes

Our efforts to defend our way of life, to prevent the spread of Communist power, are not efforts to impose our views on others or to require a common fealty to the United States. The efforts we make to help others to defend themselves, to achieve progress, are basically and fundamentally a part of our own creed. We believe in the right of all peoples and nations freely to choose their own ways of life; we believe in cooperation, based on respect, with other nations; we believe in the dignity, rights, liberties, and importance of the individual man, the subordination of the state to the interests and will of its citizens; we believe in decision by discussion and dissent, in tolerance, in governments of laws not of men, and in peace with justice. These are the beliefs on which our Nation was founded, on which it grew strong and great, and on which its future strength and greatness depend. It is these beliefs which motivate us to join with others in the defense of them. It is because we believe in these concepts that we wish to assure that other men may have the opportunity to enjoy the blessings of life in a free society.

Thus our efforts in the Mutual Security Program have high purpose. We seek to defend ourselves and to assure our own security; we seek equally to support the right of every nation freely to determine its own system of government; we seek equally to help in the progressive betterment of human beings. It is for these reasons that we have had a Mutual Security Program; it is for these reasons that we should and must continue it.

The Program Proposed

The program for mutual security which we are proposing for fiscal year 1961 has been most carefully constructed and reviewed. It represents the best and most considered judgment of the executive branch as to that pattern and dimension of activity and effort which is essential to the maintenance and promotion of our national interests. It is, in our view, the program required to provide

an adequate response to the obligations which we, as free men, have to ourselves and to our fellow men.

This program has two major and complementary purposes. The first of these is the preservation of an adequate *defensive strength*. The second is the encouragement and promotion of *human betterment*.

Defensive Strength

For this first purpose we seek to provide military equipment and training to other nations in amounts and kinds appropriate to their needs and ours for the maintenance of effective military forces. For those of these friendly and allied nations which are unable through their own efforts to maintain the military forces which we agree are essential, we also propose to provide, as we have done before, such additional resources as are needed to enable the maintenance of an adequate defense. In some other nations, we are providing resources to assure the maintenance therein of vital military facilities required for our defense.

Some of the nations with which we are allied and in whose defensive strength we have great interest no longer require our help to play their part in effective joint defense. Thus in Europe our program does not include new commitments for grant aid to the more prosperous European nations, although our interest in their defensive strength continues unabated. Elsewhere in NATO, the growing capabilities of our partner nations are expected to enable them to meet in increasing measure the costs of the military forces which are needed for the common defense. Similarly the need for economic help, that is, for defense-support assistance on the part of other allied nations which have been receiving such assistance, is decreasing somewhat. Thus, our request for defense-support funds is \$111 million less than the amount we asked for last year. These encouraging developments reflect a measure of success in the common effort to attain greater military and economic strength. Our program demonstrates that the capabilities for self-help of our allies as well as their needs are fully taken into account in developing our proposals for assistance to them. With this assistance and a continuation of increasing self-reliance and capability, we can and will maintain the strong and effective defense which our security demands.

For the second purpose of our program—the encouragement and promotion of human betterment—we seek to provide resources both human and material to help other nations to develop their skills and their economies, to bring to their peoples a measure of hope and faith that their aspirations for a better life will and can be met in increasing degree.

Our help in developing human skills, in making available the knowledge and technical expertise of our civilization, is provided largely through technical assistance programs, both bilateral and multilateral. Thousands of dedicated Americans are laboring abroad in over 60 nations in a wide variety of technical projects in such fields as agriculture, education, and public health. These men and women are working with the people of other nations, striving together for solutions to the problems they face in advancing the level of skills and knowledge which is so essential to progress. Those of us who know at first hand the splendid work being done by these Americans are proud of them and the part they are playing, frequently at great personal sacrifice, in the cause of human betterment.

Our help in the form of material resources, in the financing of development, is furnished in the form of both grant and loan assistance. While primary reliance for United States Government assistance in the financing of economic development programs and projects is placed on the Development Loan Fund, we do provide special assistance in the form of grants and loans to nations where such help is required because of unusual or compelling circumstances which make reliance on the Development Loan Fund unsuitable or inappropriate. Each such case will, of course, be specifically justified in our program presentation.

Through the Development Loan Fund, we have been able to respond to the needs for loan financing in close correspondence with the determination and capability of the borrowing nations. Thus the primary criteria for use of these funds have been the need for help and the capacity to use it effectively, as was the intention of the Congress and the executive branch in establishing this instrument. We anticipate, as you will hear in the more detailed testimony which is to follow, that these development loan funds will continue

to be used in the same manner—so as to respond to the initiative and efforts of other nations rather than in an indiscriminate fashion.

Interdependence

Our preoccupation with the importance of these objectives of adequate defense and human betterment, and with the role we should and must play, sometimes results in our overlooking the fact that it is primarily on the efforts of our friends and allies that we must and do rely. Our aid, military, economic, and technical, provides only a small part of the resources required. This marginal aid is, of course, of critical importance since it can mean the difference between success and failure. However, we must not forget that if others depend on us for this critical margin of help, it is we who depend upon them for the provision of the major proportion of material and human resources and for the effective use of both these resources and those which we provide. Truly, we are interdependent. We are not engaged in charity; we are engaged in a mutually beneficial program in which we must rely on one another for our common security and progress.

United States efforts to help in the cause of progress are not, of course, the only efforts being made. It is a matter of real satisfaction and encouragement that in increasing degrees the other industrialized free nations of the world are responding to the challenge of the need for progress. The nations of Western Europe and Japan are expanding their efforts to help in the development of the new and emerging nations. The advent of the International Development Association and the forthcoming Washington conference of industrialized nations, which will consider further ways and means of cooperation in this task, augur well for the future.

Conclusion

In summary, gentlemen, we and other free men everywhere share common goals and common beliefs. We also share a common danger. Our objectives are clear. We want peace and progress. We can and we shall achieve them. To do so we must provide for our security while developing our resources and institutions. The achievement of our common objectives is a common responsibility,

to meet which requires the best efforts of all of us.

The Mutual Security Program is of vital importance as a part of our participation in this great mutual effort for peace and progress in freedom. I cannot urge too strongly your early and favorable action to authorize its continuance.

STATEMENT BY UNDER SECRETARY DILLON, FEBRUARY 18

Press release 72 dated February 18

It is a pleasure to join you as you undertake your review of the Mutual Security Program for fiscal year 1961. We propose to proceed with our presentation along lines similar to that of previous years, though you will note substantial changes in the content of the program. In developing the program for the coming year, we have given careful attention to the suggestions made by the Congress during its consideration of last year's program.

Because of the early date at which hearings are starting, we are unable to have in your hands at the outset the usual presentation materials. We do hope to provide you with these materials, generally in the same form as last year, by the first of March. When Mr. John Murphy, the Inspector General and Comptroller of the program, appears before you, he will explain the format and nature of these materials. Our aim throughout this presentation will be to provide you with a clear and straightforward explanation of the objectives of each program as well as the reasons for considering the sums requested to be a minimum United States contribution toward reaching these objectives.

Because of Mr. Claxton's⁶ illness, I have obtained the services of Mr. Ben Brown to represent me in coordinating the executive branch presentation. He is here with me today and will be available to assist you throughout your deliberations.

Before answering questions, I would like to cover briefly, *first*, the proposed changes in legislation, *secondly*, the basic concepts which underlie the fiscal year 1961 program, *thirdly*, the amounts proposed, *fourthly*, the administration of the program, and *finally*, to make a few brief remarks on the significance of the program.

⁶ Philander P. Claxton, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations (Mutual Security Affairs).

I. Principal Legislative Changes Proposed

No major revision of the basic Mutual Security Act of 1954 is proposed for fiscal year 1961. However, let me call your attention to the few principal changes in the order in which they occur in the bill.

First, amendment of sections 141 and 142(a), relating to agreements as a condition of eligibility for defense support and military assistance, is requested in order to limit the requirement for such agreements to defense support and military equipment and materials. The interests of the United States have repeatedly been well served by providing military training and information to countries with which such agreements do not exist. Such programs have been undertaken on the basis of specific Presidential findings. However, the number of exceptions has reached the point where we believe it preferable to eliminate the legislative requirement as it applies to training and information.

Second, the addition of a new section 404 is proposed with respect to Indus Basin development. This section affirms United States willingness to participate in this significant undertaking and authorizes the use of mutual security funds in accordance with requirements, standards, or procedures established by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). The IBRD is in the process of organizing a major but highly complicated program under which its resources and those provided by the United Kingdom, certain Commonwealth countries, Western Germany, and the United States may all be used to finance a program for developing the Indus River to the benefit of both India and Pakistan. In order for the United States contribution to the project to be most effective, it will be necessary for the funds to be administered under IBRD rules rather than requiring the Development Loan Fund and ICA [International Cooperation Administration] to fulfill certain requirements which apply in normal bilateral activities, such as completion of cost estimates and determination of feasibility. Authority is also being asked for the President to waive the application of the 50-50 shipping clause to assistance provided for this project, if and when such exceptional action may become necessary for our successful participation. The plan for the optimum use of the water resources of the Indus valley will have to be worked

out carefully over an extended period of time. It is of prime importance, as the President stressed in his message on the Mutual Security Program. This is a cooperative program in which a number of countries are joining with the World Bank in a joint effort. The United States will be contributing only a part of the costs. This fits into our endeavor to obtain greater help for development from other industrialized countries. It is important that the Congress give statutory endorsement to United States participation in this program on a practicable basis.

Third, amendment of section 407, relating to Palestine refugees in the Near East, is requested by repeal of the proviso contained in its first sentence. Despite every effort to implement this proviso, the intent of which I fully endorse, its practical effect is to prevent the use of appropriated funds and lead to their useless sterilization. The Palestine Conciliation Commission of the United Nations is being reactivated⁷ and its work should promote the purposes of the proviso.

Fourth, certain amendments are proposed to the administrative provisions of the act which should facilitate efficient management and which therefore have my full support. At this time, I would only call your attention to an amendment to section 527(b) relating to the employment of personnel. An increase of 8 is proposed in the number of personnel who may be employed at rates higher than those provided for grade 15. Last year, an increase of 15 was requested, of which 10 were granted. There are real needs for this flexibility in properly staffing the management levels of the Mutual Security Programs in ICA, in DLF, and in the Office of the Inspector General and Comptroller, which was created subsequent to our submission of last year's request.⁸

Finally, certain amendments are proposed to other legislation. May I particularly draw attention to the proposed amendment to section 202 of title II of Public Law 480, relating to famine relief and other assistance, which would permit the use of surplus agricultural commodities under title II to promote the economic development of less developed areas. One principal purpose of the amendment is to clarify authority under title II to carry out work relief projects on a continuing

rather than on an emergency basis. Such authority would be particularly useful in our Tunisian program, where the government of a relatively new country must cope with unemployment amounting to nearly one-third of the labor force. Local currencies generated by P.L. 480 sales would allow the continuation of work on badly needed programs such as soil conservation and terracing, irrigation and reforestation. Such programs have been operated with outstanding success on an emergency basis but clarification of the law is felt to be necessary if they are to be continued on a more regular basis.

II. Some Conceptions Underlying the Fiscal Year 1961 Program

I have already noted that in preparing the program for the fiscal year 1961, full consideration has been given to the suggestions and views expressed last year by the Congress. I think you will be pleased to find, for example, that as a result of a careful review of the need for classification the presentation material will contain substantially more unclassified material than in previous years.

(a) *Reduction or Termination of Grant Assistance*

A substantial effort was undertaken in connection with section 503(c), which asked for a specific plan for each country receiving bilateral grant assistance whereby, wherever practicable, such grant assistance shall be progressively reduced and terminated. The results of this effort will be ready for presentation to you in the near future, and I will be prepared to speak in greater detail to this point on the 3d of March.

The underlying intent of section 503(c) is reflected in the programs we are proposing. Twenty-one countries are this year receiving grant aid, exclusive of technical assistance, of \$5 million, or more; the fiscal year 1961 request involves less defense-support or special-assistance money for 13 of these countries than has been programmed this year. In only 5 cases are we recommending an increase and in 3 of those the increases are small. The request for defense-support funds has been reduced almost 15 percent below that of last year. However, we must continue to be mindful of the security interests of the United States which gave rise to past decisions to initiate and continue such grant aid programs. As countries

⁷ For background, see BULLETIN of Jan. 4, 1960, p. 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1959, p. 294.

are able to improve their economic situations, their ability to support defense forces will be enhanced. However, continued assistance will be essential to maintain an adequate rate of growth, without which these countries cannot be expected to pay for more of their direct security requirements. Such assistance should increasingly be supplied by loans, and indeed the proportion of loans in our economic assistance programs has been steadily rising from 4.5 percent in 1954 to 20 percent in 1957 and about 31 percent in 1959. We expect to continue to use loans wherever practicable, but it also seems likely that critical situations will arise which cannot appropriately be met except by grants. We must continue to anticipate that it would be unreasonable to expect some countries, at least for a time, to undertake an obligation to repay urgently needed assistance, even if such repayment were to be in their local currency. We shall, therefore, have to continue to seek authority for grant aid programs, though we would hope to reduce such programs progressively.

(b) *Self-Help*

We have also been particularly mindful of the sentiment that assistance will be most valuable in countries which demonstrate a clear willingness to take effective self-help measures and to demonstrate effectively that such assistance is consistent with workable long-term economic development objectives. We have given full support to various programs of economic stabilization where countries have shown a determination to reform their economic policies in order to assure better use of both their own resources and foreign assistance. In conjunction with this request for funds, our present proposals for south Asia and Taiwan reflect this concern.

(c) *Common Responsibilities*

We have been equally attentive to congressional views with respect to a full contribution to their own defense by countries receiving military assistance. I wish particularly to note the increasing contributions by our NATO partners with the dramatic strengthening of their own economic capacities. The total defense expenditures of European NATO countries rose from \$12.2 billion in 1958 to \$13.6 billion in 1959, an increase of over 11 percent. The Netherlands Government has indicated its intention to increase its

defense budget next year by 9 percent. German defense expenditures increased from \$1.6 billion in 1958 to \$2.7 billion in 1959, an increase of 68 percent, and are expected to be higher in 1960. The Italian Government has announced that it will increase its defense budget 4 percent annually, on a progressive basis; this has, in fact, taken place. Reports indicate that both the United Kingdom and Belgium are considering a significant increase in their new defense budgets.

However, our allies in the developed countries must contend with the high costs of modernizing military establishments just as we are doing. Even if they continue to increase their military budgets, many of them will be unable to meet requirements which have been determined in common as essential to maintain the capacity of the NATO alliance to resist aggression. Given carefully screened requirements beyond the capacities of our allies, we must either supplement their efforts or see a weakening of our collective capabilities. It is therefore proposed to continue to help finance modernization efforts, using cost-sharing agreements wherever possible in those cases where our collective security requirements cannot reasonably be met by our NATO partners alone.

As for the less developed countries which require military assistance, many of them can be expected to bear an increasing share of the domestic costs of maintaining their forces as their economies grow. This expectation is reflected in the proposal to reduce the defense-support program. However, the costs of replacing and modernizing military equipment is well beyond their capacities, faced as many of them are by neighbors who place a high premium on strengthening their military potential and whose intentions must remain highly suspect.

As their own economic strength improves, the more developed countries are also contributing more to the less developed areas.

For example, the United Kingdom has been progressively increasing its bilateral government assistance from some \$150 million in 1957 to about \$190 million in 1958 and \$210 million in 1959; the estimate for 1960 is \$335 million. Germany has been making significant contributions to Greece, Turkey, and India and has also concluded an aid agreement with the United Arab Republic among others. France continues to contribute to the de-

velopment of its overseas territories, exclusive of Algeria, in amounts which represent a higher percentage of her gross national product than our economic assistance to less developed countries represents of United States gross national product. Japan not only pays substantial reparations to the Philippines, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, and Burma, but is assisting India, Brazil, Cambodia, and Laos with significant sums. The recently established International Development Association provides for a United States contribution of \$320 million as compared with \$412 million from the other developed countries. The Rome Treaty, establishing the European Economic Community, which went into effect in 1958, provides for a 5-year contribution of some \$581 million to an Overseas Fund to finance economic and social development in the overseas territories of the member countries. I cite these figures as examples without wishing to slight the equally important contributions of other countries to both bilateral and multilateral aid programs. We are undertaking discussion with a group of capital exporting countries with a view to greater coordination of our common efforts on behalf of the less developed countries, and expect that the first meeting of this group will take place in Washington early in March.

This increasing assistance from other industrialized countries is a most hopeful development in meeting the needs for development assistance.

These needs are real; they are deeply felt; they can only be met through a maximum effort by all the more fortunate countries. Unless such efforts are made, the social and political manifestations of economic dissatisfaction will threaten the peaceful evolution of free institutions in the less developed areas. We all have a moral responsibility to do what we can to help; we and our children will glean the benefits that will accrue to those who assume their rightful responsibilities.

(d) *Earmarking of Funds for the Transfer of Surplus Agricultural Commodities*

I want to call your attention to my remarks before this committee a year ago⁹ about the earmarking of funds for the transfer of surplus agricultural commodities. You may recall that difficulties were anticipated in carrying out the provisions of section 402 of the act, difficulties which

stem from two elements: the increase in agricultural production in the countries we are assisting and the diminished incentive under conditions of currency convertibility for Western European countries to purchase agricultural commodities and permit the sales proceeds to be used to purchase goods required in the underdeveloped countries. We are experiencing serious difficulty in using as much as the \$175 million earmarked out of fiscal year 1960 funds to finance such transfers of surplus agricultural commodities. We anticipate having to ask the President to waive part of this requirement as he is empowered to do under the act. While we do not propose a change in this requirement and will again make every endeavor to carry out this provision during fiscal year 1961, it is probable that some short fall will again occur, and that waiver authority may again have to be used.

(e) *The United States Balance of Payments*

Finally, recent trends in the United States balance-of-payments position are the object of continued attention. Though Department of Commerce statistics suggest that we may have passed the turning point in our recent balance-of-payments experience, we have and are continuing to seek the reduction of barriers imposed by our major potential customers to the flow of American goods. We are also preparing to increase substantially governmental services to American business interested in selling abroad. It is through increased exports that we believe recent trends can best be halted.

It should be noted that in our balance of payments it has been exports which have fluctuated most widely. On the other hand, mutual security expenditures affecting our balance of payments have remained relatively constant over the last decade and therefore have not contributed to the increase in the unfavorable balance.

As you know, the DLF is now placing primary emphasis on the financing of goods and services of United States origin in making loans for development projects.¹⁰ This step was taken on the presumption that other industrialized countries which export capital goods to the less developed areas are now in a financial position to provide

⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 6, 1959, p. 489.

¹⁰ For a statement by Vance Brand, Managing Director of DLF, see *ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 708.

long-term loans on reasonable terms to assist such areas in their development programs.

The major contribution of the Mutual Security Program to the economic health of the United States is the more fundamental one of helping create conditions of political and economic stability and fostering economic growth abroad. Our friends and allies are also our customers.

III. The Amounts Proposed for Fiscal Year 1961

Now let me discuss the proposed new authorization for appropriation. I would like to review briefly the principal figures. The categories and definitions of aid are the same as those used in recent years.

Military Assistance

Although the military assistance appropriation for fiscal year 1961 will be sought under the authorization voted last year, I do want to explain to this committee why an appropriation of \$2 billion is necessary, a sum \$700 million in excess of the appropriation for fiscal year 1960.

The military assistance pipeline can no longer be tapped to maintain deliveries in excess of appropriations, as has been the case ever since 1953. It will have been reduced to about \$2 billion by next June 30th. Consequently, a substantial increase in appropriations is required if we are to halt the declining trend of deliveries. The appropriation we are seeking will only permit an effective contribution of military assistance to our allies in fiscal year 1961 of some \$1,750 million as compared with \$2.4 to \$2.6 billion annually between 1955 and 1959. Deliveries in fiscal year 1960 will probably not exceed \$1.8 billion. Even with increasing defense budgets in allied countries, the United States will continue to have to bear part of the costs of maintaining and modernizing their forces. The current rate of deliveries is too low to assure an adequate collective defense.

Defense Support

Authority is requested for appropriation of \$724 million for defense support, an amount which is \$111 million lower than last year's request. Last year the Congress appropriated \$695 million under this title; approved programs thus far in the fiscal year total over \$765 million, and there is every reason to believe that more funds will

have to be programed. Heavy resort to the contingency fund has been necessary to finance vital programs in defense-support countries. The proposed figure of \$724 million is an absolute minimum which cannot be reduced without grave risks to our security in one or more areas of the world. As their economic conditions improve, every effort is being made to meet the economic needs of these defense-support countries with the resources of the Development Loan Fund.

I wish particularly to call your attention to the proposal to use some defense-support money in fiscal year 1961 to support the Chinese Government's expressed determination to embark on a program of economic reform designed to accelerate its economic development. The successive military crises weathered by the people of Taiwan in recent years have obscured from the public eye the extent to which they have simultaneously improved their economic situation. Their gross national product rose by 8 percent in 1958 and 5.5 percent in 1959, while defense support has declined from \$79.3 million in 1957 to \$68 million approved thus far in the current year. Economic growth, on the one hand, and the decline of defense support, on the other, have taken place despite the fact that Taiwan, an island of only 10 million people, has had to maintain the largest armed force in free Asia. The people of Taiwan, out of their own resources, are currently bearing one of the heaviest military burdens of any country in the free world.

While the principal support for a new development effort in Taiwan properly should and is expected to be provided through Development Loan Fund lending, the provision of some grant economic assistance for development purposes is essential to assure appropriate launching of the new program. A grant aid program at approximately the same level as this year should be adequate for both maintenance of the defense effort and for the added requirements of the new economic development program.

Special Assistance

In the case of special assistance, \$272 million was proposed for fiscal year 1960, a figure which Congress reduced to \$245 million. Resort to the contingency fund has been necessary to finance approved programs which total almost \$260 million at this time. For fiscal year 1961, our carefully screened requirements total \$268.5 million.

The programs under this category cover a wide variety of special situations involving political and economic factors which require United States assistance. In most cases, the problems can only be met by grant assistance; in others, present circumstances preclude the use of the Development Loan Fund for the purposes which special-assistance loans can achieve. The programs cover our share of the worldwide antimalaria campaign and of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East; they provide aid to American schools abroad and finance the expenses of the investment incentive fund. They also include a series of aid programs to countries with special needs such as Jordan and Israel and the countries of North Africa.

With \$20 million of special-assistance funds requested, it is proposed to initiate in fiscal year 1961 a modest special program for Africa south of the Sahara. The program will concentrate on the need for education and training, particularly on those needs which are common to a number of countries in the area. Our program will supplement the substantial efforts of other developed countries, and we expect to coordinate our activities in this vast area closely with them. It is my firm conviction that the United States must play an increasingly important role in helping the large number of countries on this continent which have newly achieved their independence or will attain independent status in the near future. The newly formed governments must satisfy the aspirations of their people to raise living standards which are among the lowest in the world, and they will inevitably look for help to those developed countries which have an older heritage of striving for independence from colonial rule. Our proposal for the coming year involves a first step toward helping them develop those human skills which are an indispensable precondition for economic development.

Technical Cooperation

Last year Congress appropriated \$181.2 million for technical cooperation, as compared with a request for \$211 million. For fiscal year 1961, we are proposing a total of \$206.5 million, of which \$1.5 million would finance our contribution to the program of the Organization of American States and \$33 million would finance our participation in the United Nations Technical Assistance Program and its related Special Fund,

leaving \$172 million for bilateral technical assistance. The proposed level for bilateral technical cooperation represents an increase of some \$12.5 million over programmed expenditures in fiscal year 1960. The bulk of the increase is concentrated in 14 countries where the programs are new or relatively new, particularly countries on the continent of Africa. For most countries, it is proposed to continue programs in fiscal year 1961 at about the expenditure rate of the current year. In some cases, of course, the programs will be reduced and in others they will be increased.

Other Programs

For the category "other programs," \$101 million is requested, as compared with \$112 million requested last year and \$99.6 million appropriated.

The major change in this group involves a reduction in the amount of new obligational authority for the Palestine refugee program, a reduction undertaken on the assumption that Congress will waive the legislative requirement that 10 percent of the funds appropriated pursuant to the act shall be available only for repatriation and resettlement. If Congress does not agree with this approach, it will be necessary to increase our request for funds accordingly. Our contribution to this program during fiscal year 1961 for relief and rehabilitation should be \$25 million. At the end of the present fiscal year, \$6.5 million appropriated in past years for repatriation and resettlement will remain unutilized; our best efforts to carry out this proviso have been unavailing in the face of political realities. Late in 1959, the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East was extended for an additional 3 years by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Our request for funds for the programs for migrants, refugees, and escapees, for ocean freight charges of voluntary agencies, and for the atoms-for-peace program is lower than last year.

Development Loan Fund

A proposal of \$700 million for the Development Loan Fund for fiscal year 1960 resulted in appropriations of \$550 million. After careful review and consideration, we are again requesting an appropriation of \$700 million for use in

fiscal year 1961 out of the \$1,250 million authorization still available.

The Development Loan Fund has built up substantial experience and a solid record in dealing with the less developed countries over the past 2 years. It has already extended loans to 43 countries. However, on the basis of foreign policy guidance from the Department of State and the availability of sound applications, it is directing the bulk of its resources toward those less developed countries which meet three principal criteria: first, a major United States foreign policy interest in a high rate of economic development; second, a capacity to mobilize domestic resources and to use foreign assistance effectively in furthering their economic development; third, a need for foreign resources which cannot be financed by other public and private institutions.

During recent months, the management of the Development Loan Fund has devoted a substantial effort toward strengthening its staff, clarifying its policies, and traveling in order to explain to potential borrowers the criteria that must be met and the documentation that must be supplied to assure prompt and effective consideration of loan applications. On the basis of discussions over the last 2 months with foreign officials, the DLF has knowledge of sound applications both on hand and in preparation which would require funds substantially in excess of funds presently available. The contemplated projects appear to meet its criteria. The request for additional appropriations of \$700 million represents the very minimum needed to assure that the Development Loan Fund will not be placed in the position during fiscal year 1961 of rejecting sound project applications which meet all its tests—including high United States national interest and absence of alternative financing—solely for lack of money. In this connection it is pertinent to note that, during the last 6 months alone, new proposals were taken under consideration at an annual rate of approximately \$1 billion, and there is every expectation that this rate will at least be maintained during the coming year.

As prescribed by its basic legislative authority, the Development Loan Fund has been concentrating its activities in those countries which seem capable of utilizing such assistance to make substantial progress in increasing productive capacities and in this way meeting the vital long-term

economic, political, and social concerns of their peoples. 72 percent of its resources have been committed thus far to 10 countries. About a third has been invested in the South Asian Continent, where, as the President pointed out in his state of the Union message,¹¹ two nations alone of almost 500 million people are “all working, and working hard, to raise their standards, and, in doing so, to make of themselves a strong bulwark against the spread of an ideology that would destroy liberty.” DLF’s contribution has provided critical supplementation to both the efforts of the South Asians themselves and assistance extended by other countries and international institutions.

The South Asian countries are embarked on programs of economic development which have the common aim of seeking an economic expansion sufficient to bring about a significant increase in living standards. People and governments alike share a strong desire to maintain and strengthen their independence and to maintain and extend newly won freedom. Their development programs will be carefully and critically reviewed by potential contributors with a view to the assistance that it would be appropriate for each to provide. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that an expanded effort will have to be made both by international institutions and by the more fortunate countries of the free world. A significant fraction of DLF’s resources will doubtlessly be required as our appropriate share of this international endeavor. Without the full amount of additional funds which is being requested, we will not be able to respond adequately to their needs. In addition, the reductions which we have proposed in defense-support grants for many countries can only be maintained if the Development Loan Fund increases its activities in these countries. This again requires the availability of the full \$700 million being requested.

Contingency Fund

Last year Congress was requested to provide \$200 million for the contingency fund and appropriated \$155 million. \$117 million of this sum has had to be allocated already. Allocation of the remaining \$38 million has been withheld in order to maintain our capacity during the rest of the year to meet unforeseen situations which

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1960, p. 111.

would require prompt financial assistance. Thus far allocations this year have been made to help the Kingdom of Laos resist aggression, to help several Far Eastern countries recover from a series of typhoons of virtually unprecedented fury, to fund unforeseen military requirements which could not as in previous years be covered by reprogramming of military assistance pipeline funds. The unsettling effects of revolutions and the requirements of newly independent countries are further examples of the types of uses to which the contingency fund has and should be put.

It constitutes the most flexible financial instrument available to the United States Government in promoting its foreign policy under current international conditions where friends and allies repeatedly face urgent and unforeseeable needs. The request for \$175 million, \$25 million less than the request of last year, is no more than barely adequate in the light of the record of recurring calls upon the contingency fund.

IV. Administration of the Program

During the past year there have been further charges of inefficient administration of the program. Some of the criticism is undoubtedly justified; some involves mistakes which have been overdramatized; other charges have on investigation proved to be based on unsubstantiated evidence, sometimes provided by disgruntled employees.

It should not be surprising that some abuses have occurred in programs involving such large sums of money, administered by thousands of employees in many countries where our own standards of responsibility for the proper accounting of public funds are not prevalent. Where errors are uncovered, every effort is made to correct them; we welcome having abuses or reports of abuses called to our attention; we encourage constructive suggestions for improving our procedures. It is noteworthy that in the great majority of instances where errors have been publicized, such errors were first detected by the operating agencies themselves and in most instances had already been the subject of corrective or remedial action. Moreover, I must stress that all the charges, including those we consider most extravagant and least substantiated, cover but a very small proportion of our total activities.

The Mutual Security Program has been a suc-

cessful program; its achievements are striking. This could not have been attained without good management. The American people and the thousands of dedicated employees who are administering it in all corners of the globe, frequently at considerable sacrifice, can take considerable pride in their achievements.

Since I appeared before you last year, we have substantially improved the coordinating machinery of the program. In my office, Mr. John O. Bell, as Deputy Coordinator of Mutual Security Programs, has considerably strengthened his staff, and the resulting increase in the effectiveness of the coordinating function is reflected in the current program proposals. Also, the Inspector General and Comptroller, Mr. John E. Murphy, is proceeding to develop his organization and staff. He will appear before you to give a full account of his plans and activities, which should lead to substantial improvement in financial management and to more effective operation of the program.

We are fortunate to have, as the new Director of ICA, Mr. James W. Riddleberger, one of the most senior and most experienced career officers in our Foreign Service. He has had extensive experience, most recently as United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia and Greece, where he had field responsibilities for important mutual security programs.

The appointment by the Department of Defense of a Director of Military Assistance, General W. B. Palmer, should assure more effective planning and implementation of military assistance programs in Washington.

To implement the essential purposes of the amendments of section 523 which were enacted by the Congress last year, the executive branch agencies have undertaken a number of changes in the present programming process. Greater responsibility for military assistance planning and initial programming is being placed on the Unified Commanders and on our Ambassadors. This will permit the development of sound country and regional military assistance programs which will be in accord with the political and economic capabilities of the country and with our own strategic planning. Under these arrangements, the Unified Commander will be able to appraise these programs from an overall military point of view while our Ambassadors will assure integration of

the military programs with other United States activities.

A collateral feature of decentralizing planning and programing in the military assistance program is the need for effective guidance by Washington to the field planners and programers. Procedures are now being developed which should result in furnishing guidance which fully integrates all aspects of United States interests so that plans and programs will be fully responsive to United States foreign policy and strategic objectives. The full effect of the changes which have taken place or are envisaged will be reflected in the fiscal year 1962 program.

V. Importance of the Program

It cannot be repeated too often that the Mutual Security Program is indispensable to the welfare of the American people. We enjoy, by a considerable margin, the highest living standard in the world, under conditions of freedom which are deeply entrenched in both our heritage and the consciousness of our people that their political, social, and economic system is effective and successful.

Our society, and the well-being it has brought with it, is under increasing attack. A principal manifestation of that attack is the constant and persistent attempt of the Communist rulers to alienate other people from us and thus to extend their power. In this endeavor, no technique of persuasion or constraint has been omitted. As the circumstance permits, the Communist assault takes the form of open aggression, of subversion, of psychological or material blandishment.

The peoples of other countries would like for themselves that which we have achieved—prosperity, economic opportunity, a free society, responsible institutions, responsive government. Subject to an unremitting Communist campaign, they look to us for leadership and assistance.

Their own resources are inadequate to assure their protection from the horrors of military attack with the terrible instruments of modern warfare. They often are equally inadequate to make possible acceptable progress toward meeting economic aspirations without sacrificing independence, traditions, liberties.

The Mutual Security Program is a vital element in demonstrating our support for their aspirations, our understanding of their problems, our

determination that their societies shall not be undermined and that communism shall not further extend its sway. Our own military and economic strength will fail unless we are prepared to share our knowledge and skills as well as our military and economic plenty.

I repeat again that the program is a successful program. With its help, country after country has been able to resist overt Communist attack and covert subversion. Nations receiving mutual-security assistance have strengthened the confidence of their people in their governments; they have improved living standards; they have built factories and roads and dams which stand as mute but effective testimony to the reality of the promise of greater future abundance; they have improved the education of their people and learned skills which open new horizons and build self-confidence in man's ability to master his future.

The successes to date are but a beginning. As long as the problems persist, we must continue to meet them with the same determination and confidence that has made our country great and has given us both the responsibility and the capacity to protect and help less fortunate mankind. This is the challenge of our generation. We can be proud of our record to date in meeting it. We owe it to ourselves and our children to continue this great endeavor to bring to mankind the blessings of the abundance we have learned to create and the freedom we have learned to cherish. In this way, and only in this way, can we preserve our own security and our own way of life.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Situation in Vietnam. Hearings before the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Public Affairs of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on the situation in Vietnam. Part 2. December 7 and 8, 1959. 134 pp.

86th Congress, 2d Session

Foreign Service Buildings Act Amendments, 1960. Hearings before the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on H.R. 9036 and H.R. 9998, a bill to amend the Foreign Service Buildings Act, 1926, to authorize the construction or alteration of certain buildings in foreign countries for use by the United States, and for other purposes. January 26 and 27, 1960. 40 pp.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings ¹

Adjourned During February 1960

U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: Seminar on Aerial Survey Methods and Equipment.	Bangkok	Jan. 4-Feb. 5
WHO Executive Board: 25th Session	Geneva	Jan. 19-Feb. 1
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 12th Session.	Bangkok	Jan. 23-Feb. 5
SEATO Preparatory Conference for Heads of Universities Seminar.	Bangkok	Jan. 25-Feb. 5
U.N. Trusteeship Council: 25th Session	New York	Jan. 25-Feb. 10
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Jan. 25-Feb. 12
U.N. Economic Commission for Africa: 2d Session	Tangier	Jan. 26-Feb. 6
3d ICAO African-Indian Ocean Regional Air Navigation Meeting .	Rome	Jan. 26-Feb. 20
International Lead and Zinc Study Group: 1st Meeting	Geneva	Jan. 27-Feb. 3
International Sugar Council: Executive Committee	London	Feb. 1 (1 day)
International Sugar Council: Special Meeting	London	Feb. 2 (1 day)
Inter-American Development Bank: 1st Meeting of Board of Governors.	San Salvador	Feb. 3-16
FAO Asia-Pacific Forestry Commission: 5th Session	New Delhi	Feb. 8-18
Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara.	Tananarive, Malagasy Republic	Feb. 15-25
FAO Cocoa Study Group: Statistical Committee	Rome	Feb. 18 (1 day)
FAO Group of Experts on Rice Grading and Standardization: 5th Session.	Saigon	Feb. 18-20
GATT Panel on Subsidies and State Trading	Geneva	Feb. 22-26
FAO Meeting of Government Experts on Use of Designations, Definitions, and Standards for Milk and Milk Products.	Rome	Feb. 22-27
Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission: Annual Meeting . . .	San José	Feb. 23-24
European National Commissions for UNESCO: Regional Meeting .	Taormina, Sicily	Feb. 23-28
IMCO <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Rules of Procedure	London	Feb. 26-28

In Session as of February 29, 1960

Political Discussions on Suspension of Nuclear Tests	Geneva	Oct. 31, 1958-
U.N. Commission on Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources: 2d Session.	New York	Feb. 16-
ILO Governing Body: 144th Session	Geneva	Feb. 17-
FAO Consultative Subcommittee on the Economic Aspects of Rice: 4th Session.	Saigon	Feb. 22-
ICAO Special Communications Meeting on European-Mediterranean Rules of the Air and Air Traffic Control.	Paris	Feb. 23-
U.N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: 11th Session.	New York	Feb. 23-
U.N. ECE Conference of European Statisticians: Working Group on Statistics of Financial Assets and Liabilities.	Geneva	Feb. 29-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights: 16th Session . . .	Geneva	Feb. 29-

Scheduled March 1 Through May 31, 1960

International Bureau of Education: Executive Committee	Geneva	Mar. 1-
IMCO Council: 3d Session	London	Mar. 1-
Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa South of the Sahara . .	Tananarive, Malagasy Republic.	Mar. 2-
U.N. ECOSOC Latin American Regional Conference on Narcotic Drugs.	Rio de Janeiro	Mar. 3-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Feb. 17, 1960. Following is a list of abbreviations: CCITT, Comité consultatif international télégraphique et téléphonique; CENTO, Central Treaty Organization; ECAFE, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; ECE, Economic Commission for Europe; ECLA, Economic Commission for Latin America; ECOSOC, Economic and Social Council; FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ICEM, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; ILO, International Labor Organization; IMCO, Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization; PAHO, Pan American Health Organization; SEATO, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; U.N., United Nations; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; UNICEF, United Nations Children's Fund; WHO, World Health Organization.

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings—Continued

Scheduled March 1 Through May 31, 1960—Continued

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences: 5th Meeting of Technical Advisory Council.	Lima	Mar. 7-
IAEA <i>Ad Hoc</i> Preparatory Panel on Third-Party Liability for Nuclear Shipping.	Vienna	Mar. 7-
UNICEF Executive Board and Program Committee	New York	Mar. 7-
U.N. ECAFE Conference of Asian Statisticians: 3d Session	Bangkok	Mar. 8-
U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: 16th Session.	Bangkok	Mar. 9-
Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee	Geneva	Mar. 15-
FAO European Commission for Control of Foot-and-Mouth Disease: 7th Session.	Rome	Mar. 16-
5th ICAO North Atlantic Ocean Stations Conference	The Hague	Mar. 17-
2d U.N. Conference on Law of the Sea	Geneva	Mar. 17-
ICAO Legal Committee: Subcommittee on Aerial Collision	Paris	Mar. 21-
ICAO Legal Committee: Subcommittee on Hire, Charter and Interchange.	Paris	Mar. 21-
ITU CCITT Working Party 43 (Data Transmission)	Geneva	Mar. 21-
U.N. ECAFE Working Party on Small-Scale Industries and Handicraft Marketing/Canning and Bottling of Fruit and Food in Cooperation With FAO.	Singapore	Mar. 21-
U.N. ECE Inland Transport Committee: Working Party on Construction of Road Vehicles.	Geneva	Mar. 21-
UNESCO Intergovernmental Conference on International Oceanographic Ships: Preparatory Meeting.	Paris	Mar. 21-
GATT Intersessional Committee	Geneva	Mar. 28-
UNESCO Meeting of Administrators on Technical and Vocational Education in Africa.	Accra, Ghana	Mar. 28-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Status of Women: 14th Session	Buenos Aires	Mar. 28-
UNESCO Executive Board: 56th Session	Paris	Mar. 28-
IAEA Board of Governors: 16th Session	Vienna	Mar. 29-
International Sugar Council: 5th Session	London	March
UNESCO Intergovernmental Advisory Committee on Extension of Primary Education in Latin America.	México, D.F.	March
ICAO Informal Caribbean Regional Meeting on Meteorology	Curaçao	Apr. 1-
ICAO Rules of Air and Air Traffic Control Division, Communications: Informal Caribbean Regional Meeting.	México, D.F.	Apr. 4-
U.N. Economic and Social Council: 29th Session	New York	Apr. 5-
International Wheat Council: Special Session	London	Apr. 5-
Executive Committee of the Program of the U. N. High Commissioner for Refugees: 3d Session.	Geneva	Apr. 7-
U.N. ECOSOC Statistical Commission: 11th Session	New York	Apr. 18-
Meeting of Experts on the Inter-American Telecommunications Network.	México, D.F.	Apr. 19-
U.N. Economic Commission for Europe: 15th Session	Geneva	Apr. 20-
ICAO Panel of Teletypewriter Specialists: 4th Meeting	Montreal	Apr. 25-
FAO International Meeting on Veterinary Education	London	Apr. 25-
PAHO Executive Committee: 40th Meeting	Washington	Apr. 25-
H/O Petroleum Committee: 6th Session	Geneva	Apr. 25-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Narcotic Drugs: 15th Session	Geneva	Apr. 25-
CENTO Ministerial Council: 8th Meeting	Tehran	Apr. 27-
ICAO Informal Southeast Asia Regional Air Traffic Services/Communications Meeting.	Bangkok	April
ICAO Origin and Destination Statistics Panel: 2d Meeting	Paris	April
U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee	New York	April
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 4th Session of Mineral Resources Development Subcommittee.	(undetermined)	April
U.N. ECLA Committee of the Whole: 7th Meeting	Santiago	April
NATO Ministerial Council	Istanbul	May 2-
GATT Committee on Balance-of-Payments Restrictions	Geneva	May 2-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Commodity Trade: 8th Session	New York	May 2
53th World Health Assembly	Geneva	May 3
U.N. Trusteeship Council: 26th Session	New York	May 3-
ICEI Council: 12th Session	Naples	May 5-
FAO Group on Coconut and Coconut Products: 3d Session	Rome	May 9
GATT Committees I and II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	May 9
UNESCO/H/O Committee of Experts on Neighboring Rights	The Hague	May 9
UNESCO Symposium on Arid Land Problems	Paris	May 11
5th Pan American Highway Congress	Bogotá	May 12
GATT Contracting Parties: 16th Session	Geneva	May 16
IMCO International Conference on the Safety of Life at Sea	London	May 17-
FAO Study Group on Citrus Fruits	Valencia, Spain	May 23-
H/O Governing Body: 115th Session	Geneva	May 23-
International Tin Conference	New York	May 23-
International Association for the Protection of Industrial Property: 24th Congress.	London	May 28-

International Commission on Irrigation, Flood Control, and Drainage: 4th Meeting.	Madrid	May 30-
International Commission for Northwest Atlantic Fisheries: 10th Meeting.	Bergen, Norway	May 30-
International Statistical Institute: 32d General Assembly	Tokyo	May 30-
SEATO Council: 6th Meeting	Washington	May 31-
International Fisheries Convention of 1946: 8th Meeting of Permanent Commission.	London	May
Pan American Highway Congresses: Permanent Executive Committee.	Washington	May
2d UNESCO Meeting on Salinity Problems	Spain	May

TREATY INFORMATION

U.S. and U.K. Agree To Establish BMEW Station in Great Britain

Press release 69 dated February 17

The United States and the United Kingdom agreed at London on February 15, 1960, to establish a ballistic missile early warning station in the United Kingdom in support of the purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty. Following are the texts of the exchange of notes and the annexed memorandum of understanding which constitute the agreement.

EXCHANGE OF NOTES

The U.S. Ambassador¹ to the British Foreign Secretary²

FEBRUARY 15, 1960

SIR: I have the honor to refer to discussions which have taken place between representatives of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the Government of the United States of America on the subject of co-operation between the two Governments in setting up and operating a ballistic missile early warning station at Fylingdales Moor, Yorkshire.

I also have the honor to record that, in support of the purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty and

¹ John Hay Whitney.

² Selwyn Lloyd.

of the obligations of the parties thereto, the representatives of the two Governments have agreed to the terms set out in the memorandum annexed hereto regarding the proposed co-operation in setting up and operating a ballistic missile early warning station.

Accordingly, I have the honor to propose that this note and your reply to that effect shall be regarded as constituting an agreement between the two Governments in the terms set out in the annexed memorandum and that such agreement shall have effect from the date of your reply.

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

The British Foreign Secretary to the U.S. Ambassador

FEBRUARY 15, 1960

YOUR EXCELLENCY, I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your note of today's date with reference to discussions which have taken place between representatives of the Government of the United States of America and of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the subject of co-operation in setting up and operating a ballistic missile early warning station at Fylingdales Moor, Yorkshire, which note reads as follows:

[See above text.]

I have the honour to inform you that the proposal made in your note is acceptable to the Government of the United Kingdom and to confirm that your note, together with this reply, shall constitute an agreement between the two Governments in the terms set out in the memorandum annexed to your note, a copy of which memorandum is enclosed, such agreement to have effect from the date of this note.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, Your Excellency's obedient servant.

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

1. The Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom shall co-operate in setting up and operating a ballistic missile early warning (BMEW) station at Fylingdales Moor, Yorkshire.

2. The station shall be commanded by the Royal Air Force. The technical facilities shall be operated by the Royal Air Force in accordance with a joint plan which will be developed and agreed by the Royal Air Force and the United States Air Force.

3. The Government of the United States shall at their expense make available for the station the following types of special equipment:—

- (a) long range radar equipment;
- (b) data processing equipment;
- (c) electronic, internal communications and other related specialized equipment peculiar to (a) and (b);
- (d) spare parts peculiar to (a), (b) and (c) in amounts and kinds appropriate to the first five years of operation; responsibility for the cost of the subsequent provision of such spare parts shall be the subject of further agreement between the United States Government and the United Kingdom Government.

4. The Government of the United States shall at their expense be responsible for the installation of the special equipment described in paragraph 3 above and for preparing this equipment for operation as an integral part of both the United Kingdom and the United States BMEW Systems.

5. The Government of the United Kingdom shall at their expense make available for the station:—

- (a) land, appropriately prepared sites, buildings, utilities including power plant, and other fixed installations;
- (b) all supporting equipment, except as provided in paragraph 3 above;
- (c) domestic accommodation (including the necessary equipment, utilities and services) for the United Kingdom and United States personnel concerned to Royal Air Force scales and standards;
- (d) support services.

6. The Government of the United Kingdom shall at their expense be responsible for providing communications facilities (including terminal facilities) and services required:—

- (a) for use within the station, other than communications equipment supplied under paragraph 3(c);
- (b) to connect the station with commercial communications circuits;
- (c) to provide links between the station and the appropriate authorities in the United Kingdom.

The Government of the United States shall at their expense be responsible for procuring such further communications services as may be necessary for their own

purposes and to meet the requirements of the Government of the United Kingdom for information obtained from other stations of the BMEW System.

7. The cost of operation and maintenance of the special equipment at the station shall be borne by the Government of the United Kingdom for the first five years of operation. Responsibility for this cost thereafter shall be the subject of further agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom.

8. Except as otherwise provided in this Agreement, the cost of operation and maintenance of the station shall be borne by the Government of the United Kingdom.

9. The Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom, as appropriate, shall take such measures relating to the establishment and operation of the station as are required to ensure the safety of persons and property.

10. Ownership of all movable property furnished by the Government of the United States for use in the station shall remain with the Government of the United States. The Government of the United States may remove or dispose of this property following the termination of this Agreement.

11. This Agreement shall be subject to revision by agreement between the two Governments and shall, unless previously terminated by agreement between the two Governments, remain in force while the North Atlantic Treaty remains in force.

P.L. 480 Supplemental Agreement Signed by U.S. and Poland

Press release 57 dated February 11

A supplemental agreement for the sale to Poland of 600,000 tons of wheat, having an export market value of \$41.5 million, was signed at Washington on February 11 by representatives of the Governments of the United States and Poland.

The agreement supplements one signed by the two Governments on June 10, 1959,¹ in the amount of \$44 million and an amendment signed November 10, 1959,² in the amount of \$11.8 million. These provided for the sale of agricultural commodities, including certain ocean transportation costs.

As in the previous agreements, the United States will sell the commodities for local currency (Polish zlotys) as authorized by the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act as amended (Public Law 480).

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of June 29, 1959, p. 960.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1959, p. 789.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Automotive Traffic

Convention on road traffic, with annexes. Done at Geneva September 19, 1949. Entered into force March 26, 1952. TIAS 2487.

Notification by United Kingdom of application (subject to reservations and declarations) to: Mauritius and Singapore, May 13, 1959.

Convention concerning customs facilities for touring. Done at New York June 4, 1954. Entered into force September 11, 1957. TIAS 3879.

Accession deposited (with reservation): Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, August 17, 1959.

Customs convention on temporary importation of private road vehicles. Done at New York June 4, 1954. Entered into force December 15, 1957. TIAS 3943.

Accession deposited (with reservation): Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, August 17, 1959.

Genocide

Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. Done at Paris December 9, 1948. Entered into force January 12, 1951.¹

Accession deposited (with reservation): Finland, December 18, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1960. TIAS 4390.

Notifications of approval: Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, December 19, 1959; Austria, Lebanon, Sudan, January 9, 1960.

BILATERAL

Brazil

Agreement further extending the health and sanitation program agreement of March 14, 1942, as amended and extended (57 Stat. 1322; TIAS 3237). Effected by exchange of notes at Rio de Janeiro December 31, 1959. Entered into force December 31, 1959.

Colombia

Agreement providing a grant to the Government of Colombia for the acquisition of nuclear training and research equipment and materials. Effected by exchange of notes at Bogotá July 31, 1959, and January 11, 1960. Entered into force January 11, 1960.

Poland

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of June 10, 1959, as amended (TIAS 4245 and 4288), with exchange of notes. Signed at Washington February 11, 1960. Entered into force February 11, 1960.

Thailand

Agreement amending the agreement of July 1, 1950, as amended (TIAS 2095, 2809, 3277, 3740, and 4116), for the financing of certain educational exchange programs. Effected by exchange of notes at Bangkok February 1, 1960. Entered into force February 1, 1960.

¹ Not in force for the United States.

United Kingdom

Agreement establishing a ballistic missile early warning station in the United Kingdom. Effected by exchange of notes at London February 15, 1960. Entered into force February 15, 1960.

Zanzibar

Parcel post agreement and regulations of execution. Signed at Zanzibar October 20 and at Washington December 30, 1959. Enters into force on a date to be mutually settled between the postal administrations of the two countries.

Approved and ratified by the President: February 17, 1960.

PUBLICATIONS

Advisory Committee Reports on Foreign Relations Volumes

Following is the text of the annual report made by the Advisory Committee on the publication of the "Foreign Relations of the United States" following its meeting at Washington November 6-7, 1959.¹

The Advisory Committee on the publication of "Foreign Relations of the United States" met on November 6 and 7, 1959, in the Department of State. Its work was largely concerned with problems (a) relating to clearance of materials involved in the publication of "Foreign Relations of the United States," and (b) relating to the character of materials that should be included in the "Foreign Relations" volumes.

The Committee spent an entire afternoon reading diplomatic papers about which questions had been raised as to their clearance for publication.

The members of the Committee did not always agree with recommendations or decisions of policy

¹ Members of the Committee representing the American Historical Association are Dexter Perkins, *chairman*, professor of history emeritus, Cornell University; Fred H. Harrington, vice president, University of Wisconsin; and Richard W. Leopold, professor of history, Northwestern University. Clarence A. Berdahl, professor of political science, Southern Illinois University, and Leland M. Goodrich, professor of political science, Columbia University, represent the American Political Science Association. Philip W. Thayer represents the American Society of International Law.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

officers, though they recognize that there is room for differences of opinion in matters of this kind, which involve intangible aspects of our relations with other countries. The Committee made recommendations to the Department in all cases where the Committee's judgment differed from that of policy officers.

On the side of technical problems connected with the "Foreign Relations" series, the Committee suggested that more attention be paid to Departmental memoranda as a useful source for an understanding of the formulation of policy. It recognizes the limitations in this field, arising out of the tremendous increase in the number of papers and the consequent increase in the size and number of the volumes.

The Committee suggested that in addition to the index of each volume, an index be prepared for all volumes in a yearly series, or that preferably a cumulative index be provided for a period of years.

The Committee also suggested that at its next meeting, in 1960, attention be given to the problem of principles and procedures of editing and publishing the "Foreign Relations" volumes, and that a discussion take place with regard to the principles of selection in succeeding volumes. It recognizes the difficult problems presented by the growing volume of material to be examined.

The Committee commended the publication of the series entitled "American Foreign Policy: Current Documents" prepared by the Historical Office, containing papers illustrating the scope and substance of our current foreign policy, and urged that these volumes be put on an annual basis and be brought closer to the present.

The Committee commended the work of the Historical Office, and expressed the belief that the burdens thrown upon it justify an increase of personnel to the extent of at least three persons.

DEXTER PERKINS

*Chairman, Advisory Committee on
"Foreign Relations of the United States"*

Confirmations

The Senate on February 17 confirmed John J. Grady to be Deputy Director for Management of the International Cooperation Administration in the Department of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 80 dated February 23.)

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: February 15-21

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to February 15 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 57 and 58 of February 11.

No.	Date	Subject
64	2/15	Bolivia credentials (rewrite).
65	2/15	Herter: anniversary of independence of Baltic Republics.
66	2/16	Uruguay credentials (rewrite).
*67	2/16	Cultural exchange (U.S.S.R.).
68	2/17	Herter: statement on Mutual Security Program before House Foreign Affairs Committee.
69	2/17	Agreement with U.K. establishing BMEW station.
70	2/17	U.S.-Canada Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs.
*71	2/17	Chapin nominated Ambassador to Peru (biographic details).
72	2/18	Dillon: statement on Mutual Security Program before House Foreign Affairs Committee.
73	2/18	Herter: "National Security With Arms Limitation."
74	2/18	Sixth SEATO Council meeting.
75	2/18	Herter: question-and-answer session at National Press Club.
†76	2/19	Parsons: "The American Role in Pacific Asian Affairs."
†77	2/19	Dillon: "A New Era in Free-World Economic Growth."
78	2/19	President of Greek Parliament visits U.S. (rewrite).

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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March 14, 1960

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLII, No. 1031 • PUBLICATION 6957

March 14, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

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A New Era in Free-World Economic Growth

by Under Secretary Dillon¹

I am pleased and honored to be here with you tonight as you conclude your thoughtful examination of our country's role in international economic affairs. Your panel moderators have reported well on your discussions of the United States and its relationship to the European Common Market, the newly developing countries, and the Communist economic offensive. It is against this background that I wish to discuss the prospects for free-world economic growth as we enter the sixties.

The outlook for the sixties has been shaped by forces which gathered momentum during the postwar period and the fifties: by the remarkable recovery of Western Europe and Japan from the ravages of war, by the accelerated expansion of our own economy, by the substantial growth in economic power of the Soviet Union, and by the mounting insistence of hundreds of millions of newly independent peoples on sharing in the material blessings of the modern world.

These developments have set the stage for a whole new era in the sixties. One of its predominant features will be the great socioeconomic revolution which is sweeping the newly developing areas of the free world. This force represents the legitimate aspirations of the free world's underprivileged peoples for a better life. These peoples, numbering more than a billion, hold in their hands the future balance of world power. They wish to live in freedom. But to them, freedom from want is of overriding importance. They are learning that they cannot enjoy their newly

won political freedoms without an adequate measure of economic progress. They are exerting tremendous pressure on their leaders to achieve progress through one means or another.

Herein lies a great challenge for us in the sixties—and a great danger as well. The stakes are high—possibly no less than the continued existence of individual liberty on this planet. In cooperation with other free-world industrialized nations, we must assist the newly developing countries in their struggle to improve their people's lot in order that they can maintain their confidence in progress under free institutions. This will require both capital and know-how in substantial amounts throughout the sixties. The alternative is terrible to contemplate. For if these peoples cannot see hope of progress in freedom, they will surely collapse in chaos and disorder and in their desperation they will try the totalitarian route which is being offered them day and night by international communism.

The Soviet leaders are fully aware of the challenge to our system and to theirs which is posed by the aspirations of the newly emerging areas. They have accepted this challenge and are proclaiming their confidence of success in economic competition with our system of free institutions. The present economic strength of the Soviet Union and its continued rapid progress make it clear that this is a most serious challenge. To meet it, we of the industrialized free world must see to it that our own economies continue to grow and strengthen at the same time that we provide a helping hand to our less privileged friends in the newly developing lands.

The industrialized free world enters the sixties in a position of great economic strength. Postwar

¹Address made before the sixth annual conference on international affairs sponsored by the Cincinnati Council on World Affairs at Cincinnati, Ohio, on Feb. 19 (press release 77).

economic recovery is complete in Western Europe and Japan. Prosperity has reached new, alltime highs in the United States and Canada. The industrialized countries of the free world have the means and the ability to surmount the challenge of the sixties. What is needed is the will and determination to succeed. The prize of success is well worth the effort. For, as the newly developing countries grow in freedom and as it becomes clearer that the way of freedom has been irrevocably chosen by the great majority of the peoples of the earth, the power of their example will prove irresistible—even within the ramparts of the Communist empire. This is the surest way to a secure and lasting world peace, the supreme goal of all mankind.

Need for U.S. Leadership

Although the prospects for a concerted effort to speed the free world's progress are bright, the task is truly formidable. It is one to which we shall have to continue to bring leadership in the sixties, just as we did in the late forties and the fifties.

Now let me explain what I mean by leadership: I most assuredly do not imply superiority or domination. For reasons not of our own making, we had a dominant position in the postwar economy of the free world. But that clearly abnormal period has now passed with the resurging economic strength of our industrialized allies. What we seek today, as in the past, is partnership with our fellow members of the interdependent community of free nations, in which no one nation has a monopoly on human skills, energies, or inspiration. Within the framework of that partnership, however, there is a continuing need for leadership. As the most materially favored member of the free-world community, we must accept this responsibility in meeting the challenge of the sixties.

Let us recall that even before the Second World War ended the United States had taken a leading role in planning for a more effective international economic system than the one that had broken down so disastrously in the thirties. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had been agreed upon by 1944. So had the International Monetary Fund. And much preliminary work had been done along lines which shortly thereafter evolved into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Although wartime planners for economic peace had done their work well, they underestimated by a wide margin the magnitude of the immediate postwar economic crisis in Europe and Asia, which developed with frightening speed and intensity in 1946 and 1947.

Germany and Japan were occupied, and we had to find and develop policies that would enable the German and Japanese peoples to put their productive genius back to work. Great Britain and our continental allies were also in difficult circumstances. Despite its tremendous productive potential, the European economy was nearing a catastrophic collapse. There seemed to be no prospect that ordinary methods could bring about a recovery in time to avoid chaos.

Bold action was called for. We responded with the Marshall plan, which made an historic contribution to the restoration of economic health and vigor in Western Europe. Our policies in Germany and Japan were remarkably effective in helping to reestablish an economic base that could support democratic institutions. Success came rapidly. By the early fifties, nearly all of the industrialized states of the free world were beginning to push ahead on their own power.

As the need for American aid to Western Europe tapered off, we turned our attention increasingly to the less developed countries, which now receive the great bulk of our assistance. We took an active role in the technical assistance efforts of the United Nations. We created a new lending institution of our own, the Development Loan Fund, to supplement the work of our long-established Export-Import Bank. We participated earlier this month in launching the new Inter-American Development Bank.² And we are now taking part, with like-minded countries, in establishing another new institution to be called the International Development Association,³ which will operate as an affiliate of the World Bank and which is designed to make capital available to the less developed countries on flexible terms.

Postwar Trade Policies

Throughout the period of postwar reconstruction we vigorously put forward our firm belief that liberal international trade policies are essential to free-world economic progress. We have

² See p. 427.

³ See p. 422.

endeavored to demonstrate that belief in our own trade arrangements. Despite some setbacks, our overall record is one of which we can justly be proud. Until fairly recently, however, ours has been a rather lonely position. The industrial nations, with few exceptions, cling to exchange controls and severe quantitative import restrictions to protect their meager foreign exchange reserves. Many of the less developed countries also maintained import restrictions for balance-of-payments reasons. In addition most of them felt that a measure of protectionism would foster much needed industrial growth.

We were tolerant of the trade restrictions applied by our friends and partners during the era of the so-called dollar shortage. But today the situation is very different. Most of the industrial nations have built their gold and foreign exchange reserves to quite satisfactory levels and have made their currencies convertible in international trade. Their manufacturing industries are now generally competitive with ours. Meanwhile their gains in reserves have come largely from U.S. stocks, with U.S. balance-of-payments deficits running at far larger rates than can be long sustained. Throughout the past year, therefore, we have been making it clear that we believe recovery has proceeded to a point where restrictions on trade imposed to meet the financial problems of a decade ago can no longer be justified.

Fortunately the need to do away with discriminations against imports from the dollar area has been recognized by the other industrialized nations and in some of the newly developing areas as well. Action to eliminate discriminations recently taken by Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Netherlands, and India has left only a few remaining discriminations against dollar goods in these countries. During the last 6 months, steps to substantially lessen discriminatory restrictions were also taken by France, Germany, Japan, Finland, Turkey, Spain, Singapore, Malaya, Ghana, and British East Africa. This progress continued last month, when Portugal, Kenya, the United Kingdom, Japan, and Italy announced that discriminatory restrictions on many products from the dollar area would be eliminated.

The drive to remove quantitative import restrictions on dollar goods has received so constructive

a response and has developed such momentum that we can look forward confidently to further advances in the coming months. We can reasonably hope that by the end of the year discrimination against our exports will be almost a thing of the past.

As a result of these moves, potential markets for many important American products, covering a wide range of our industrial, consumer, and agricultural output, have greatly increased. This is true not only in the industrialized countries but also in the newly developing lands, whose present need is for capital goods but whose peoples will eventually offer a tremendous market for consumer goods.

But the opening of long-closed markets does not in itself guarantee a rise in our exports. It *does* provide the needed opportunity—but it is up to private American business to capitalize on this opportunity. A substantial export surplus has become a vital necessity if we are to continue to carry our free-world responsibilities. We in Government are determined to do everything in our power to help in this export drive.

Accordingly the Department of State is working with the Department of Commerce and other agencies in giving urgent attention to this vital matter. We are studying means of stimulating a greater interest in foreign trade in American business circles and of providing better United States Government facilities, both at home and abroad, to assist American firms in selling their goods and services to foreign countries.

The Department of State has, of course, a very strong interest in this program, and we are seeking ways of improving the operations of our commercial staffs abroad. We also intend to make full use of all the members of our diplomatic missions and consular offices in expanding United States exports. We are giving greater attention to increased United States participation in trade fairs. And we are intensifying our efforts to promote travel to the United States.

Common Market and Free Trade Association

Other problems related to trade have recently been emerging in connection with the European Economic Community, or Common Market, and the European Free Trade Association.

The Common Market will bring together the six countries of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium,

the Netherlands, and Luxembourg in a full customs union, with free trade inside the market and a common external tariff. The Community will also develop other common financial and administrative institutions. The European Free Trade Association, on the other hand, provides for free trade, without a common external tariff, among the seven countries of the United Kingdom, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Portugal, and Austria.

It is our purpose to work with the countries of both the Common Market and the Free Trade Association to reduce trade difficulties between them and with other countries, to avoid new discriminations against our own exports, and to encourage them to reduce tariffs in accordance with the basic principles of the GATT. In this way we hope also to ease frictions between the members of the two groups.

The problem of world trade goes hand in hand with the complex and difficult problem of stimulating growth in the newly developing countries. This task will require the combined energies and talents of the entire free world for many years to come. The United States cannot provide the needed capital alone. We do not propose to diminish our own role. But Western Europe and Japan, because of the great improvement in their monetary reserves, are now financially capable of mounting a sizable effort which could powerfully assist our own, thereby greatly adding to the overall strength and cohesion of the free world.

There is also the problem of how the great energies of private enterprise—American, European, Canadian, and Japanese—can be mobilized for the development task. Ways must be found to increase the flow of private capital and initiative to the developing countries if the basic free-world resource we call private enterprise is to make its fullest contribution to growth. If we are to have the resources to do these things, our own growth in North America and in Western Europe must be accelerated.

There is still another long-range problem which the industrialized free nations will have to face with growing urgency in the years ahead. It is the acceptance into their own markets of raw commodities produced by the newly developing nations today and of the manufactured goods they will produce tomorrow. None of these nations will be satisfied to remain a one-commodity area

forever. They all insist on diversifying their economies and on raising their standards of living by industrialization and by world trade in a variety of goods.

New Approach to Economic Growth

These, then, are the major economic problems facing us as we enter the sixties. We in Government have asked ourselves three questions:

First, how can we help to redirect the emerging trade rivalries within Western Europe into constructive channels which will reinforce, rather than weaken, worldwide trade and will avoid the risk of serious harm to our exports and those of other friendly countries?

Second, how can we help mobilize the energies and resources of the other industrialized free nations to assist the development-hungry areas of the world?

Third, how can we work together to maintain a rapid rate of sustained growth in the economies of the industrialized free nations themselves?

In considering these questions, it is readily apparent that bold action is called for in the sixties, just as it was in the forties. We have responded with a new approach to the task of stimulating free-world economic growth—an approach designed to meet the problems of the future.

This approach, which I had the privilege of outlining last month in Paris⁴ before a special meeting of the 20 governments which are members or associates of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, has three basic elements:

First, the linking of North America with our friends in Europe in terms of broad, coordinated economic policies which would provide for close cooperation in a wide range of matters. This involves reorganizing or reinvigorating the OEEC, which was originally established to assist in the most effective use of Marshall plan funds and which has continued to serve as a forum for cooperation in trade and other economic fields. A special committee of four, nominated by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Greece and roughly representative of the different economic interests in the OEEC, has been asked to determine how the work of the 18-member OEEC can best be revitalized and broadened through a successor organization in which the

⁴ BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139.

United States and Canada would also become full members. OEEC has succeeded outstandingly in its major tasks, but many of the functions for which it was originally created have now been largely accomplished. It can, however, serve as the foundation for a reconstituted organization geared to the challenges of the sixties. The special committee is now consulting interested governments and organizations and is expected to report its preliminary findings to the 20 governments early in April.

The second element of our proposal is the establishment of an interim group where the nations best able to provide bilateral capital assistance to the developing countries can discuss common problems in this field. Such discussions are needed because the urgent task of increasing the overall level of assistance to the developing countries cannot await the formation of the new permanent organization. This interim development assistance group will include the United States, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Portugal, and a representative of the Commission of the European Economic Community. We also hope that Japan will join in its activities. The first meeting of the group, which is to be held in Washington next month, will launch a series of consultations in which we will exchange ideas and experiences with a view to increasing the total amount of assistance available for development purposes.

The third and final element of our proposal is an examination of the problems of commercial policy to which I have referred in connection with the Six and the Seven. The 20 governments and representatives of the Commission of the EEC which attended the meetings in Paris last month are participating in a committee on trade to look into these questions. In establishing the committee, it was agreed that it should also keep very much in mind the commercial interests of countries not included in the Six or the Seven. In line with this objective, the Executive Secretary of the GATT is to participate in the committee's discussions, which will begin some weeks hence.

I am pleased to be able to report that our initiative has been well received by our friends and allies. The Paris meetings at which agreement was reached on these three proposals took place only a month ago. Yet officials of the participat-

ing governments had scarcely returned to their desks before work began in earnest preparation for carrying out the tasks we have set for ourselves. Although we are embarked on long-range projects, we are approaching them with a sense of urgency which the problems of stimulating free-world economic growth in the sixties manifestly require.

We are looking forward with considerable anticipation to the results of these meetings, which have been launched in a genuine spirit of cooperation. We hope and expect that they will result in progress in coping with some of the free world's trade problems. Perhaps most important is the fact that there is now a great awareness in Western Europe of the increasing role which Europe is bound to play in providing assistance to the developing countries, and that there exists a very genuine desire on the part of the other capital-exporting nations to cooperate in this common endeavor which is so vital to the preservation of freedom.

We are indeed coming into a whole new era in free-world economic growth. We are on the threshold of a major breakthrough. If the response of our friends and allies to our initiative of last month is as constructive and as generous as I have reason to believe it will be, then we need have little fear for the future. The great steps we are about to take toward freer trade and accelerated economic progress can carry us forward to new heights of prosperity and well-being as members of a peaceful and secure community of free nations which offers maximum opportunity for every human being to know a better life.

King and Queen of Denmark To Visit the United States

White House press release dated February 24

The White House announced on February 24 that Their Majesties the King and Queen of Denmark have accepted the President's invitation to visit the United States. Their Majesties will be in the United States for a state visit beginning in early October. During the period of their stay King Frederik and Queen Ingrid will officially inaugurate the Danish exhibition "The Arts of Denmark" in New York City.

The American Role in Pacific Asian Affairs

by J. Graham Parsons

Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs¹

Mr. Chairman and members of the Wisconsin Bar Association, I wish to express my great appreciation to you for inviting me to be present as a speaker on foreign affairs. It is a privilege to be here before you to present the Department of State's case on matters which concern us all. We in the Department welcome such evidence of interest in the problems we deal with and value the opportunity of discussing with you some of the more pressing of these problems. For our part, we are ever mindful of the fact that "our business is your business" and that the way we handle this business is vital to all of us and to our children. We also realize that, if the policies we advocate and the actions we take do not have the understanding and support of the American people, we may not carry them forward but must find other courses which do have public support.

The Near West

The problems I deal with have to do with the Far East, as your chairman made clear in his introduction. It is a misnomer, however, for us in North America to speak of the "Far East." We Americans, who border on two great oceans, should more properly speak of the Far East as the "Near West." Actually, in the shrinking world of today, it is near. You can board an airliner hereabouts and be in Tokyo in 20 hours or so.

Apart from being 180° off course, there is another strike against the term "Far East." It is a European term, and it reminds Asians of the colonial past. That era is gone. Of the 11 Asian countries with which our bureau in the Depart-

ment deals, 8 are newly independent, while for the 3 who were sovereign before World War II—China, Japan, and Thailand—the circumstances are also vastly different from prewar days. The free peoples of Asia are determined to eliminate the remnants of colonialism, which is still a recent, unhappy memory and a sensitive subject. They may not express to us an aversion to the term "Far East," but I mention this as a reminder that the new and promising relationship we have with these Asian peoples requires a continuing sensitive adjustment on all fronts, political, economic, social, and psychological.

The Communist Threat

It is an unfortunate fact that the free countries of Asia have been born, or reincarnated, at a time of crisis in the history of mankind. Nationalism, that is to say, the aspiration of peoples to be themselves, is threatened by its antithesis, international communism. The threat is compounded of course by the Communist propaganda pretense of being the friend and benefactor of nationalism and the foe of "colonialism and imperialism." And yet, in the postwar period, it is the Communists who have taken over 12 countries and the former colonial powers who now have sovereign, equal relations with 33 countries, former dependencies.

Like all new things, these new countries were weak at birth. When our own country adopted its Constitution in 1789, it was no exception. We are all familiar with the difficulties our Founding Fathers faced in knitting together a united nation from 13 individual colonies. But we were protected by oceans and distance and had plenty of time at our disposal.

¹Address made before the Wisconsin Bar Association at Milwaukee, Wis., on Feb. 19 (press release 76).

In contrast, a glance at a map will show us that the free countries of east and southeast Asia are all islands or peninsulas dispersed around the central land mass of Communist China, whose aim is to dominate and communize them. This is the fateful central fact with which our policy toward the region must deal. It explains why our China policy is intimately bound up with their political and economic futures and with the right of the peoples of this vast region to work out their destinies in freedom.

I have said that many of the new countries were weak at birth. Between them and Communist China there is an obvious imbalance of power which, if not redressed, renders their prospects precarious. This is a matter of great significance for the United States, and it led us to the conviction that our first task in the region is to assist the survival of these countries. That is why there is emphasis on military aspects in our aid programs and posture in the area. Security is the basic essential. First, as a necessary deterrent to Communist attacks, we maintain bases and sea power in the region from which our strength may be quickly projected to meet a variety of situations. Also to promote security we render assistance to local forces through our military assistance program so that these countries may increasingly guard against subversion within and interference from without. In addition we have concluded bilateral mutual defense treaties with some of these countries, including Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and the Republic of China. Finally, just as we and others joined NATO to provide collective security in the Atlantic area, so have we joined with seven other countries to form the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

It is sometimes argued that our policy is thus provocative to Communist China. Actually the exact reverse is true. Our collective security structure was developed only *after* unprovoked Communist aggression against Korea. Our mutual defense treaty with the Republic of China was drawn up only *after* Communist China's attacks on Quemoy in 1954. SEATO came into being only *after* the fall of Dien Bien Phu, when Communist armies were threatening to overrun all of southeast Asia.

Going even further back, we were aware of the Chinese Communist hostility toward ourselves and the free nations of Asia even before the Peiping regime came to power in 1949. For ex-

ample, an article written on November 1, 1948, by Liu Shao-chi, Communist China's Chief of State and second most powerful leader after Mao Tse-tung, declared that the world was divided into two mutually antagonistic camps—the so-called “anti-imperialist” camp headed by the Soviet Union and containing the so-called “peoples’ democratic” of Europe and Asia, and the “imperialist” camp made up of the United States and its “stooges.” Declaring that these two camps were in “direct conflict” and that neutrality was impossible, he called on the so-called “peoples’ democratic forces” in all countries to unite with the Soviet Union in order to “defeat the American imperialist plans for world enslavement.” This statement reveals clearly not only that Communist China was implacably hostile to ourselves and to our friends and allies but that the Peiping regime wanted us out of the western Pacific area so that our presence would not block its plans for future expansion.

There has been no change in Communist China's views. During the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1955, Mao Tse-tung said to a Communist news correspondent that it was the task of the people of the world, and particularly the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, to put an end to what he called “the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, namely the United States imperialism.” Repeatedly Peiping radio called upon us to leave the western Pacific.

Despite longstanding Chinese Communist hostility toward us, we did not automatically adopt a similar policy of hostility toward them. When they came to power, and in an attempt to sound out Peiping's intentions toward us, we left our diplomatic and consular representatives on the China mainland until they were driven out by deliberate Chinese Communist persecution. On January 5, 1950, President Truman made it clear in a public statement regarding Formosa¹ that the United States would not use its armed forces to interfere in the situation and would “not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa.” In a press conference on the same day the Secretary of State said: “We are not going to get involved militarily in any way on the Island of Formosa.” It was not until after the Communists began their aggression in Korea in June 1950 that President Truman sent the 7th

¹ Bulletin of Jan. 16, 1950, p. 79.

Fleet into the Taiwan Strait area to protect the flank of the United Nations forces. Military aid to the Republic of China on Taiwan was begun only after the Chinese Communists' intervention in Korea.

This, then, is the origin of the so-called military preoccupation of the U.S. in east and southeast Asia. Out of the fires of Communist aggression in Korea and elsewhere we have forged a protective shield for ourselves and for our free Asian neighbors. It has served them—and us—well these past 5 years. We cannot afford to put it down until the threat to freedom abates.

Improving the Life of the Peoples of the Region

While our first task is contributing to the survival of these new countries, their peoples, like people everywhere, demand more than survival. After ages of relatively static, albeit highly developed, societies, they now have new horizons and they aspire to a better material, cultural, and spiritual life. As they succeed in this objective, both with our help and that of others similarly motivated, so will they consolidate the foundations of their national existence. Therefore, as our second major objective, we seek to promote self-sustaining economies to enable the free countries to achieve the rate of progress they desire without sacrificing human values as do the Communists. To the extent that we succeed in helping to promote the healthy growth of these new countries, the objectives of the international Communists become more difficult to attain.

The Chinese Communists recognize this and seek to prevent stabilization. It is for this reason that all along their borders truculence, aggressiveness, and constant military, economic, political, and psychological pressures are their order of the day—as, for instance, their probing action in the Taiwan Strait in 1958, their support for the Communist attacks in Laos in 1959, their political and economic pressures against Japan in 1958 and 1959, and their incursions along the Indian border in 1959. This is normal Chinese Communist behavior, which experience has taught us to expect regardless of any propaganda from Peiping about “peaceful coexistence” and the “Bandung spirit” and regardless of successive zigs and zags in their tactics of the moment.

A byproduct of such Communist Chinese activities is a growing awareness among Asian peoples of Communist China's motivations. Out of these

disillusioning Communist acts and our contrasting positive assistance has come a better understanding of our own motivations, of our willingness and ability to live up to our obligations, and of the contribution U.S. power makes to the security of each Asian nation threatened with Communist aggression. The well-known news correspondent, Ernest Lindley, recently wrote following a tour of free Asia that a pronounced trend is developing there toward a more realistic appreciation for and understanding of the United States and its role in deterring Communist aggression. If such a trend has developed, it could not have happened without the stimulus of policies and actions which we have initiated in the last decade.

What of the Future?

You may agree that “so far so good” but point out that no real solutions of our problems are in sight. Communist China exists and is growing stronger. We cannot afford to ignore or turn our backs on 600 million Chinese. You may suggest we must therefore have a new policy.

Let us take a look at that proposition. First of all, I think that one of our better qualities as Americans is the restless driving urge we seem to have for finding something better. On the other hand, when we are faced with a particularly stubborn problem, we must not let this urge lead us to advocate change just for the sake of change in the wishful hope that all will turn out for the best. Nor should we turn to a new policy on the mere assumption that, since the problem is still with us, the old policy must be ineffective. Before a group of lawyers such as this, I do not need to labor that point. However, having made it, I would like to go on and say that we would be derelict in our responsibility if we did not welcome constructive thinking from whatever quarter, did not search for new and promising ideas, did not keep our minds open, ready to agree when some new policy or course of action was demonstrably better adapted to serve the broad national interest. It is in that spirit that we try to approach this very vital problem of China policy.

A New China Policy?

During the last few months there have been a number of widely publicized proposals from various sources for a new China policy. Here with you I would like to take a look at one or two which

are both carefully prepared and which represent a variant of an often-proposed solution known as the "two Chinas" policy.

The proponents of the "two Chinas" solution argue somewhat as follows:

U.S. China policy has as its primary objective the containment of Communist China by isolating it from the rest of the world. Such a policy, they say, is unrealistic in that it ignores Communist China's rapid growth into a strong economic and political force in Asia which cannot for long be held back by anything we do from assuming an important international role; it cuts off all contacts between the 600 million people on the China mainland and the people of the United States; it precludes any chance of arriving at a modus vivendi with Communist China in which major issues separating Communist China and the United States may be settled by negotiation; and it is unpopular with our friends and allies. They conclude that the United States should abandon this policy, which, in their opinion, by its inflexibility only drives the Chinese Communists closer into the arms of the Soviet Union, and should explore more dynamic alternatives aimed at the establishment of a basis for negotiating at least some of our difficulties with the Peiping regime. In the meantime, since our support for Taiwan is one of the major sources of tension between Peiping and ourselves, the critics suggest that we should seek to create a situation in which we can maintain our commitments toward Taiwan *as Taiwan*, not as the representative of China, and in which Communist China can be accepted by us as the spokesman of the people on the China mainland.

I would like now to discuss this line of argument, point by point. First, we do not ignore Communist China's growth into a strong economic and political force; as a matter of prudence we must accept this fact and our policy seeks to deal with it. Indeed, it is imperative that all Americans understand that in this new decade of the sixties Communist China may well grow yet stronger and the threat it poses to its neighbors may become still more dangerous. Faced with this prospect our policy must continue to pro-

note the development and strengthening of the free countries, not merely the "containment" of Red China.

Parenthetically, let me note here that the Draconian measures adopted by the Peiping regime to speed its industrialization campaign have unquestionably caused widespread resentment among the Chinese people, especially in the countryside, where most of the population dwells. Although the regime appears to be firmly entrenched, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the pent-up animosities of the people, especially if they should infect the armed forces, might bring about the violent destruction of the regime from within. We have seen before that police states can be brittle, hard without but rotting within. However, the point is that our China policy is not grounded in an expectation of collapse. It would be folly to base our policy on such calculations.

But simply because we cannot prevent Communist China from increasing its power in absolute terms does not mean that we should therefore abandon a policy which seeks to offset such growth; far less should we adopt measures which might abet it. So long as Peiping is dedicated to using its growing strength for aggressive purposes, we must adhere to measures designed to cope with that strength.

To saddle our policy with the responsibility for cutting off contact between the people of mainland China and the people of the U.S. is simply to ignore the record. I have already recalled that the U.S. retained its Embassy and principal consular establishments on the mainland following the imposition of Communist rule but that after some months we were compelled to withdraw them. At the same time many hundreds of private American citizens who had remained on the China mainland after the Communist takeover also found themselves systematically harried until they left, and American-supported institutions were liquidated or taken over by the Communists. Several dozen American citizens were imprisoned, and many others were subjected to other harassments. In short, the Peiping regime from its inception pursued a deliberate policy of obliterating contacts between the American and Chinese people which had been built up over a century. By the fall of 1950 we were engaged in bloody combat with so-called "volunteer" Chinese Communist forces in Korea. Under these circumstances it

was the duty of your State Department to prohibit American citizens to travel in Communist China, where they could obviously enjoy no semblance of protection.

Nevertheless, in the summer of 1957 the Department announced that it would validate passports for travel to Communist China for a substantial group of journalists.³ This move was made on an experimental basis. While under our laws the reciprocal admission of an equal number of Chinese correspondents cannot be guaranteed in advance, we have made it clear that the Secretary of State would be prepared to ask the Attorney General for waivers in individual cases. No Chinese Communist correspondent has applied for entry into the U.S., and, with one exception, no U.S. correspondent with a validated passport has been granted permission by the Chinese Communists to enter mainland China. It is clear that the whole issue was a typical Communist propaganda hoax and that the Peiping regime was not and is not really interested in an exchange of journalists with us. This, of course, is but one of many indications that the Chinese Communists do not relish objective inquiry, nor do they want contacts except on their terms.

The charge that our China policy precludes any chance of arriving at a *modus vivendi* with Communist China on major issues through negotiation again turns matters upside down. We have negotiated or attempted to negotiate with the Chinese Communists ever since 1953—or since 1951 if you include the protracted Korean armistice negotiations at Panmunjom. We have had, since 1955, 95 meetings in Geneva and Warsaw at the ambassadorial level. Our experience with these negotiations has demonstrated that the only *modus vivendi* that could be worked out with the Chinese Communists would be one based on surrender to their terms. These terms, when defined in their simplest form, are that the U.S. get out of the west Pacific and leave the countries of east and southeast Asia to cope with Peiping as best they can, separately and alone. Considering the vast disparity in power and resources between Communist China and the other countries of the region, such a retreat from responsibility on the part of the United States would be fatal. Yet this, in essence, is what Peiping offers us as a basis for negotiation.

I will not deny that our China policy—at least some fundamental aspects of it, such as our opposition to seating the Peiping regime in the United Nations—has been unpopular in some countries. I do deny that differing views on China policy, for example with India, have been a significant stumbling block in our relations with such countries. Of much greater importance is the fact that countries in east and southeast Asia, who have felt and continue to feel threatened by Chinese Communist power, do not ask us to change our policy. In fact, any hint or rumor that we might retreat from it is a source of profound disquiet to them. It is significant, furthermore, that, in the area with which my bureau deals, 10 of the 13 countries do not recognize Communist China. Only one has recognized that regime since 1950. Moreover, as I have already noted, understanding and appreciation of our China policy has greatly increased in the area, particularly in the past year and a half, as a result of the growing awareness among its governments and peoples of the threat posed by Chinese Communist policy.

The claim that the Government of the Republic of China cannot adequately represent 600 million people on the mainland from whom it has been almost totally cut off for nearly 10 years is a plausible one. On the other hand, the Chinese Communist regime took power by force of arms and maintains itself by the highly developed and ruthlessly applied techniques of a police state. It is the Republic of China which adheres to the traditional values and culture of the gifted Chinese people, and even today I venture to say that it is more representative of the feelings and thoughts of the mass of the people than is the regime in Peiping. Indeed the very bitterness with which Peiping assails Taipei is evidence of the value of an alternate and truly Chinese focus of loyalty to Chinese everywhere, on the mainland, in southeast Asia, and overseas. It so happens that only 3 days ago, in his message on the Mutual Security Program,⁴ the President referred to the vigorous and skilled population on Taiwan, which through economic reform and development has achieved a standard of living in Asia second only to that of Japan. Under its leadership, which is derived from all parts of the country, the Republic of China has the potential, as the President

³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1957, p. 420.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Mar. 7, 1960, p. 369.

noted, for a pace and degree of development in excess of that under totalitarian methods.

I would like next to deal briefly with the proposition that U.S. policy has driven the Chinese Communist regime into the arms of the Soviet Union. Again the record refutes the charge. Long before our present China policy was evolved, the Chinese Communists lined themselves up solidly with the Soviet Union. This relationship was formally established by an alliance between Peiping and Moscow concluded in February 1950. At that time we were still maintaining consular establishments on the mainland and had publicly declared a hands-off policy with regard to Formosa. We had no prohibition against travel and no embargo on trade.

The Sino-Soviet alliance was a logical and inevitable consequence of a policy often proclaimed even before the Communists came to power. Mao Tse-tung, as well as Lin Shao-chi, had declared that the world was divided into two camps, socialist and imperialist, and that China would join the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. This fundamental decision of foreign policy (which, I repeat, long antedates the current China policy of the U.S.) springs from Mao's deep-rooted Marxist-Leninist convictions. The Chinese Communist Party was organized in 1921 with a Comintern agent named Maring playing a leading role. As late as 1927 directives to the Chinese Communist Party emanated from the Soviet Legation in Peking before it was closed by the Chinese authorities. The party has ever acknowledged Moscow as the head of the socialist camp, it has ever opposed what it calls imperialism, and it denies flatly that a third or neutral road exists.

It is true that recently we have seen some signs of differences between Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev over interpretations of Communist doctrine and foreign policy tactics. Yet there has never been any convincing evidence that Mao has considered any other course than that of solid alignment with the Soviet Union, which each partner believes to be of great political, military, and economic advantage for his own purpose. In recent years, especially since the first Soviet sputnik in 1957, Mao has talked not just about inevitable Communist victory but has declared that the Communists are even now winning, or, to use his language, "The East wind is prevailing over the West wind." Mao's confidence that the tide

of Communist victory is now rushing in cannot be reconciled with any expectation that he is prepared to abandon a policy of alignment with Moscow if an acceptable *modus vivendi* could be worked out between Communist China and the U.S. Any U.S. effort to this end would inevitably be regarded as evidence of weakness and would be exploited to the utmost.

This brings me to the final argument advanced by these critics of our China policy, namely, that we should create a situation in which we can maintain our commitments to Taiwan as Taiwan and accept Peiping as the spokesman for mainland China. Oftand many people find this idea attractive, because it appears to reflect the situation as it actually exists, with the territory of China for 10 years now divided between two hostile groups. They therefore suggest the best way out of the dilemma, and the danger, posed by this situation is to work out an agreement which formalizes and accepts the *status quo* under appropriate guarantees. A basic weakness of this suggestion is that the "two Chinas" concept in any way, shape, or form is totally unacceptable both to the Republic of China and the Chinese Communist regime. It is in fact the one issue on which they agree. Ironically, one of Peiping's principal propaganda themes is that the United States is attempting to impose just such a solution. The Chinese Communists have made it repeatedly clear in every conceivable way that they will have nothing to do with such a proposal; yet it is constantly put forward by critics of our China policy as though it were a practical basis for negotiating a stable, lasting settlement. To propose as a serious basis for negotiation with Peiping a concept which it has repeatedly and vitriolically rejected and to which our ally, the Republic of China, is bitterly opposed, is merely to expose ourselves to ridicule by the Communists and to mistrust by our ally. We should also stop to consider the principle involved. Despite the disparity of its components, China is a divided country, just as are Viet-Nam and Korea—also Germany. Do we wish to advocate a similar solution repugnant to these allies too?

What we have done, and are doing, with regard to the Taiwan Strait problem, recognizing its inherent dangers, is to concentrate on mitigating them. To this end we have made it clear to Peiping we will not tolerate a solution by force.

When Peiping forced a crisis in late August 1958 in the Taiwan Strait, it saw that we were firm and it left off further probing. At the same time, in the Warsaw negotiations we have called upon the Chinese Communists to cease fire, to renounce force, and to seek a peaceful solution. On the other hand, by means of the joint communique issued by President Chiang and the late Secretary John Foster Dulles on October 23, 1958,⁵ the Republic of China made it clear that it would pursue its policies in the area primarily by political rather than military means.

Conclusion

This brings me to my conclusion in regard to China and the Far East—or Near West. It has two parts.

First, I share the conclusion of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund report on U.S. foreign policy:⁶ "Toward mainland China the alternatives of policy are, for the short run, lacking in creative possibilities."

Second, I am convinced that our China policy is not a thing which can be dealt with in isolation because it is intimately related to the future of the whole area. Viewed in this light it has demonstrated very real, creative possibilities. Under the policy which we have followed there has been survival, consolidation, and growth in the free countries of Asia, including the Republic of China. Communist aggression in Korea and Indochina has not again been attempted. Communist terrorists no longer run riot in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Communist probes in the Taiwan Strait and Laos were damped down. This has permitted the work of creation to go on in the new countries and the work of sound re-creation to go on in Japan. Our policy and presence *has* redressed the balance in this great area in the critical and turbulent decade of the 1950's and has brought about a measure of stabilization. We must take care now not to unsettle the balance by other alternatives of policy which could under present circumstances have only disastrous possibilities for the cause of freedom.

Finally, under the present alternative of policy, there are further and great creative possibilities

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1958, p. 721.

⁶ *The Mid-Century Challenge to U.S. Foreign Policy*, Doubleday and Co., Inc., Garden City, N.Y.

for all of these free countries if, in our relations with them, we continue also our policies of collective security, of mutual assistance, of warm and sensitive appreciation of their aspirations and their problems, and of sympathetic understanding of their views of us. To believe less, to believe that a policy which has helped so much to take them and us this far will not take us further, is almost to deny faith in the capacity of free peoples to build their own lives under a free system. However, a great responsibility still rests upon us to endure, to be strong, to be patient, and to devote the resources required to meet this crucial and persistent challenge. I am sure that our country, which has done so much, will not falter.

U.S. Makes Annuity Payment to Republic of Panama

Press release 83 dated February 25

The Department of State announced on February 25 that it has paid the annuity of \$1,930,000 due the Republic of Panama in 1960. The remittance of this amount each year is provided for under the terms of treaties between the two countries with respect to the rights, powers, and privileges granted to the United States in the Canal Zone. Under the provisions of the Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation of 1955,¹ the amount of the annual payment was increased from \$430,000 to \$1,930,000.

Yugoslav Atomic Energy Officials Visit U.S.

Press release 86 dated February 26

A group of five officials representing the Yugoslav Federal Commission for Nuclear Energy is scheduled to arrive in the United States February 27. During a 3-week stay, the group will travel extensively and will have an opportunity to visit various installations of the Atomic Energy Commission as well as a commercial power plant utilizing atomic energy. They will also discuss with United States officials possible United States-

¹ For text of the treaty and accompanying memorandum, see BULLETIN of Feb. 7, 1955, p. 238.

Yugoslav cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The group is headed by Slobodan Nakicenovic, Under Secretary of State in the Federal Commission for Nuclear Energy, and includes Salom Suica, Anton Moljk, Drago Baum, and Zdenko Dizdar.

It is expected that the visit will include stops

at Oak Ridge National Laboratory at Oak Ridge, Tenn., the Argonne National Laboratory at Lemont, Ill., the Dresden Nuclear Power Station of the Commonwealth Edison Company at Morris, Ill., the National Reactor Testing Station at Idaho Falls, Idaho, the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley, Calif., and the Brookhaven National Laboratory at Upton, N.Y.

Intelligence Estimating and National Security

by Allen W. Dulles

*Director of Central Intelligence*¹

One of the most satisfying aspects of our work in the intelligence field has been the contribution that leaders in the field of science and technology have made to it. I have never known a time when we have called upon any of you and your colleagues in various fields of scientific endeavor without having a wholehearted response, no matter the time, the trouble, and the sacrifice involved. I want to thank you now and, through you, your colleagues in other scientific fields.

In the Central Intelligence Agency we have built up an Office of Scientific Intelligence under the able direction of Dr. Herbert Scoville. It is prepared to meet our growing responsibilities in the field of science and to serve as a point of liaison with you and others in the scientific community.

There is something about intelligence that seems to get into the blood.

My own relationship to intelligence goes back at least 40 years when as a young Foreign Service officer I became involved in intelligence work during World War I—first in Austria-Hungary before we entered the war, then in Switzerland, and later at the peace conference of Versailles in 1919.

Then again I came back to intelligence work for about 4 years in World War II. I shall not

soon forget the day back in the spring of 1943 when I secured my first hard evidence of the German development at Penemunde of its missiles, the V-1 and the V-2. I can truthfully say that my background in missile intelligence goes back about 17 years. It remains our highest priority.

With the end of World War II, I settled back into the practice of the law. But again I could not resist the lure of the trade, and in 1948 I accepted President Truman's invitation to join with two fellow lawyers in preparing, for the National Security Council, a study on the legislation which had set up the Central Intelligence Agency. I refer to the National Security Act of 1947, which also established the Department of Defense, provided for the unification of the military services, and established the National Security Council.

The CIA had then been functioning only about a year, but the question was whether its legislative framework was adequate for the job. In due course, after a year of intermittent work, we submitted our report and considered our job completed. We had, however, committed the unpardonable sin of telling others how a job should be done. I warn you all not to do this unless you are looking for trouble.

Shortly after our report was filed in 1949, that dynamic military man and diplomat, General Bedell Smith, who is today fighting a brave, and

¹Address made before the Institute of Aeronautical Sciences at New York, N.Y., on Jan. 26.

I believe successful, battle against critical illness, was named Director of Central Intelligence. He dusted off the report of our little committee and in his inimitable manner called the authors of the report on the telephone and told us in no uncertain terms that we should come down to Washington for a few weeks and try to explain what we were trying to say and, if it made sense, help him put it into effect.

We could not fail to respond, and so about 10 years ago I went to work at the Central Intelligence Agency for a 6 weeks' tour of duty. I have been there ever since.

The years since 1947, when the CIA was organized, have hardly been sufficient to put everything in order. In fact, if in intelligence one ever reaches any such state of complacency, it's about time to have one's head examined. I do feel, however, that real progress has been made over the last dozen years, but intelligence will never be an exact science. It deals not only with the hardware of national power and of battle but with the vagaries and uncertainties of human beings and human decisions. There are always scores of intangibles and unpredictable and, in fact, "unknowables."

The best one can do is to see that one's batting average is relatively high, that the predictable and the calculable are stated with the degree of certainty that the evidence permits, and that the best that one can distill out of available facts is brought concisely, objectively, and quickly to those who have the responsibility for policy and action.

Courage is also needed. Intelligence officers are all too prone to write their estimates so that no matter what happens they will have covered themselves. With this I have no patience.

In this intelligence task science, technology, electronics, and the aeronautical and affiliated sciences play a major role. I regret to state that the days are gone where one could place chief reliance on such tools of collection as the wiles of a Mata Hari. The beats of an electronic signal have come into their own. It takes some of the glamour out of the profession, but these scientific techniques do add an element of more certainty. And in the age of jet propulsion and ballistic missiles, speed and precision of reporting are two of the vital elements of our security.

Of course as the means of intelligence collection become more highly mechanized and complicated, the cost of intelligence to the taxpayer, like every-

thing else, is ascending and there is a need constantly to justify the money and the manpower which is put into it. If there is abroad a general impression, as I sometimes read in the press, that the work and cost of intelligence collection must be taken solely on faith and on the claims of the intelligence officer, I should like to scotch any such idea. More and more in the budgetary processes of government we are called upon to justify in detail the work for which the taxpayer is paying by the results we are achieving.

Need for Intelligence Work

It is probably not necessary to explain to a gathering such as this the need for intelligence. Sometimes, however, I do feel that a good share of the public considers intelligence work as a collateral need rather than a direct and vital element of our national security. History, I think, clearly gives the lie to any such conclusion.

Sometime I should like to find the leisure to write a book on the impact of intelligence successes and failures on the course of history. One might start with the Trojan Horse in 1200 B.C., when no one would listen to Cassandra, and with the fatal campaign of the Athenians against Syracuse. Coming down to more modern times, one could debate the consequences of the miscalculation of the Kaiser in 1914, and of Hitler in World War II, and not overlook our own Pearl Harbors.

Then there are the spectacular successes, like those of the highly competent spies of Joshua, who found shelter in Jericho with Rahab, the harlot, and the much more recent feat of British intelligence in deciphering the Zimmermann telegram in 1917, and the American intelligence prelude to the great victory in the Battle of Midway.

In time of war intelligence is often dramatic. In peacetime good intelligence rarely is spectacular. It can and ought to be quiet, inconspicuous, painstaking, but also guiding and safeguarding. It should warn in advance and help to stave off crises. It should also help affirmatively toward the development of a dynamic policy and strategy. If it does its job properly, it may never need to be sensational; it should not be publicized.

It is not my contention that all of the failures could have turned into successes, even if the intelligence had been near perfection and been heeded and even if the political and military leaders of the past who were interpreting the intelli-

gence had always had the wisdom of Socrates. Neither situation prevailed.

It is my contention, however, that it is possible somewhat to narrow the range of miscalculation by the continual improving of our intelligence and by perfecting the methods by which we get that intelligence quickly and clearly to those who have the duty of making great decisions. Here we are making real progress.

The experience of World War II taught us something which countries like the United Kingdom and most of the major European powers had learned well before us, namely, that an effective intelligence system is important to national security. In reaching this same decision in 1947 we did not attempt, and, I believe, wisely, to create a unitary system. Rather it is a coordinated, integrated system. The Central Intelligence Agency has large responsibilities for coordinating the overall intelligence effort but does not supplant the work of other agencies.

U.S. Intelligence Board

In the United States Intelligence Board, over which I have the honor to preside, we bring together the intelligence representatives of the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the military services, and others who have capabilities in the collection field or in the analysis of intelligence. Included on the Board are representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to aid where domestic intelligence matters have international implications, and of the Atomic Energy Commission with its expertise in the nuclear field. Of course we draw upon the great knowledge and experience of private organizations such as those which so many of you represent, and we benefit from the wisdom of our scholastic and educational institutions.

The United States Intelligence Board has the responsibility for analyzing all relevant intelligence collected by, or available to, all agencies of government. The resultant product, in the form of coordinated memoranda and estimates, attempts to cover on a worldwide basis the developing trends, military, political, and economic, which bear upon our national security.

It is our purpose to get our estimates out in time to be of use. Post mortems of lost opportunities are valuable to help us improve for the future;

they are of little use in developing a policy for the present.

The responsibility for effecting the coordination of intelligence and issuing the resulting product lies with the Central Intelligence Agency.

Soviet Veil of Secrecy

The analysis of human behavior, the anticipation of human reactions in a given situation, can never be assigned to a computer machine and sometimes baffles the cleverest analyst. We have, it is true, drawn up long lists of crises indicators to be checked off in various situations where belligerent or hostile actions are threatened. These lists, based on long experience, are useful, but the future is rarely like the past; and we only have some 40 years' experience in dealing with international communism of the Moscow variety and 10 years' experience with communism directed from Peiping.

Today in the Soviet Union more information is becoming available to the outside world than was the case in the past. This applies particularly to the development of Soviet peacetime economy, their competence in the various peaceful industrial fields, and their problems in trying to apply Marxist theories in agriculture, which has proved to be a costly and unsuccessful undertaking.

In the military area, however, the Soviets attempt, even today, to maintain as strict a veil of secrecy as in the old times of Stalin. As an exception, from time to time Mr. Khrushchev himself, as he has done in his own recent "state of the nation" address, tells us of his plans. Now he proposes to reduce his military manpower, to phase over from the bomber to the guided missile, and largely to abandon surface naval vessels and emphasize the submarine. Of course we have to analyze his statements in order to determine what part is hard fact and what part is said to beguile us.

The Kremlin's security is good, but a great deal is known to intelligence beyond the trickle of military information that is given out officially. In fact, the greater part of what Khrushchev has now told us about this military planning had been anticipated many months ago, and long since our estimates had been revised to take account of the slackening in aircraft production, the change in emphasis in the navy, and the Soviet's vigorous

and orderly program in the field of guided missiles.

The proposed reduction in military manpower comes somewhat belatedly as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. We ourselves had done this much earlier. For the Soviet it is in part a response to the change in emphasis as a result of new weaponry. It is also calculated to help meet the requirements of their industry for more manpower during this period when the Soviet is feeling the effects of the reduced birth rate of the war years.

Even after these announced reductions, however, we should not forget that the Soviets would retain a formidable balanced military establishment, in no way wholly dependent on their missile strength.

Assessing Soviet Capabilities and Intentions

The stress which Khrushchev has laid on ballistic missiles, or rockets, as he prefers to call them, and the resultant discussion in the Congress and in the press about where we stand in the missile race, has recently directed considerable attention to intelligence estimates. There seems to be some confusion about what I might call the methodology in their preparation. I should like to try to set this straight.

First: Our intelligence estimates do not attempt to give a comparative picture or net estimate as to where we stand vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R. in weaponry. We, in intelligence, are not authorities on American military programs. Naturally our own domestic experience and our knowledge as to the state of the art in this country are useful guides in judging others' capabilities. Our job is to determine where the Soviet Union now stands in the missile and other military fields and where it is going in the immediate future. We are not in the business of passing upon whether there is such a thing as a missile gap.

Second: The analysis of any given Soviet weapons system involves a number of judgments. These include, for example, Soviet capability to produce the system, probable Soviet inventories of the weapons system as of today, the role assigned to this system in Soviet military planning, the requirements the Soviet high command may lay down for the weapon over the future. All these judgments are to some degree interdependent. They lead to a calculation of how far and

how soon the Soviets are likely to develop the system. Manifestly this kind of estimating is of the highest importance to our own planning.

Third: It is difficult to predict how much emphasis will be given to any particular weapons system until the research and development stage has been completed, tests of effectiveness have been carried out, and the factories given the order to proceed with serial production. No group of people knows this better than you do as regards our own military program. Consequently in our estimates we generally stress capabilities in the early stages of Soviet weapons development, and then, as more hard facts are available, we estimate their probable programing, sometimes referred to as intentions.

Finally: What I am describing is not a new or novel procedure. Every estimate of this nature regarding military hardware, irrespective of the type of weapon, whether it be a missile, a submarine, or an airplane, goes through this general process of analysis in the intelligence community and has done so for many years. First we assess the Soviet capabilities in each of these fields, and then, as the evidence accumulates and as a pattern begins to emerge, we reach our estimate as to the likely construction program.

Intelligence Revisions Based on Soviet Cutbacks

The fact that in the later years of development we can crank into our estimates more of the elements of programing and future intentions than we can at the beginning does not indicate any change in the intelligence approach to the problem. It merely means that our sources of information in one year may permit of a judgment which is always needed by the planner but one which could not have been properly made earlier.

For example, in 1954 the Soviets began production of a heavy bomber comparable to our B-52. Every indication pointed to their having adopted this plane as a major element of their offensive strength and to an intention to produce these planes more or less as fast as they could. Based on our knowledge of their aircraft manufacturing industry we projected a buildup of this bomber force over the succeeding several years. We were certain that they had the *capability* to produce the numbers forecast; the available evidence indicated that they had the *intention* to translate this capability into a program.

But we naturally kept a close watch on the actual events. Production did not rise as rapidly as it could have. Evidence accumulated that the performance of the plane was less than satisfactory. Meanwhile we noted progress in their missile testing program. At some point, about 1957, the Soviet leaders decided that the heavy-bomber production should be held down to a minimum. In those days some people in this country were writing about the coming bomber gap.

As we gained evidence of that change in program, it became incumbent on us to revise our intelligence estimates, and we did so. The capability remained; the policy and hence the intent to go forward with the heavy bomber changed. This Khrushchev himself has now announced in his recent speech. In the field of naval surface forces and conventional submarines, Soviet policy went through a similar cycle in order to prepare for more sophisticated types of submarines. This has recently been alluded to by Khrushchev but was known to the intelligence community for many months.

No Tendency To Underestimate Soviet Progress

In citing these examples of cutbacks in the numbers of Soviet bombers and submarines, I do not wish to leave any impression that I think the Soviets will do the same in the long-range missile field. During this past year they have been carrying on an orderly program of flight-testing their missiles which permits certain conclusions to be drawn. Most recently, presumably for the propaganda effects they hope to gain and because they were running out of homeland space in which to test, they have advertised wherein the Pacific they proposed to target the tests of their space vehicles, or rockets, for the month ending February 15. Thus they flex their muscles in public, whereas in the past they have been doing it without publicity. They wish to call attention to the strength of their sinews.

There is no tendency in the intelligence community to underestimate Soviet sophistication in any phase of the missile field or the progress they have been making in developing their long-range missile system. We have not downgraded this system this year as contrasted with last year.

However, it would be just as wrong to let the Soviet talk the world into believing that the ICBM, powerful as it is, constitutes the only arma-

ment with which a country should equip itself. I believe that the Soviet are trying to take advantage of the publicity they have achieved with respect to both missile and space programs in order to make the unsophisticated believe that these achievements mean overall superiority in the military field. Such superiority, in the opinion of more qualified experts than I, does not exist.

Responsibility for Interpreting the Facts

In viewing problems such as the Soviet strategic attack capabilities with missiles and other weapons, we in the intelligence community are keenly aware of the impact which intelligence estimates may have upon our own military posture and our military programing. I can assure you that in preparing them we look to nothing but the available facts, disregarding all outside considerations, political, budgetary, or other. At times we have overestimated. At times we have underestimated. But looking back on the last few years with the benefit of hindsight, the record of estimating is creditable. Facts have no politics. We are diligently seeking and interpreting the facts without fear or favor.

As regards the influence of a particular department or service on our estimative process, I recognize that we are all human and have our prejudices and our strong convictions. I can also assure you that we have such a level of responsibility representing a broad cross section of both civilian and military participation on the United States Intelligence Board that there is little opportunity for parochial interests or considerations of any member to influence the final product. But if any member of the Board has a dissenting view on any issue, that member is entitled to express it as part of the estimate so that the policymaker can judge of it as such.

Feature of Accessibility

In addition to reaching sound intelligence judgments on the crucial issues of the day, the other major problem of the intelligence officer is to get the reports and estimates before the decision-making echelons of government. In our own Government this means, of course, that the intelligence goes primarily to the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the National Security Council. The latter is, in effect, the Pres-

ident in Council, to which the Central Intelligence Agency is under law primarily responsible. Of course, as we see today, intelligence is also made available to the Congress, as appropriate, to help in the legislative and appropriation processes.

Past history, as I suggested at the outset, is replete with instances where the intelligence was available but the intelligence officer fumbled in the handling of it, as well as instances where the intelligence was properly reported but not heeded.

At various times over the past 40 years I have served in one capacity or another under every President of the United States, beginning with Woodrow Wilson, and generally in some capacity related to intelligence. One of the great and continuing advantages we have enjoyed over our history is that we have been led by men who have come to their high positions deeply imbued with the democratic processes. As a part of this, our leaders have generally made themselves readily accessible to information from their subordinates and their intelligence officers. This feature of accessibility has been maintained by our Presidents despite the fact that the burdens on the Executive have been multiplying astronomically and the complexity of the problems before them, particularly in the field of our foreign relations, has been augmenting in geometric ratio. At the same time the period within which decisions have to be made has been steadily decreasing.

During the last 10 years that I have been in Washington, I have served under two Presidents of differing political parties. There never has been a time when the Director of Central Intelligence has not been able to get to the President in a matter of minutes on any issue that he considered of immediate importance.

Nor is this access limited to crises situations. On a daily basis we in the intelligence community have an opportunity to lay before the President and the leading officials of the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the National Security Council our appraisals of unfolding events of policy significance. This is supplemented by weekly oral briefings which I give to the National Security Council, covering important current events or dealing with the intelligence background of policy decisions that may be before the Council. Issues in our foreign relations these days do not always wait for the painstaking preparation of elaborate staff papers.

We have no reason to complain that we lack adequate opportunity to market our product. We have every incentive to see to it that our product contributes to our national security.

Facing the Relentless Soviet Competition

Those who work on intelligence are sometimes viewed as prophets of gloom. Personally I am an optimist but also, I trust, a realist, as are my associates in the intelligence community. Sometimes we do have to be the harbingers of ill tidings because it is our duty to report on activities in other lands which might detrimentally affect our own national security.

Today we have on the world scene the Soviet Union, Communist China, and the Communist bloc with their dynamic industrial, economic, and military programs, spearheading and directing Communist parties, Communist intrigues, and Communist subversion on a worldwide basis. We must recognize that we face stern and relentless competition.

It is Khrushchev's present expressed intention that this should be competition short of all-out war, but whatever may be our views of his intentions, certainly no other "holds" will be barred. When he speaks of coexistence, it is the type of coexistence that will leave the Soviet free to press forward on their mission to communize the world.

Today in the free world we have a great lead in our industrial and economic strength. It is more than twice that of the Soviet Union; and if we include our allies in the free world, while adding to the Soviet the present potential of Communist China and the satellites, the lead of the free world is still greater.

On the other hand, the peoples in the Communist nations are being driven to work harder to make their Communist system a universal one than we are working to assure ourselves that these aggressive and subversive aims are defeated.

So far the Soviet have shown great ability to channel their growing resources into fields which build up their national power, including their military might. Their leaders have succeeded in persuading their people to be content with a much smaller share than we of consumers goods and of what we consider the essentials to a well-rounded life, so that they, the Soviets, can build up their heavy industry, turn out military hardware, and have plenty left over to support international com-

munism. We believe that the value of their total annual military outlay approximately equals our own.

There is no cause, therefore, for us to view the future with any easy complacency.

Most of you are in a field of work which is closely related to our national security. You have a keen knowledge both of our own potential and

of the nature of the Soviet competition. As you return home from this conference, I trust that you will review the problems we all face in the world of today and in the light of your own experience see whether you can come up with any further ideas as to how we can better prepare ourselves to meet the Soviet challenge within the framework of our free institutions.

THE CONGRESS

Foreign Relations Aspects of Pilotage Requirements for Oceangoing Vessels on the Great Lakes

Following is a statement made by Ivan B. White, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, before the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on February 23 at a hearing on S. 3019, a bill "to provide for certain pilotage requirements in the navigation of United States waters of the Great Lakes, and for other purposes," together with the texts of aide memoire and supplementary letters exchanged between the United States and Canada.

Press release 79 dated February 23

STATEMENT BY MR. WHITE

My name is Ivan B. White, and I am Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. I appreciate having this opportunity to appear here in support of S. 3019.

The principal purposes of this bill are to establish pilotage requirements for oceangoing vessels in their navigation of United States waters of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River and to provide a basis for a regulated pilotage system to meet those requirements. Provision is made in the bill for the coordination of this system with a

regulated pilotage system of Canada in the Great Lakes waters of that country. As defined in the bill, the term "Great Lakes" means the Great Lakes, their connecting and tributary waters, the St. Lawrence River as far east as St. Regis, and adjacent port areas.

The foreign relations aspects of this bill are very important. Aside from any other considerations, the fact that United States-Canadian boundary waters are involved creates a practical necessity of having pilotage systems in the respective waters of the two countries which can be coordinated with each other. Moreover, previously proposed pilotage legislation has been the subject of protests from the Governments of Canada, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Western Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland, Italy, and the United Kingdom.

Consequently, and in line with the indicated desire of this committee and in view of the amendment to H.R. 57 proposed by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, the Department entered into a joint effort with the Coast Guard and the Department of Commerce to develop a draft bill that would take into consideration the various factors which have a bearing on

the pilotage of oceangoing vessels in the Great Lakes.

The Bureau of the Budget has contributed effective assistance and advice in the development of the bill, and contacts outside the Government having practical experience in pilotage and shipping matters have furnished exceedingly helpful information. Testimony presented at past congressional committee hearings on previously proposed legislation has likewise been most useful.

Development of the Bill

In the course of the development of the bill, constructive discussions took place between United States and Canadian officials. These discussions resulted in general agreement on desirable legislation as well as on other requirements for coordination between the two countries to provide for compatible systems of Great Lakes pilotage. The results of these discussions are indicated in an exchange of aide memoire and supplementary letters, copies of which are being made available for the information of the committee.

S. 3019 is the outcome of these interdepartmental activities as well as the discussions with Canadian officials, in the course of both of which Admiral Richmond¹ made important contributions. My statement will deal chiefly with the general background of the bill and features of the bill that have a bearing upon foreign relations.

The bill takes into consideration the testimony of a majority of the witnesses at House committee hearings last year that provision should be made for a regulated system of pilotage. Most of these witnesses favored the establishment of a joint United States-Canadian commission for this purpose. However, differing ideas were expressed as to the functions and powers of such a commission.

A study which preceded the development of S. 3019 likewise indicated that regulation by some authority is a necessary concomitant of compulsory pilotage in order to assure the availability of an adequately organized group of experienced pilots who will render required services in an efficient manner at rates and terms which will be fair and equitable for all concerned. The experience of states on the seacoast over a period of many decades has demonstrated the need for such

regulation, not only in the interest of efficiency and economy but of marine safety as well.

In the case of the Great Lakes, the necessity for regulation is further emphasized by the need for coordination between the United States and Canada in pilotage matters. Canada has a system of pilotage which is regulated by the Department of Transport of the Canadian Government, and a regulated system of pilotage for United States waters will evidently be required to provide an effective basis for coordination which will provide for equitable participation by United States and Canadian pilots in the pilotage of ocean vessels navigating the lakes, as well as for compatibility in regulations and operational matters on both sides of the boundary.

In the development of the provisions of the bill with regard to the regulation of pilotage, we have had the benefit of expert information furnished by Captain Hilton Lowe, president of the American Pilots Association. As a result of the material obtained from this and other sources, including our Canadian friends, provision has been made in S. 3019 for a regulated system which incorporates essential elements of some State pilotage systems, with such adaptations as are required to meet conditions on the Great Lakes and coordination with the regulated system of Canada. Among these adaptations is the designation of the Secretary of Commerce as the regulatory authority instead of a commission, as proposed by witnesses at earlier congressional committee hearings. In this regard, a study indicated that regulation by a joint United States-Canada commission would apparently necessitate a considerable revision of existing jurisdictional arrangements as well as other adjustments in this country and possibly in Canada. In addition, a treaty or other form of intergovernmental agreement would have to be negotiated for the establishment of such a commission.

Moreover, problems would have to be solved in regard to powers, procedures, and mechanisms whereby the commission would reach decisions and deal with other matters which might involve differing conditions or problems in the two countries.

Under these circumstances, a lengthy period of research, discussion, and negotiation would in all likelihood be necessary as a preliminary to reaching an agreement that would provide for an effective joint commission. Taking all these

¹Vice Adm. Alfred C. Richmond, Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard.

factors into consideration, coordination with Canada through separate but compatible regulations in each country was found to offer a more effective basis for a workable solution of regulatory problems within the foreseeable future.

Regulatory Authority of U.S. Secretary of Commerce

With respect to the regulation of pilotage in the United States waters of the Great Lakes by a United States commission, the conclusion was reached that the establishment of an independent agency of this kind would not be in accord with Federal administrative and organizational policies and would prove to be operationally more cumbersome than regulation within the Department of Commerce, which is already charged with responsibilities in regard to the economic aspects of shipping. Furthermore, the Secretary of Commerce is also charged with the direction and supervision of the wholly Government-owned Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation.

In order to minimize adjustments and conflicts in departmental jurisdiction, the regulatory authority of the Secretary of Commerce does not extend to the issuance, revocation, or suspension of navigation or pilot licenses issued by the Coast Guard. Jurisdiction in regard to such licenses remains with the Coast Guard.

The Secretary of Commerce is authorized by S. 3019 to register holders of appropriate master's licenses issued by the Coast Guard for pilotage on the Great Lakes, on terms and conditions established by his regulations. Canada has indicated that it would be prepared to register Canadian pilots on a similar basis and to allow United States registered pilots to serve in Canadian waters on vessels to which the bill is applicable if Canadian registered pilots are similarly allowed to serve on such ships in United States waters. The bill provides for such reciprocity, and, for the purpose of providing for the equitable participation of United States and Canadian registered pilots, the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to arrange with the appropriate agency of Canada, which is understood to be the Department of Transport, for the number of pilots who shall be registered in each country.

A basic pattern similar to that of State pilotage systems and to elements of the Canadian pilotage system has been followed in provisions

of the bill for the creation of a pool or pools by a voluntary association or associations of United States registered pilots to provide the arrangements and facilities necessary for the efficient dispatching of vessels and the rendering of pilotage services required by the bill. The Secretary of Commerce is empowered to authorize the formation of such pools and to make regulations for their operation and to conduct inspections. He may require the pooling to be coordinated on a reciprocal basis with similar arrangements in Canada.

The Secretary of Commerce is authorized and directed to establish, by regulations, fair and equitable rates, charges, and any other conditions or terms for services performed by registered pilots to meet the provisions of the bill, giving due consideration to the public interest and the reasonable cost and expense of facilities and arrangements required for the efficient performance of those services. The Secretary is authorized to arrange with the Canadian agency for the establishment of joint or identical rates, charges, and any other conditions for registered pilots' services in the waters of the Great Lakes.

Any written arrangements between the Secretary of Commerce and the Canadian agency under the provisions of the bill would be subject to the concurrence of the Secretary of State.

Designation of Foreign Vessels and Restricted Waters

The bill provides that the President shall designate the United States waters of the Great Lakes in which registered vessels of the United States and those foreign vessels designated by him shall be required to have in their service a registered pilot to direct the navigation of the vessel, subject to the customary authority of the master. The purpose of this provision is to require ocean-going vessels of all nationalities to have in their service a pilot having adequate knowledge and experience of navigational difficulties in the waters so designated. These will be the waters more commonly referred to as "restricted waters."

The term "registered vessel of the United States" applies to American vessels engaged in foreign trade, as distinguished from vessels proceeding under "enrollment" when engaged in domestic trade between United States ports. Enrollment is also permitted under existing law for United States vessels engaged in foreign trade

between United States and Canadian ports on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River. With some exceptions, enrolled vessels navigating United States waters of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River must have a complement of officers holding Coast Guard pilot licenses for those waters.

The term "those foreign vessels designated by him" as used in section 3 of the bill is intended to mean in general all foreign ships operating in ocean routes. If the wording of the bill had been specifically limited to such ships, additions to or exceptions needed to deal with special cases that may have to be considered in the light of actual operations would not be possible without amending legislation. The provisions of the bill will not be applicable to Canadian "Lakers" and "Canalers" operating within the confines of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River so long as reciprocity is extended to enrolled United States vessels, as is indicated by another provision of the bill.

The bill provides that the designation of foreign vessels and restricted waters shall be made with due regard to the public interest, the effective utilization of navigable waters, marine safety, and the foreign relations of the United States.

In United States waters of the Great Lakes not designated by the President (i.e. so-called open waters of the lakes) vessels to which the bill is applicable will be required to carry a United States or Canadian registered pilot unless there is in the service of the vessel an officer who is qualified for the navigation of those waters and licensed by the Coast Guard or certificated by the appropriate agency of Canada, namely, the Department of Transport. It has been indicated in the aide memoire exchanged between the two Governments that the Canadian Government is prepared to recommend to Parliament the enactment of such legislation as may be considered necessary to provide for the certification of officers of the regular complement of oceangoing vessels who hold an appropriate master's license, who have had actual experience in the navigation of the open waters of the lakes through which these vessels will proceed, and who have a knowledge of the practice of following separate upbound and downbound courses on the lakes. In addition, such officers would be required to evidence by ex-

amination a working knowledge of the Great Lakes rules of the road and a sufficient command of English to use a radiotelephone.

Admittedly, the navigation of the open waters of the Great Lakes does not present the difficulties or require the same degree of specialized local knowledge and experience as the navigation of restricted waters. Informants who have had practical experience in the navigation of the Great Lakes have expressed the opinion that the foregoing qualifications and requirements would be sufficient from the standpoint of marine safety.

The foregoing statement will indicate the general features of the bill which have a foreign relations aspect. Provisions of the bill in regard to administration and enforcement have not been covered since some of these functions fall within the province of the Secretary of Commerce while others are the responsibility of the Coast Guard, both of whom are represented at today's hearing.

In conclusion, I should like to add that the Department of State supports this bill as providing a workable basis for establishing requirements and arrangements for the pilotage of ocean vessels navigating the United States waters of the Great Lakes which could be coordinated with a Canadian system of pilotage and would give due consideration to marine safety and other factors involved. Experience may show that amendments may be required in the future, but in the meantime the provisions of the bill will provide a reasonable basis for meeting the urgent need of filling the void in pilotage requirements for the shipping to which the bill will be applicable.

EXCHANGE OF AIDE MEMOIRE AND SUPPLEMENTARY LETTERS

U.S. Aide Memoire of February 19

In discussions of Great Lakes pilotage between United States and Canadian officials following the receipt of the Canadian Aide-Memoire of September 11, 1959,² the Canadian officials were informed of the provisions of a proposed draft bill on the subject which was prepared by representatives of interested agencies of the Government of the United States.

The principal purposes of the proposed bill were to establish certain pilotage requirements for the navigation of United States waters of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River by vessels operating in ocean routes into

² Not printed.

and from the Great Lakes, and to provide a basis for a regulated system of pilotage to meet those requirements.

Provision was made for coordination of this pilotage system with a Canadian system on the basis of reciprocal recognition of, and equitable participation by, United States and Canadian pilots in the pilotage of the vessels to which the bill would be applicable. These pilots would be registered by an appropriate agency of their respective countries, and vessels to which the proposed bill would be applicable would be required to have registered pilots in their service for the navigation of designated United States waters. It is the understanding of the United States Government that Canada would also designate Canadian waters in which the services of registered pilots would be required.

In undesignated waters of the Great Lakes, the vessels to which the proposed bill would be applicable would be required to have on board either a registered pilot or an officer of their regular complement who would be qualified for the navigation of the undesignated waters and licensed either by the United States Coast Guard or the appropriate agency of Canada.

As a result of the above-mentioned discussions, the Canadian representatives indicated that their Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament legislative proposals which would effect coordination on the above-indicated basis, if the United States enacted legislation along the lines of the proposed draft bill. It is the United States Government's understanding that provision would be made to restrict the registration of Canadian pilots to persons, other than members of the regular complement of a vessel, who hold a master's certificate or equivalent license, unlimited as to tonnage, issued by the Department of Transport to authorize navigation of the Great Lakes and pilotage service on routes specified therein.

The term "equivalent license" as used in the proposed United States draft bill would mean a license issued to a St. Lawrence River pilot to authorize the navigation of those portions of the river specified therein. In this connection Canadian officials explained that St. Lawrence River pilots are specially trained for pilotage in the districts for which they are licensed, and that they are not required to obtain a master's certificate, although some do hold such a certificate. Under the proposed coordinated arrangements, Canada would register the holder of a St. Lawrence River pilot's license solely for pilotage service on that river.

The Canadian officials further indicated that the Canadian Government would include in proposed legislation such provisions as might be considered necessary to authorize the Department of Transport to issue certificates qualifying for the navigation of the "open" (i.e. undesignated) waters of the Great Lakes those officers of the regular complements of ocean vessels who meet the following requirements:

(1) Hold an appropriate certificate of competency as master, valid for voyages in any part of the world and issued or recognized by the country in which the ship is registered.

(2) Having the experience of at least two round trips, within the preceding two years, in the "open" or undesignated

waters of the Great Lakes where the vessel will be operating.

(3) Possess a working knowledge of the Great Lakes rules of the road as evidenced by examination.

(4) Have proficiency in the English language, to be tested also by examination, sufficient to make effective use of the radio-telephone.

(5) Have knowledge of the practice of following separate up-bound and down-bound courses on the Great Lakes, giving due regard to the suitability of such courses for deep draft vessels.

The substance of the proposed draft bill which was the subject of the above-mentioned discussions is now embodied in a bill introduced in the Senate as S. 3019. The Government of the United States would appreciate being informed as to the accuracy and applicability of the foregoing understanding of the intentions of the Canadian Government with respect to S. 3019.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, February 19, 1960.

Canadian Aide Memoire of February 19

An Aide-Memoire presented to the Canadian Embassy in Washington, by the Department of State on February 19, 1960, outlines the manner in which Canadian and United States legislation aimed at establishing certain pilotage requirements for the navigation of the waters of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River could be co-ordinated if the legislative proposals contained in a Bill known as S-3019 are approved by the United States Congress. In the event that that Bill does become law in the United States, it is the intention of the Canadian Government to submit to the Canadian Parliament, legislative proposals which would effect just such a co-ordinated pilotage regime in the Great Lakes in the manner indicated in the United States Aide-Memoire.

THE CANADIAN EMBASSY

Washington, D.C., February 19, 1960.

Canadian Letter

1746 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.,
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.
February 19, 1960.

DEAR MR. WHITE: The agreement of the Canadian Government which is transmitted concurrently herewith to the terms of the Aide-Memoire in regard to the bill on Great Lakes Pilotage is subject to the following reservation. Section 9c of the bill does not fully meet the Canadian requirements in that lake vessels which occasionally operate through the St. Lawrence to the Maritime Provinces in the Canadian Coastal Trade are not covered. The Canadian Government considers that these vessels should be covered and understands that the United States officials concerned with this matter are sympathetic to the Canadian position.

During discussions between the appropriate officials of our two Governments, the United States officials indicated that the position of such vessels could be protected under Section 3a by not being designated pursuant to the Section.

We would appreciate receiving assurance that in the event S-3019 is enacted into law, the Department of State will recommend to the President that Canadian vessels operating primarily on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River which make occasional trips to the Canadian Maritime Provinces in the Canadian Coastal Trade be excluded from the designation of foreign vessels to be made by the President under Section 3a of the said bill.

Yours sincerely,

S. F. RAE,
Minister.

IVAN B. WHITE, Esq.,
*Deputy Assistant Secretary,
Bureau of European Affairs (EUR),
Department of State,
Room 616 1/2, New State Building
Washington, D.C.*

U.S. Reply

FEBRUARY 19, 1960

DEAR MR. RAE: With reference to your letter of this date in which you request assurance that, in the event S. 3019 is enacted into law, the Department of State will recommend to the President that Canadian vessels operating primarily on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River which make occasional trips to the Canadian maritime provinces in the Canadian coastal trade be excluded from the designation of foreign vessels under Section 3(a) of the said bill, I take pleasure in stating that the Department will make such a recommendation.

Sincerely yours,

IVAN B. WHITE
*Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
for European Affairs*

The Honorable
SAUL F. RAE,
*Minister,
Canadian Embassy,
Washington, D.C.*

President Seeks Authority for U.S. Participation in IDA

Following is the text of the President's letter transmitting to Congress a special report on the proposed International Development Association prepared by the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems including, in an annex, a report of the Executive Directors of the International Bank and the Articles of Agreement of the IDA (H. Doc. 345, 86th Congress, 2d session).

White House press release dated February 18

To the Congress of the United States:

I herewith submit to the Congress the Articles of Agreement for the establishment of the Inter-

national Development Association.¹ I recommend legislation authorizing United States membership in the Association and providing for payment of the subscription obligations prescribed in the Articles of Agreement.

The Association is designed to assist the less-developed countries of the free world by increasing the flow of development capital on flexible terms. The advisability of such an institution was proposed by Senate Resolution 264 of 1958. Following this Resolution, the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems undertook a study of the question. The Council's conclusions and the favorable response of representatives of other governments who were consulted during the course of the study have resulted in the Articles of Agreement which satisfy the objectives of that Resolution and which I am submitting herewith. The accompanying Special Report of the Council describes the Articles in detail.

We all know that every country needs capital for growth but that the needs are greatest where income and savings are low. The less-developed countries need to secure from abroad large amounts of capital equipment to help in their development. Some part of this they can purchase with their current savings, some part they can borrow on conventional terms, and some part is provided by private foreign investors. But in many less-developed countries, the need for capital imports exceeds the amounts they can reasonably hope to secure through normal channels. The Association is a multilateral institution designed to provide a margin of finance that will allow them to go forward with sound projects that do not fully qualify for conventional loans.

In many messages to the Congress, I have emphasized the clear interest of the United States in the economic growth of the less-developed countries. Because of this fundamental truth the people of our country are attempting in a number of ways to promote such growth. Technical and economic aid is supplied under the Mutual Security Program. In addition, many projects are assisted by loans from the Export-Import Bank, and we also participate with other free world countries in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which is doing so much to channel funds, mainly from

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 29, 1960, p. 345.

private sources, to the less-developed areas. While we have joined with the other American Republics in the Inter-American Development Bank, there is no wide international institution which, like our Development Loan Fund, can help finance sound projects requiring a broad flexibility in repayment terms, including repayment in the borrower's currency.

Conceived to meet this need, the International Development Association represents a joint determination by the economically advanced countries to help accelerate progress in the less-developed countries. It is highly gratifying that so many other free world countries are now ready to join with us in this objective.

The Association is a cooperative venture, to be financed by the member governments of the International Bank. It is to have initial subscriptions totaling one billion dollars, of which the subscription of the United States would be \$320.29 million and the subscriptions of the other economically-strong countries would be \$442.78 million. The funds made available by these countries would be freely convertible. The developing countries would subscribe \$236.93 million, of which ten per cent would be freely convertible. Members would pay their subscriptions over a five year period and would periodically re-examine the adequacy of the Association's resources.

The International Development Association thus establishes a mechanism whereby other nations can join in the task of providing capital to the less-developed areas on a flexible basis. Contribution by the less-developed countries themselves, moreover, is a desirable element of this new institution. In addition, the Association may accept supplementary resources provided by one member in the currency of another member. Thus, some part of the foreign currencies acquired by the United States primarily from its

sales of surplus agricultural commodities may be made available to the Association when desirable and agreed to by the member whose currency is involved.

The Articles of Agreement give the Association considerable scope in its lending operations so that it can respond to the varied needs of its members. And because it is to be an affiliate of the International Bank, it will benefit from the long and successful lending experience of the Bank. By combining the Bank's high standards with flexible repayment terms, it can help finance sound projects that cannot be undertaken by existing sources. With a framework that safeguards existing institutions and traditional forms of finance, the Association can both supplement and facilitate private investment. It will provide an extra margin of capital that can give further momentum to growth in the developing countries on terms that will not overburden their economies and their repayment capacities.

The peoples of the world will grow in freedom, toleration and respect for human dignity as they achieve reasonable economic and social progress under a free system. The further advance of the less-developed areas is of major importance to the nations of the free world, and the Association provides an international institution through which we may all effectively cooperate toward this end. It will perform a valuable service in promoting the economic growth and cohesion of the free world. I am convinced that participation by the United States is necessary, and I urge the Congress to act promptly to authorize the United States to join with the other free nations in the establishment of the Association.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 18, 1960.

Furthering Peace and Stability in the Middle East

FOURTH REPORT TO CONGRESS ON ACTIVITIES UNDER THE JOINT RESOLUTION TO PROMOTE PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST¹

PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith the fourth report to the Congress covering activities through June 30, 1959, in furtherance of the purposes of the joint resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle East. This report supplements earlier reports forwarded to the Congress.²

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 15, 1960.*

TEXT OF REPORT

CHAPTER 1—PROGRESS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE RESOLUTION

JULY 1, 1958, TO JUNE 30, 1959

House Joint Resolution 117,³ approved by the President March 9, 1957, continues as an important expression of U.S. policy toward the Middle East and as a repository of powers indispensable to U.S. efforts toward enhancing the stability and progress of this vital area of the world. The existence of the resolution remains as clear notice to the world and particularly the leaders of international communism that the United States retains a vital interest in the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East. It authorizes U.S. cooperation with and assistance to nations of the Middle East in

development of their economic strength and directs continuance of U.S. support to the United Nations Emergency Force. Under the resolution's provisions the U.S. Government continues active pursuit of policies aiding world peace and the security of the United States.

The period covered by this report has witnessed a considerable metamorphosis of the situation prevailing in the Middle East, particularly among the Arab countries of the area. The progress registered under the resolution can be understood in the light of significant developments which have taken place.

June 30, 1958, found the Arab countries of the Middle East approaching a period of acute crisis. By the late spring and early summer of 1958 tension had increased sharply following the outbreak of armed insurrection in Lebanon. On May 22, 1958, the representative of Lebanon in the United Nations had requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the Lebanese situation which in the following weeks continued to deteriorate. The United Nations recognized Lebanon's difficulties by prompt dispatch of a military observer team, later substantially enlarged, to report on the extent to which infiltration was affecting the struggle in Lebanon.

Subsequently events occurred elsewhere in the Near East which underscored the seriousness of the threat against Lebanon. On July 14, 1958, the Government of Iraq was overthrown in a violent coup and a new revolutionary regime established. At the same time a plot to overthrow the Government of Jordan came to light. In the face of this situation the President of Lebanon, with the support of the Lebanese Cabinet, requested immediate military assistance from the

¹ H. Doc. 312, 86th Cong., 2d sess.; transmitted on Feb. 15, 1960.

² For texts of previous reports, see BULLETIN of Aug. 26, 1957, p. 339; Mar. 31, 1958, p. 524; and Feb. 2, 1959, p. 169.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1957, p. 481.

United States. This call was answered promptly. On July 15 U.S. troops landed in Lebanon.

In a message to Congress on July 15, 1958,⁴ the President declared that, given the developments in Iraq, measures previously taken by the United Nations Security Council had not been sufficient to preserve the independence and integrity of Lebanon. The President declared that U.S. forces were being dispatched to protect American lives and by their presence to assist the Government of Lebanon in the preservation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and independence.

In an address to the Nation⁵ explaining U.S. actions the President noted that the Congress had in the Middle East resolution declared that—

the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East.

The President stated further:

I believe that the presence of the U.S. forces now being sent to Lebanon will have a stabilizing effect which will preserve the independence and integrity of Lebanon. It will also afford an increased measure of security to the thousands of Americans who reside in Lebanon.

The President also announced that the United States would immediately report its action to an emergency session of the Security Council and that we would support in the United Nations measures which would enable the U.S. forces to be withdrawn promptly. After the Soviet Union vetoed a resolution which asked the Secretary General to take measures to insure the independence of Lebanon, the Secretary General announced that on his own authority under the United Nations Charter he intended to develop the United Nations Observation Group further.

On August 8 an emergency special session of the General Assembly was convened to discuss the developments in the Middle East. President Eisenhower delivered a major address to the Assembly.⁶ During this session, the 10 Arab member States presented a joint resolution⁷ as their solution to the problem of Lebanon and Jordan. This resolution emphasized the need for respect for each other's systems of government and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Their resolution was adopted unanimously on August 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 4, 1958, p. 182.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1958, p. 337.

⁷ For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1958, p. 411.

Following the establishment of a negotiated peace between the warring factions in Lebanon and the election of a new government by the Lebanese Parliament, U.S. forces commenced their withdrawal which was completed by October 25, 1958. The performance of our Army, Navy, and Marine forces while on Lebanese soil was exemplary. Their stay of over 3 months passed without serious untoward incident of any kind. British forces requested by the Jordanian Government to assist it in maintenance of Jordanian independence had all been returned to British bases by November 2, 1958.

The stabilizing result envisioned by the President at the time of the U.S. troop landings in Lebanon proved in fact to be an enduring reality in the ensuing months. The government chosen by the Lebanese Parliament in the autumn of 1958 continued in power in Lebanon on June 30, 1959. The increased stability and security enjoyed by the Governments of Lebanon and Jordan has been accompanied by substantial abatement of area tensions. Lebanon's relations with the United Arab Republic have substantially improved over what they had been a year previously. Similarly there has been a growth toward more normal relations between the United Arab Republic and Jordan. This growth in mutual respect and understanding among Arab countries has been accompanied by an increased awareness on their part of the dangers of international communism.

While there has been subsidence of the tensions and conflict which in mid-1958 facilitated possible aggression by international communism, yet the forces of the latter have not abated their efforts to find areas of the Middle East where they can establish a firm footing. The Communists continue vigorous political activity within several of the Middle Eastern countries under conditions allowing them differing degrees of latitude. The Sino-Soviet bloc persists in attempts to draw the nations of the Middle East into its orbit by a variety of means, including extensive propaganda, trade agreements, and military and economic assistance programs. In general, however, Communist advances have been slight and apparent gains of influence in some parts of the region have been offset by losses elsewhere.

In the meantime, it can be stated that the bold action taken in Lebanon by the U.S. Government has had a salutary effect in impressing the peoples

of the Middle East and elsewhere that the United States is a tried and true friend of nations seeking to preserve their independence and integrity. Our forces answered the appeal of the Government of Lebanon promptly and when their mission was accomplished they were withdrawn, proving false beyond doubt the charges of "imperialism" so glibly disseminated by international communism. While this successful U.S. action was not directly based on the joint resolution, it was fully in accord with that resolution and in particular with the resolution's declaration that—the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the integrity and independence of the nations of the Middle East.

CHAPTER 2—ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE

The resolution authorizes the President to cooperate and assist any nation in the general area in the development of its economic strength. During the period under review the United States continued the fulfilling of commitments for economic aid made during the fiscal year 1957 pursuant to section 3 of the resolution. This, however, was but a small part of the economic cooperation with the nations of the area.

In the regular administration of the Mutual Security Act, substantial funds were used in a manner to carry out the purposes of that act and which also furthered those of the Middle East resolution. Defense support aid was extended to some of these countries. Much of the local currency counterpart was used toward meeting the budget cost of the armed forces, while the foreign exchange received in this aid was an important factor in enabling them to continue their development of economic strength. The aid extended to other Middle Eastern countries as special assistance has also furthered economic growth and the maintenance of stability. There seems to have been increased awareness by some of the governments in the area of dangers in cooperating with international communism, and aid from the United States has supported them in maintaining their independence, as well as in their economic growth.

CHAPTER 3—ACTION PURSUANT TO SECTION 4 OF THE RESOLUTION

Section 4 of the resolution states that the President should continue to furnish facilities and military assistance to the United Nations Emergency

Force in the Middle East with a view to maintaining the truce in that region. On May 26, 1959, the United States transmitted to the Secretary General a check in the amount of \$4,943,146 for this purpose, representing the U.S. assessment for 1959. This check brought the total U.S. contributions to the United Nations Emergency Force, both assessed and voluntary, to \$30,887,559 through fiscal year 1959.

In addition, from the establishment of United Nations Emergency Force, to June 30, 1959, the United States has made available to the force on a reimbursable basis supplies, equipment, and services valued at \$6,800,893. As of June 30, 1959, the United Nations has compensated the United States for this material and services to the amount of \$6,760,584.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 2d Session

- Agreement on Importation of Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials. Hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. January 26, 1960. 52 pp.
- Foreign Service Annuities. Hearing before the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on S. 1502, a bill to provide for adjustments in the annuities under the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System. January 28, 1960. 8 pp.
- The Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials. Report to accompany Ex. I, 86th Cong., 1st sess. S. Ex. Rept. 1. February 8, 1960. 4 pp.
- Broadcasting Agreements. Report to accompany S. Ex. A, 82d Congress, 1st session, and S. Ex. G, 85th Congress, 1st session. S. Ex. Rept. 2. Feb. 11, 1960. 9 pp.
- Fifth NATO Parliamentarians' Conference. Report of the U.S. Senate delegation to the 5th conference of members of parliaments from the NATO countries held at Washington November 16-20, 1959. S. Doc. 82. February 11, 1960. 13 pp.
- Parliamentary Conferences With Mexico. Report to accompany H. J. Res. 283. S. Rept. 1082. February 11, 1960. 2 pp.
- United States-Latin American Relations. Problems of Latin American Economic Development. A study prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by the University of Oregon, Institute of International Studies and Overseas Administration, pursuant to S. Res. 330, 85th Cong., and S. Res. 31, 86th Cong. No. 6. February 11, 1960. 140 pp. [Committee print]
- United States Foreign Policy. U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. A study prepared at the request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by a Columbia-Harvard research group under the administration of Columbia University, pursuant to S. Res. 336, 85th Cong., and S. Res. 31, 86th Cong. No. 11. February 14, 1960. 80 pp. [Committee print]

Meeting the Economic Problems of the Americas

Remarks by Robert B. Anderson
Secretary of the Treasury¹

First of all, I wish to express our deep appreciation to the Government and people of El Salvador who are making us feel so much at home in this beautiful capital city. It is a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity of meeting once again with so many of my colleagues from Latin America in one of the American Republics. We are here for an important purpose; yet I am happy that, thanks to the excellent work which was done in advance—first, by the Negotiating Committee and, more recently, by the Preparatory Committee—we have not found our task so burdensome that we were unable to enjoy the delightful climate and the gracious hospitality of our hosts.

This meeting is truly a momentous one for all of our countries. The inauguration of the Inter-American Development Bank brings into being an institution that should become a dramatic instrument of responsible and progressive financial cooperation among the American Republics. It was a little more than 2 years ago that many of us were present in Buenos Aires when the Conference of Ministers of Finance and Economy adopted the resolution which has led directly to this meeting. As time is measured in international affairs of this nature, we have moved swiftly.

We have also moved with sure and careful steps. In the United States we were able to submit the agreement creating the Inter-American Bank to the Congress of our country in full confidence that we were presenting a workable blueprint for a dynamic institution through which

the countries of the Americas could further implement and improve their mutual cooperation in the field of economic development. I am sure this has been true for each of you in presenting the agreement to your own governments.

The agreement, as you know, is drawn in broad terms in order to leave a large measure of flexibility in carrying out the day-to-day work of the institution. This, I believe, is the most practicable way to insure that the institution can be a vital force in a changing world.

The Washington meeting which negotiated the agreement creating the Bank² is a good augury for the future. Many divergent points of view were brought to the meeting; yet, above all, there prevailed a spirit of effective cooperation and of mutual devotion to a basic common goal which has produced an instrument well conceived to help meet the economic problem of the Americas.

From all of this we can see that, while the road ahead is not easy, there is sound cause for optimism. The creation of the Bank does not in itself solve any of the problems with which we are all so concerned; yet it does provide us with an effective framework in which men of good will can join with the confidence that through the exercise of thought, diligence, and mutual respect they can achieve great benefit for their peoples.

In the context of these thoughts, let us look at a few of the problems of the future. It is essential, in my opinion, that the Bank should build its organization with great care. We should be concerned as much with the position and prestige which this Bank will enjoy in the decades ahead as with the speed with which it undertakes its first operations. It is a matter of overriding importance that through sound planning and sound operations this new institution should earn the confidence of the credit markets of the world.

Another matter to which the most careful attention must be given from the outset is that of relationships between the Bank and other institu-

¹ Made at the fourth plenary session of the first meeting of the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank at San Salvador on Feb. 8. For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 15, 1960, p. 263, and Feb. 29, 1960, p. 314.

² *Ibid.*, May 4, 1959, p. 646.

tions, both national and international, which are already providing capital for the development of the Americas. A deep concern of many of our representatives, both in the Negotiating Committee and in the Committee of Twenty-one, which endorsed the idea of establishing this Bank, was that the total of public and private funds available for development in Latin America should be increased. Nothing would be gained, they wisely pointed out, if lending by the Inter-American Development Bank should simply replace lending by existing national or international institutions. It should be emphasized in this regard that, in addition to its own lending operations, the Bank can serve valuably by assisting in the sound planning of projects and by helping to develop other appropriate sources of financing for such projects.

We shall have to marshal all our experience and ingenuity in order for the Bank to realize this aim—that of effectively augmenting and not merely supplanting existing resources. The same spirit of cooperation and good will which characterized the preparation of the agreement for the Bank will, I am sure, enable us to arrive at a solution which is both acceptable and fruitful to our member countries.

It should be recognized that, by its very charter, the Bank is a pioneer in one kind of economic-development financing. The Bank's Fund for Special Operations represents the first concrete realization by a multilateral organization of an approach to development which is sure to be extremely significant.

As we envision the future of the Bank, we can see many other questions to which it must devote its attention. It is obvious, for example, that the Bank should so shape its policies and practices that it will help attract a far greater volume of capital investments of all kinds into Latin America than it would be able to finance solely with its own resources. The total capital sought for industrialization, agricultural expansion and diversification, transportation, power, and other purposes is many times the figure represented by the capital of this Bank. A major share of the capital needed must be raised within the area where the investment is to take place. The Bank should always be alert to assist in stimulating the formation and channeling of internal capital into useful, productive development projects.

In considering the formation of capital, it is imperative that we not overlook the necessity of

linking economic stability with dynamic growth. The rate of economic development in the future for all countries depends on a high rate of saving and capital formation in the present. The will to save must not be impaired. The need for a stable currency cannot be ignored in any country, either industrialized or less developed.

Mr. Chairman, there are many other problems which could be discussed. However, it seems more fitting that today we should give our main attention to the fact we are meeting on a most auspicious occasion. We are celebrating an outstanding event in the economic history of the world.

The noble purpose for which we are assembled has great promise of good for all the people of the Americas. In the spirit of devotion and mutuality which has characterized the Bank, we will go forward together to realize these objectives in ever-increasing measure.

Fifth Anniversary of CENTO

Following is an exchange of messages between Secretary Herter and M. O. A. Baig, Secretary General of the Central Treaty Organization, Ankara, Turkey.¹

Press release 82 dated February 24

Secretary Herter to Mr. Baig

FEBRUARY 19, 1960

In extending best wishes to CENTO on its fifth anniversary I would like to re-emphasize the importance which the United States attaches to the Central Treaty Organization. Today, as in the past, CENTO is a voluntary association of free states organized in accordance with the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of their independence. The contribution which CENTO is making to the peace and stability of the Middle East area is an inescapable fact. Although not a member of CENTO, the United States has supported the organization's efforts from its inception and not quite a year ago joined with Iran, Pakistan and Turkey in separate bilateral executive agreements² directed toward promotion of

¹ CENTO, formerly the Baghdad Pact, celebrated its fifth anniversary on Feb. 24.

² For text, see BULLETIN of Mar. 23, 1959, p. 417.

their collective security. In further evidence of its continuing support, the United States has contributed significantly toward strengthening the joint economic and defensive capabilities of CENTO's regional members. To the extent that appropriations and its global commitments allow, the United States will continue to work with CENTO in promoting the security and economic well-being of its member states.

Mr. Baig to Secretary Herter

FEBRUARY 22, 1960

On behalf of CENTO I thank you, Mr. Secretary of State, for your message of good wishes to this organization. It is the known support of the United States of America to the cause of freedom everywhere that has done so much to maintain it. This region moreover has benefited greatly from the generous contributions of your country in material help and technical knowledge. CENTO looks forward to lasting peace and security in close and confident association with the United States.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

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General Assembly

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¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

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Programme Appraisal 1959-1961: Work of the United Nations in the Economic, Social and Human Rights Fields. E/3260/Rev. 1. December 21, 1959. 80 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

U.S. and Australia To Expand Joint Efforts in Space Research

Press release 85 dated February 25

The Department of State and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration announced on February 25 that Australia and the United States have signed an agreement which will extend the cooperative efforts of the two nations in space research. The agreement, which was signed at Canberra on February 26, provides for the continued operation of tracking stations established during the International Geophysical Year and the establishment of tracking facilities for Project Mercury and deep-space probes.

Operation of the minitrack station and the Baker-Nunn camera optical tracking stations at Woomera will be continued. Tracking stations at Perth and Woomera will be established for Project Mercury, the U.S.-manned satellite program. A tracking facility also will be established at Woomera for deep-space probes.

Under the terms of the agreement the United States will provide electronic equipment; Australia will provide sites for the tracking facilities and assist in their operation and maintenance. Australian scientists will be able to use each established station for independent scientific activities when the stations are not being used for a U.S. program.

MULTILATERAL

Cultural Relations

Agreement on the importation of educational, scientific, and cultural materials, and protocol. Done at Lake Success November 22, 1950. Entered into force May 21, 1952.¹
Senate advice and consent to ratification given: February 23, 1960.

Narcotics

Protocol amending the agreements, conventions, and protocols on narcotic drugs concluded at The Hague January 23, 1912 (38 Stat. 1912), at Geneva February 11, 1925,¹ February 19, 1925,¹ and July 13, 1931 (48 Stat. 1543), at Bangkok November 27, 1931,¹ and at Geneva June 26, 1936.¹ Signed at Lake Success December 11, 1946. Entered into force December 11, 1946. TIAS 1671 and 1859.

Notification from the Federal Republic of Germany of application to: Land Berlin, August 12, 1959.

Protocol bringing under international control drugs outside the scope of the convention limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs concluded at Geneva July 13, 1931 (48 Stat. 1543), as amended (61 Stat. 2230; 62 Stat. 1796). Done at Paris November 19, 1948. Entered into force December 1, 1949. TIAS 2308.

Notification from the Federal Republic of Germany of application to: Land Berlin, September 12, 1959.

Property

Convention for the protection of industrial property. Signed at London June 2, 1934. Entered into force August 1, 1938. 53 Stat. 1748.
Adherence effective: San Marino, March 4, 1960.

Sugar

International sugar agreement of 1958. Done at London December 1, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1959; for the United States October 9, 1959. TIAS 4389.
Ratifications and acceptances deposited: Japan, May 1, 1959; Nicaragua, September 14, 1959.

Telecommunication

North American regional broadcasting agreement and final protocol. Signed at Washington November 15, 1950.²
Senate advice and consent to ratification given: February 23, 1960.

Trade and Commerce

Declaration on the provisional accession of Israel to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva May 29, 1959. Entered into force October 9, 1959; for the United States December 19, 1959. TIAS 4384.

Signature (subject to ratification): Luxembourg, January 18, 1960.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Opened for signature at Washington April 6 through 24, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, for part I and parts III to VIII, and August 1, 1959, for part II. TIAS 4302.

Acceptances deposited: Korea, February 23, 1960; Haiti, February 24, 1960.

Accession deposited: Venezuela, February 11, 1960.

¹ Not in force for the United States.

² Not in force.

El Salvador

Agreement relating to the guaranty of private investments. Signed at San Salvador January 29, 1960. Enters into force on date of United States note acknowledging receipt of notification from El Salvador that the agreement has been ratified in accordance with its constitutional procedures.

Mexico

Agreement concerning radio broadcasting in standard broadcasting band, and six annexes. Signed at México January 29, 1957.²
Senate advice and consent to ratification given: February 23, 1960.

United Kingdom

Agreement relating to the extension to certain British territories of the income tax convention of April 16, 1945, as modified (TIAS 1546, 3165, and 4124). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington August 19, 1957, and December 3, 1958. TIAS 4141.

Notification by United Kingdom of completion, on or before December 31, 1958, of measures necessary to give effect to agreement in: Cyprus, Federation of Nigeria, Montserrat, and St. Vincent.

Agreement amending the agreement of January 30 and February 3, 1958 (TIAS 3989), relating to the sale to the United Kingdom for sterling of fruit and fruit products. Effected by exchange of notes at London January 28 and February 4, 1960. Entered into force February 4, 1960.

Agreement amending and extending the agreement of December 30, 1958 (TIAS 4155), for the establishment and operation of rawinsonde observation stations on Jamaica and on Grand Cayman Island. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington February 15, 1960. Entered into force February 15, 1960.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Designations

Charles P. Fossum as Director, U.S. Operations Mission, Colombia, effective February 21, 1960. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 60 dated February 12.)

Parker G. Montgomery as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, effective February 23. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 96 dated March 2.)

Harold S. Nelson as Director, U.S. Operations Mission, Lebanon, effective February 28. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 84 dated February 25.)

Frank G. Siscoe as Director, East-West Contacts Staff, effective February 15.

Resignations

Robert B. Menapace as Deputy Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, effective February 23.

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79	2/23	Deputy Assistant Secretary White: statement on Great Lakes pilotage.
*80	2/23	Swearing in of Grady, ICA deputy director (biographic details).
*81	2/23	Educational exchange (U.A.R.).
82	2/24	Herter, Baig: messages on CENTO anniversary.
83	2/25	Annuity paid to Panama.
*84	2/25	Swearing in of Nelson, director, USOM, Lebanon (biographic details).
85	2/25	U.S.-Australian agreement on additional tracking stations.
86	2/26	Visit of Yugoslav atomic energy officials.

* Not printed.



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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Economic Development in Latin America

*by Under Secretary Dillon*¹

I can think of no more appropriate setting for this first Caribbean Assembly than the hospitable Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. For the people of this thriving, self-governing Commonwealth are drawing fully upon their rich Hispanic cultural heritage in fruitful efforts to achieve a better life with the warm support of their fellow citizens of the continental United States.

All of us here tonight seek greater understanding of one another. We treasure the special qualities of friendship and solidarity which characterize inter-American relations. Yet we recognize that misunderstandings can occur which call for sober examination in the spirit of mutual cooperation that pervades this important conference.

Our dedication to building a stronger, freer hemisphere must not be hampered by doubts arising out of misconceptions. We are all aware that there are those, within our own hemisphere as well as abroad, who seek to create frictions and fan them into hatred and suspicion to serve their own ends. They will not succeed if we join vigilantly and energetically together in keeping the underbrush of misunderstanding cleared away before it can grow into a rank jungle barrier.

We of the United States are genuinely distressed by one such misunderstanding, sometimes voiced in the other Americas, that we have been so preoccupied with our responsibilities in other parts of the world that we have tended to forget our southern neighbors or to take them for granted. Nothing could be farther from our intentions or desires—nor, I submit in all good conscience, from our performance. It occurs to me

that our not inconsiderable contributions to the growth of the hemisphere have been channeled into so many fields over so long a period of time that their total impact and the overall purpose which inspires them have been obscured.

Throughout my own country there is today a deep, growing, and highly vocal interest in the problems of hemisphere development. This should reassure our friends to the south and make it easier to place our many and diverse efforts in proper perspective.

Since the earliest days of the United States, we have recognized that our ties and common interests with the other American Republics are of unique importance to us as a nation and as a people. We have a profound and sympathetic interest in working with our fellow Americans to solve the whole range of political, social, cultural, and economic problems which confront the hemisphere.

The need for economic development is perhaps the most urgent of these problems. In responding to this need, the United States has but one objective: to cooperate closely with all the peoples of the Americas in attaining sound, stable, expanding economies within the framework of free societies, dedicated to enlarging liberty and opportunity for all. We have no other motivation.

We of the United States are well aware that there are huge new forces at work in the southern region of our hemisphere, which is in a state of healthy ferment. There is a so-called "population explosion," a virtual industrial revolution, a tremendous surge toward progress that has taken an increasingly democratic turn in response to growing political consciousness and demands for social reform.

We are enthusiastically supporting the efforts of responsible leaders of the hemisphere to satisfy

¹ Address made before the Caribbean Assembly at Dorado Beach, Puerto Rico, on Mar. 1 (press release 87 dated Feb. 29).

their peoples' demands for a fuller life. For we recognize that, if their efforts are successful, the future holds few limits. We also recognize that failure to realize legitimate aspirations could lead to violence, Communist subversion and dictatorship, or other forms of regimentation which are equally repugnant to the peoples of the hemisphere.

Need for Intensified Production Effort

Today no area of our planet is in greater process of change than Latin America. By the end of the current decade Latin America will have a population of 270 million inhabitants—an increase of 300 percent in half a century. Its 2½ percent annual growth is the largest of any area in the world. The enormous pressures of this population increase call urgently for an intensified production effort to satisfy the ever-growing number of consumers who require more food and other necessities, a larger number of jobs, and broader cultural horizons.

But Latin America's potential is enormous. In all the basic industries—agriculture, steel, minerals, chemicals, electrical energy, and transportation—a high order of development is not only feasible but is already underway. Gross product has the prospect of increasing more than twice as fast as population. As for food, it is estimated that production can be multiplied fivefold if modern methods are employed. If responsible leadership provides the needed stimulus, there are, in truth, no problems in Latin America which constitute impenetrable barriers to normal and orderly progress.

To accelerate development, substantial help in the form of external capital and technical assistance is also needed. Outside help, however, can only stimulate and contribute to growth. It cannot substitute, nor should it be regarded as a substitute, for economically sound efforts which must be made by the governments of Latin America themselves if they are to satisfy their peoples' legitimate aspirations. In this regard we can learn many profitable lessons from "Operation Bootstrap" here in Puerto Rico.

There are numerous tools at hand—including some important new ones—to help in this all-important struggle.

The new Inter-American Development Bank is

now a reality.² The Bank will have a billion dollars for loans to its member countries, which include all of the Americas except Cuba. Perhaps the Bank's most striking feature is that it is more than just a financing association. It is truly a development institution. For it will provide technical assistance to help insure that development projects are properly planned, properly engineered, and properly designed. Another important Bank service will be to advise on other available sources for financing all or part of individual projects. In this way it is expected to become a focal point for the overall coordination of Latin American development efforts. The United States, which is supplying 45 percent of the Bank's capital, was among the first to ratify its charter.

Our membership in the Bank complements our substantial long-term participation in the work of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which will both continue to make financing available to Latin American nations. These institutions have recently increased their resources on our initiative.³

Another United States initiative which can contribute to Latin America's progress is the projected new International Development Association, whose charter is now awaiting parliamentary ratification.⁴

Still another United States initiative was our proposal earlier this year that the prospering nations of Western Europe and Japan give priority to increasing the flow of both public and private capital and technical assistance to the newly developing areas.⁵ We do not intend in any way to diminish our own role. But Western Europe and Japan are now financially capable of mounting a sizable effort which could powerfully assist our own. If their response is as constructive and as generous as I hope, Latin America should benefit from this new, coordinated effort to stimulate free-world economic growth.

The other Americas will, of course, continue to

² For a statement made by Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson at the first meeting of the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank at El Salvador on Feb. 8, see BULLETIN of Mar. 14, 1960, p. 427.

³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1959, p. 488.

⁴ For a letter of President Eisenhower transmitting to the Congress a special report on the IDA, see *ibid.*, Mar. 14, 1960, p. 422.

⁵ See p. 410.

be completely free to seek bilateral assistance from our Export-Import Bank and, whenever they are unable to obtain financing from other free-world sources, from our Development Loan Fund.

Some notion of the size of our bilateral loans to Latin America can be gleaned from these figures: During the last 10 years alone, the Export-Import Bank has loaned more than \$2½ billion to Latin America, which has received more than 40 percent of all its loans. If we add to this the record of the Development Loan Fund, the International Cooperation Administration, and loans made under our P.L. 480 program for the disposal of agricultural surpluses, the grand total this past decade comes to more than \$3½ billion. Many of these public loans are for harbors, highways, power, irrigation, and other projects for which adequate local capital is not available but which have to be created before sustained development can begin.

Role of Private U.S. Investment

Private United States investments in Latin America, which now total more than \$9 billion, play an even larger role in development. For the past 5 years private U.S. investment increased at an average of \$600 million per year. It has been estimated that U.S. private capital made it possible for Latin America to develop nearly twice as fast during the fifties as it otherwise would have. Let me cite some significant figures:

- In recent years Latin American governments have collected 15 percent of all their revenues from U.S. companies.
- Profit remittances by U.S. companies are only about half as large as their tax payments in Latin America.
- U.S. companies have consistently earned large annual amounts of foreign exchange for Latin America—up to \$1 billion a year toward the latter part of the fifties.
- About three-quarters of the gross revenues of U.S. companies is paid out in Latin America to cover local tax, wage, and material costs.
- During a typical recent year U.S. companies in Latin America provided jobs for 625,000 persons. Less than 9,000 were from the U.S. Of some 48,000 positions classified as supervisory, professional, or technical, only one out of six was held by a U.S. citizen.

I submit that these facts refute conclusively any

accusation that Latin America is being “exploited” by private United States enterprise.

U.S. firms in Latin America are good “corporate citizens,” and responsible Latin American leaders recognize the constructive role of U.S. investors in the growth of their countries. Instead of “extracting” wealth, as is sometimes erroneously charged, U.S. firms are *creating* new wealth for host countries. In fact, reinvestment of earnings by U.S. firms usually exceeds the total of dividends remitted to investors. Since local capital is inadequate to do the job of development alone and there is necessarily a limit to the Government funds which the U.S. taxpayer can make available, it is vital to Latin America that the rate of private U.S. investment continue.

Naturally, economic progress must be pursued by each country in ways consistent with its own cultural, political, and economic patterns. But if investment is to continue, there must always be due regard for the legal and property rights of the foreign investor. When foreign investors are subjected to expropriation without prompt, equitable, and effective compensation, it would be folly to believe that foreign investment will continue to be attracted. If it is repelled, one of the most important tools of development will have been thrown away.

New Regional Trading Arrangements

A pair of new tools have recently been created with the launching of two regional trading arrangements. A Common Market is coming into being between El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras which will have beneficial effects in diversifying production and trade. If it can be expanded to include the rest of Central America, it will become an even stronger influence for development. Only a few days ago, seven nations signed a treaty at Montevideo aimed at progressive reduction of trade barriers. Both of these regional trading arrangements will make it economically possible to produce goods now being imported from outside their areas. They will also help to create a climate which will attract additional private capital from abroad.

Still another tool of comparatively recent origin is multilateral consultation on commodity problems. Our friends in the Americas have long been seeking ways to lessen sharp price fluctuations of

their basic commodities in world markets. The U.S., as the principal coffee consumer, joined grower nations in 1958 in a study of the problems of the coffee industry. As a result, the Inter-American Coffee Agreement was negotiated between the producing countries. This was later expanded to include African producers in an International Coffee Agreement. Relative stability now rules in the coffee market, to the great benefit of the 15 exporting countries of Latin America. Similar efforts are going forward on other commodities.

Since reciprocal trade is a basic tool of progress, we shall continue to do everything in our power to open our markets wider to the products of the other Americas, whose trade with us has reached nearly \$4 billion a year in each direction. Through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade we are constantly seeking to break down barriers to trade which might prove harmful to ourselves and to our American neighbors.

Improving Human Skills

But, important as they are, financial assistance and the benefits of expanding trade are not sufficient, in themselves, to bring about development. People are the most essential tool of growth. There is a need in Latin America for improved human skills at all levels.

We have been working with the other governments of the hemisphere since 1942 in joint public health, agricultural, and educational endeavors. These programs are still important, but the concept of technical cooperation has been broadened to deal with problems in many other fields, including industrial hygiene, the development of trained managers and administrators for private enterprise, and the training of qualified civil service personnel for government. These joint programs have a radiating beneficial effect by stimulating many locally conceived innovations which are aiding progress. Puerto Rico is playing an important role in this field of technical cooperation. Our Federal Government cooperates with the Commonwealth in a program which brings to Puerto Rico thousands of persons from Latin America and elsewhere around the globe to study methods developed here so that they can apply them in solving similar problems in their own lands.

We cannot hope to achieve our common objec-

tives of economic prosperity and political stability unless our peoples understand and appreciate one another's cultural values. The United States has been working for many years to promote greater interchange of people, knowledge, and cultural attainments on a massive scale. Our Government has continuously expanded its exchange programs with the other Americans. This year more United States and Latin American citizens will be studying, teaching, and doing research in each other's countries than ever before. It is my personal hope that more and more attention will be given to cultural interchange in the years to come.

We of the United States regard all of the cooperative efforts I have been describing as tools to be used in fulfilling a commonly shared American dream: the development of the hemisphere to satisfy the mounting expectations of its peoples. These expectations and the need for large-scale cooperative efforts to meet them have been eloquently caught by Brazil's President Juscelino Kubitschek in Operation Pan America.

The concept of Operation Pan America is one which we fully support. It should lead to better coordination of the multifarious and sometimes scattered efforts that have characterized the past. Immediate benefits should flow from a series of comprehensive economic studies to be conducted by the Organization of American States. These studies, which have so far been requested by 11 nations, should enable us to better assess the task ahead.

Suggestions for Immediate Study

In the meantime I wonder if we do not already have at hand suggestions on ways to attack problems common to all the hemisphere, which could be given immediate study by the people of each country in the light of their own needs. I should like to offer the following for your consideration during this conference:

First, how can ways be found to reduce the financial burden of unnecessary armaments? The Presidents of Chile and Peru have appealed for a conference on arms limitation in the hemisphere. It would certainly be in the common interest to bring about a settlement agreeable to all, within the bounds of effective hemispheric security. Reduced expenditures on armaments should mean an

increase in funds that could be devoted to more productive purposes.

Second, how can the internal tax burden be spread more equitably, and how can taxes be collected more effectively? The tax burden in many countries is not apportioned according to the ability to pay. Tax reforms could increase government resources for economic development and at the same time reduce the burden borne in some countries by lower income groups.

Third, what measures can be taken to liberate private enterprise—domestic as well as foreign—from unnecessary controls and interferences? Although some governmental controls are undoubtedly needed, they should not be permitted to impede the significant contributions which socially conscious private enterprise can, and does, make to progress.

Fourth, how can overstuffed governmental bureaucracies be reduced without causing undue hardships, and how can governmental operations be made more effective—perhaps through the institution of civil service systems?

Fifth, what steps can be taken to expand educational facilities? In terms of development, one of the most pressing needs of the other Americas lies in the field of technological education for a technological age. Their engineering and technical schools now enroll some 50,000 students, and the need is for many times that number. But the long-range educational problem lies even deeper. It is estimated that an additional 400,000 teachers are required merely to assure an elementary education for the present school-age population.

Finally, how can excessive inflation be brought under control? This is admittedly not an easy task. It is one of the most difficult problems now confronting many of our sister republics. But ways must be found if continued economic growth is not to be frustrated. Success in this endeavor would lessen the wasteful use of resources, restore confidence in the currency, and thus encourage savings, channel investment of domestic capital into productive local enterprise rather than into the sterile haven of real estate, reduce the flow of money to foreign bank accounts and foreign securities, and bolster real wages consistent with a rising standard of living. The first and fundamental step in this direction would be wider realization of the fact that uncontrolled inflation is *not* synonymous with sustained growth and that

sound fiscal and monetary policies are *not* contrary to development.

Only with sound policies will solid and continuing progress be won. For production and still more production is the only way to achieve economic progress. Opportunism—the creation of divisions and hatreds between classes or between nations—demagoguery—disrespect for the rights of minorities, for human dignity, and for the right to dissent—disregard for property rights—all these can lead only to *less* production and to falling standards of living.

Foundations of the American Community

As we meet here tonight, President Eisenhower is making an historic visit to South America. You will have an opportunity to hear some of his personal impressions before your conference closes. I deeply regret that the press of official duties requires that I return tomorrow to Washington. For I had hoped to take part in your discussions, and I had been looking forward particularly to hearing the views of that eminent statesman, Don German Arciniegas of Colombia, when he addresses you two nights hence.

President Eisenhower's trip has amply demonstrated our deep-seated desire in the United States to identify ourselves with the surging aspirations of the Latin American peoples and to help them strengthen democracy and attain higher standards of living. We hold that no nation in this hemisphere stands alone. The spiritual and material well-being of one country is a matter of continuing and urgent concern to all. I say this with deep conviction. But it is more than a conviction. It is an article of faith. For our American community is built upon a bedrock of friendship and mutual respect. And friendship and solidarity have their roots in the human heart.

On behalf of my country and my people, I want to assure our friends of this: No matter what our commitments in other areas of the world—and they must know that they are many and burdensome and are designed to achieve the same free-world goals to which all of them subscribe—the United States will never forget the needs of its sister republics. Our feeling of friendship and kinship for the citizens of the other Americas is as deep-rooted and enduring as our belief in the freedom and dignity of the human spirit.

Development Assistance Group To Convene at Washington

Press release 95 dated March 2

The United States Government has issued invitations to the Governments of Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Portugal, and the United Kingdom and to the Commission of the European Economic Community to attend a meeting of the Development Assistance Group to be held at Washington March 9 to 12. These invitations have been accepted. The meeting stems from the special economic meetings held at Paris January 12 to 14, where a resolution was adopted noting that certain countries intended to consult concerning their policies of assistance to less developed countries.¹ The purpose of the meeting is to discuss the means of expanding and facilitating the flow of long-term capital funds to less developed areas and the various aspects of cooperation in these efforts.

U.S. Seeks To Establish Basis for Negotiations With Cuba

Following is an exchange of notes between Daniel M. Braddock, U.S. Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Habana, and Dr. Raúl Roa, Cuban Minister of State.

TEXT OF U.S. NOTE

Press release 92 dated February 29

FEBRUARY 29, 1960

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note of February 22 regarding the decision of the Government of Cuba to name a commission to negotiate in Washington on matters pending between Cuba and the United States of America. The Government of the United States welcomes and shares the expressed willingness of the Government of Cuba to seek a solution of outstanding problems through negotiations.

Your Excellency will appreciate, I am sure, that the Government of the United States cannot

¹For a series of statements made by Under Secretary Dillon at the Paris meetings, together with the texts of three resolutions adopted by the group, see BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139.

accept the condition for the negotiations stated in Your Excellency's note to the effect that no measure of a unilateral character shall be adopted on the part of the Government of the United States affecting the Cuban economy and its people, whether by the legislative or executive branch. As set forth in President Eisenhower's statement of January 26,¹ the Government of the United States must remain free, in the exercise of its own sovereignty, to take whatever steps it deems necessary, fully consistent with its international obligations, in the defense of the legitimate rights and interests of its people. The Government of the United States believes that these rights and interests have been adversely affected by the unilateral acts of the Government of Cuba.²

The Government of the United States for its part firmly intends to continue by its conduct and through its utterances to reaffirm the spirit of fraternal friendship which, as Your Excellency so well stated, has bound and does bind our two peoples and which the Government of the United States believes is earnestly cherished by them. Prior to the initiation of negotiations and through normal diplomatic channels the Government of the United States would wish to explore with the Government of Cuba the subjects to be discussed and the manner and place in which negotiations might be conducted. Accordingly, I would welcome, for transmittal to my Government, any proposals which Your Excellency might care to submit in these respects.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

TEXT OF CUBAN NOTE

Unofficial translation

FEBRUARY 22, 1960

I have the honor to communicate to you that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, in accordance with its expressed proposal to renew through diplomatic channels the negotiations already begun on matters pending between Cuba and the United States of America, has decided to name a commission, qualified for the purpose, which could begin its negotiations in Washington on the date which the two parties might agree.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba wishes to make clear, however, that the renewal and subsequent development of the said negotiations must necessarily be subject

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 15, 1960, p. 237.

² For background, see *ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1960, p. 15S.

to no measure being adopted, by the Government or the Congress of your country, of a unilateral character which might prejudice the results of the aforementioned negotiations or cause harm to the Cuban economy and people.

It seems obvious to add that the adherence of your Government to this point of view would not only contribute to the improvement in the relations between our respective countries but also reaffirm the spirit of fraternal friendship which has bound and does bind our peoples. It would moreover permit both Governments to examine, in a serene atmosphere and with the broadest scope, the questions which have affected the traditional relations between Cuba and the United States of America.

President Lleras of Colombia To Visit United States

The Department of State announced on March 2 (press release 93) that arrangements have been completed for the visit of Dr. Alberto Lleras-Camargo, President of the Republic of Colombia, who will visit the United States this spring at the invitation of President Eisenhower.

President Lleras, accompanied by Señora de Lleras and party, will arrive at Washington on April 5. On April 8 they will begin a brief trip in the United States that will include stops at Hot Springs and Roanoke, Va., New York City, and Miami, Fla., and will leave Miami for Bogotá on April 16 or 17.

U.S. Welcomes Australian Trade Liberalization

Department Statement

Press release 103 dated March 4

The United States welcomes the action, effective February 23, of the Government of Australia as a result of which products comprising about 90 percent of Australia's imports, worth about \$1.8 billion annually, are free of quota restrictions. This move follows steps taken last August 1¹ and December 1 by which Australia removed discriminatory quota restrictions against dollar goods from all except two commodities.

As a result of these liberalizations only about 200 products imported into Australia remain subject to licensing restrictions and the import quotas under these licensing controls have been

¹ BULLETIN of Aug. 24, 1959, p. 284.

increased by 20 percent. The restrictions reportedly are to remain only until some other way is found to provide advance information on the level of imports of these items. The present restrictions on imports of timber from dollar sources will be removed April 1, 1960, and the restrictions on imports of automobiles from dollar sources on October 1, 1960.

This action means that the removal of quota restrictions on Australia's imports is virtually complete. An increase in total imports from the present annual level of about \$1.9 billion to about \$2.2 billion is expected to result.

U.S. and Canada Continue Columbia River Negotiations

Following is a joint statement released at Ottawa on February 12 by E. D. Fulton, Minister of Justice of Canada, and E. F. Bennett, Under Secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior, at the conclusion of the first session of the negotiations on the cooperative development of the water resources of the Columbia River Basin, together with a communique released at Washington on March 5 at the close of the second session.

Joint Statement, Ottawa, February 12

This first meeting, while primarily exploratory in nature, has provided a most useful opportunity for an exchange of views and progress has been made. We are determined to proceed with all possible speed and to that end we have scheduled a second meeting to be held in Washington on March 4 and 5. In the interim, experts from both our countries will be working on some of the more technical aspects of the problems, with joint consideration by these experts of pertinent data.

In our negotiations we are being guided by the Principles recommended by the International Joint Commission and we wish to take this opportunity to commend the members of that body for the excellent preparatory studies they produced.

Communique, Washington, March 5

Press release 104 dated March 5

United States and Canadian Delegations appointed to negotiate an agreement for cooperative development of the water resources of the Columbia River System held the second in a series of

meetings at the Department of State, Washington, on March 4-5, 1960. The first meeting of the two Delegations was held in Ottawa on February 11-12, 1960.

The Chairman of the United States Delegation is the Honorable Elmer F. Bennett, Under Secretary of the Interior. Other members are Lieutenant General Emerson C. Itschner, Chief of Engineers, United States Army; and Mr. Ivan B. White, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

The Chairman of the Canadian Delegation is the Honorable E. D. Fulton, Minister of Justice. Other members are Mr. Gordon Robertson, Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources; Mr. A. E. Ritchie, Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs; and Mr. E. W. Bassett, Deputy Minister of Lands of the Province of British Columbia.

The two Chairmen reported that progress was made at the meeting just concluded, which continued the exchange of views initiated at Ottawa. This second meeting served to define in greater detail the views of the respective Governments. A third meeting has been scheduled for March 31 and April 1 at Ottawa and, in the interim, experts of both countries will continue study of the technical aspects of the negotiations as required.

U.S. Plans To Participate in Indus Basin Project

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT

Press release 90 dated February 29

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced on February 29 the readiness of certain friendly governments, including that of the United States, to participate in the financing of a Bank plan designed to effect a settlement of the Indus waters dispute between India and Pakistan. The other friendly governments concerned are those of Australia, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

The total cost of the system of works required to achieve this settlement is estimated by the Bank to be in the order of the equivalent of \$1 billion, partly in foreign exchange and partly in local currencies.

The contribution proposed by the Bank for the United States consists of \$177 million in grant aid, \$103 million in loans, and \$235 million in local currencies to be derived from the operations of various U.S. programs in Pakistan.

As pointed out by the Bank, actual implementation of the financial plan, and the participation of the governments concerned, would be contingent on the ratification of the water treaty now under negotiation between India and Pakistan and would be subject to such legislative action as may be required in each contributing country. The Bank has expressed the hope that final agreement on all the outstanding points to be included in the water treaty will be reached within the next 2 months.

Subject to congressional concurrence the Government of the United States proposes to assist this project financially because it wishes to see an early settlement of a major dispute which has since 1947 embittered relations between India and Pakistan. The United States is also interested in helping this project because upon it depends the future welfare of the 40 million people who live in the Indus Basin. When completed the entire system of works will be by far the largest integrated irrigation project in the world.

The Government of the United States is, therefore, pleased with the progress which the Governments of India and Pakistan have made toward settlement of the dispute and looks forward to the early conclusion between them of the water treaty. The contribution of the World Bank toward the success of these long-drawn-out and difficult negotiations has been invaluable. The plan drawn up by the World Bank constitutes perhaps a unique example of international cooperative help toward the fulfillment of a major program of economic development in the less developed areas of the world.

WORLD BANK ANNOUNCEMENT

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced on February 29 that the negotiations for the conclusion of a water treaty between India and Pakistan in settlement of the Indus waters question are continuing in Washington under the auspices of the World Bank. It is hoped that final agreement on all the outstanding points to be included in the treaty will be reached within the next 2 months.

The treaty would be based on a division of the Indus waters on the lines of the proposal made by the Bank to the two Governments in February 1954. Under this proposal the three eastern rivers of the Indus system (Sutlej, Beas, and Ravi) would be for the use of India, and the three western rivers (Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab) would be for the use of Pakistan.

This division of the waters necessitates the construction of works to transfer, from the three western rivers, supplies to meet the irrigation uses in those areas of Pakistan which have hitherto depended on supplies from the three eastern rivers. The effect of this transfer would be to release the whole flow of the three eastern rivers for irrigation development in India, and, as part of the treaty, India would agree to contribute toward the costs of these works. The system of works to be constructed would, however, provide further substantial additional irrigation development both in India and Pakistan and, as well as irrigation, would develop important hydroelectric potential in both countries. It would also make an important contribution to soil reclamation and drainage in Pakistan and provide a measure of flood protection in both countries.

It is estimated that the total cost of the system of works to achieve these results would be of the order of the equivalent of \$1,000 million, partly in foreign exchange and partly in local currencies.

The Bank has evolved a plan to finance the required expenditure and has had assurances from certain friendly governments of their readiness to participate in the cost of the plan, over and above the amounts to be contributed by India and Pakistan and by the Bank itself. The implementation of the financial plan and the participation of the governments concerned would, of course, be contingent on the ratification of the water treaty now under negotiation and would be subject to such parliamentary and congressional action as may in each case be necessary. The participation of each of the friendly governments concerned would be as follows:

A. In Foreign Exchange

Australia	£A 6,964,286 in grants
Canada	Can \$22,100,000 in grants
Germany	DM 126,000,000 in grants
New Zealand	£NZ 1,000,000 in grants
United Kingdom	£ 20,860,000 in grants
United States	US \$177,000,000 in grants, and US \$103,000,000 in loans

B. In Local Currency

United States	The equivalent of US \$235,000,000
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The President of the World Bank is prepared to recommend to the Bank's Directors that the Bank should participate with loans to India and Pakistan of the order of \$103 million.

The Bank's financial plan envisages that all construction contracts would be open to competitive bidding and that the foreign exchange contributions would be freely usable for purchases anywhere in accordance with procedures similar to those followed by the Bank in its normal operations.

The costs of the construction program would be spread over a period of approximately 10 years, and the general supervision of the program would be undertaken by the Bank.

U.S. Affirms Belief in Principle of Self-Determination for Tibet

Following is an exchange of messages between Secretary Herter and His Holiness the Dalai Lama (press release 89 dated February 29).

Secretary Herter to the Dalai Lama

FEBRUARY 20, 1960

YOUR HOLINESS: Thank you for your letter to me dated January 5, 1960.

As you know, while it has been the historical position of the United States to consider Tibet as an autonomous country under the suzerainty of China, the American people have also traditionally stood for the principle of self-determination. It is the belief of the United States Government that this principle should apply to the people of Tibet and that they should have the determining voice in their own political destiny.

Sincerely yours,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

His Holiness
The DALAI LAMA

The Dalai Lama to Secretary Herter

BALRAMPUR, INDIA, *January 5, 1960*

To: His Excellency, The Honorable Secretary of State,
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

YOUR EXCELLENCY: Permit me to offer my sincere gratitude to you and to the Government of the United States for your active support during the course of the debates in the United Nations General Assembly regarding the

problem of Tibet.¹ I can assure Your Excellency that my people will always remember the help and assistance they have received thereby in their effort to determine for themselves their own political destiny.

The support and sympathy of the people and Government of the United States have been of great benefit and encouragement to us and we confidently hope that this will be continued.

With assurances of my highest consideration, I remain,
Yours sincerely,

DALAI LAMA

U.S. Aids Victims of Agadir Earthquake

Press release 102 dated March 4

The U.S. Government has continued to increase its allocations for emergency aid to Agadir, Morocco, virtually destroyed by earthquake on the night of February 29-March 1. Funds drawn from the Mutual Security Program's contingency fund will finance assistance by U.S. agencies already at work. The International Cooperation Administration also announced on March 4 it has authorized arrangements for shipment of 5,000 metric tons of grain and up to 50 tons of milk under provisions of Public Law 480.

U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force units have been providing airlift, medical, and emergency supplies since the early hours of March 1, under the direction of U.S. Ambassador Charles C. Yost and in close cooperation with Moroccan authorities and units from five other Western nations and international relief organizations. Overall disaster relief has been coordinated by Moroccan Crown Prince Moulay Hassan.

The U.S. effort began at 6:00 a.m., Tuesday morning, March 1, with the declaration by Ambassador Yost that the Agadir earthquake constituted a national disaster. Ten thousand dollars was immediately released from the Ambassador's emergency fund, and U.S. military air-

craft began flying in emergency medical and relief supplies and evacuating casualties, many of whom are under treatment in U.S. military hospitals in Morocco. A combined force of about 200 airmen, sailors, and marines drawn from U.S. bases in Morocco was rushed to Agadir to assist in rescue operations. Later a U.S. Army engineer company from Germany was airlifted to the disaster area for rescue and demolition work. Also on hand is a Navy preventive-medicine unit to work with Moroccan medical authorities.

Equipment flown into Agadir by U.S. forces included bulldozers, graders, and other heavy pieces for rescue and demolition work. Supplies provided from U.S. military stocks and airlifted to Agadir included tents, blankets, and cots for survivors; disinfectants, quicklime insecticides, and sprayers to help prevent possible epidemics; and even gas masks and salt tablets for workers on the spot.

U.S. planes also helped fly in Royal Moroccan Army troops and contributions of emergency supplies from other sources. The coordinated airlift also included French, Spanish, and Italian aircraft.

The cruiser U.S.S. *Newport News* arrived on March 3 in the port of Agadir, joining ships of the French, Netherlands, British, and Italian navies.

Both the American Embassy and U.S. military commands went on 24-hour watches, and a joint command post made up of Embassy, Navy, Military Liaison Office, and Air Force officers was established at the French airbase near Agadir. Communications between U.S. establishments and the Agadir area were maintained by ham radio and from the Navy base at Fort Lyautey to Agadir, supplemented by portable equipment flown into the devastated city.

While the principal effort to provide relief continues to be carried out by the Moroccan Government with substantial assistance from French units at hand, the U.S. is contributing to the extent possible.

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1959, p. 683.

The Economic Assistance Program for Fiscal Year 1961

*Statement by James W. Riddleberger
Director, International Cooperation Administration*¹

I welcome this opportunity to appear before you in my capacity as Director of the International Cooperation Administration to support those elements of the fiscal year 1961 Mutual Security Program authorization request which are the responsibility of ICA. These include defense support, special assistance, technical cooperation, and the ICA administrative expenses.

Over the past decade I have observed and participated in this program from the vantage points of both the developed and underdeveloped parts of Europe, including 6 years in Yugoslavia and Greece. I have personally witnessed the effectiveness of this program as a tool serving our foreign policy objectives. I am convinced that without this program the map of Europe would be very different today, we would have been compelled to spend for our own defense amounts exceeding the cost of these programs in Europe, and our overall defense posture would be far less secure than it is now.

Without United States assistance the Communist rebels probably would have taken over Greece. It is difficult in 1960 to reconstruct in our minds the apparently hopeless position of the free forces in Greece in the late forties, when their authority in Athens itself extended over only a few blocks.

The program has helped the free countries of Europe to meet an imminent Communist internal threat to their independence arising out of their economic collapse. It is doubtful if either France or Italy would have succeeded in the determined defense of their freedom without this program.

¹ Made before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Mar. 1 (press release 94).

Economic assistance has made it more feasible for Yugoslavia to proceed on the road of independence from Moscow, which it had chosen.

This program has directly benefited the trade and commerce, and consequently the livelihood, of the entire free world. It has been the foundation for the rebirth of a determination by many nations to remain free and independent. It has strengthened the will of many nations to pursue without fear the path of freedom and independence and to maintain a position of national sovereignty. It has helped to make the concept of a satellite state repulsive to free peoples.

Also noteworthy is the fact that today many of the European countries, which, 12 short years ago, were themselves at the edge of economic chaos, are able and have begun to extend substantial aid to underdeveloped countries.

This program has helped the free countries of Europe to maintain a military posture which has significantly contributed to deterring or preventing Communist expansion by force of arms. NATO and our complex of strategic bases are a direct consequence of this program.

Under the Marshall plan assistance was concentrated on the overwhelmingly important problem of restoring and strengthening the economies, the stability, and the military power of Europe. However, while these striking forward strides have been made in Europe, additional and pressing challenges requiring appropriate response from the United States have arisen during the past decade in the underdeveloped areas, in the Middle East, Asia, and more recently in Africa.

Our initial step in the underdeveloped areas was the point 4 concept. This program recog-

nized that, unlike the situation in Western Europe, the shortage of technical skills and the inadequacies of local institutions represented as great a deterrent to progress as their lack of capital. Our technical cooperation program to assist in remedying these situations has had a high degree of success. However, in some areas point 4 was overshadowed almost at the outset by the explosion of Communist armed force and intensified subversive action into the underdeveloped areas beginning with their subversive action in Iran, their takeover of mainland China, and the start of Communist military action in Korea, Indochina, and the Taiwan Strait. These actions made imperative the provision of economic assistance in order to enable the countries most directly concerned to resist the threat by military measures and to restore or strengthen their economies.

With the gradual return of stability to Europe and Asia—an uneasy stability as we have seen in 1959, and with Communist actions threatened or directed at such places as Berlin, Tibet, India, Laos, and the offshore islands—it has been possible to direct increasing attention to the problems of development in Asia and elsewhere and at the same time continue necessary attention to stability and maintenance of the military shield. Thus recent years have seen a significant growth of technical cooperation, the establishment of the Development Loan Fund, the creative use of our agricultural surpluses, the expansion of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the development of other instrumentalities to jointly mobilize the resources of the other developed nations of the free world.

Our response has been properly characterized by flexibility and diversity to meet differing needs and priorities with limited resources. Our programming process has been increasingly refined to permit this.

In a constantly changing world scene it has not been easy to achieve the most effective balance between, for example, Europe and Asia, military and economic needs, grants and loans, short-run impact and long-range benefits, military allies and neutrals, and major projects and diversified small projects. At no time have any of these possibilities been ignored. However, it has been certainly possible for men of reason to reach different conclusions as to the proper balance. With the benefit of hindsight we can now see where a different

emphasis in particular situations might have been more effective. I personally believe that the shifts in emphasis and the changes in the program which the executive branch is proposing to you this year, and which ICA is, in part, charged to execute, represent not only another significant forward step in our continuing effort to improve foreign assistance but represent a program which is responsive to the needs of fiscal year 1961.

The Fiscal Year 1961 Program

The fiscal year 1961 program features a series of new points of, or shifts in, emphasis. President Eisenhower's mutual security message and the presentations of Secretary Herter and Under Secretary Dillon before this committee² have indicated these points, which include increased concentration of assistance for economic growth in particular countries, the Indus Basin program,³ the special program for tropical Africa, decreased requirements for defense support, the greater contribution of other industrialized free nations, and the Inter-American Bank.⁴ I shall discuss several of these subjects in my presentation this morning.

The fiscal year 1961 program contemplates continued building and strengthening of the defensive shield along the Sino-Soviet arc. New emphasis is given to selecting and developing free-world economic strong points.

It is our contention that the simple concept of increased concentration of major U.S. financial resources in selected countries will net more value for free-world economic strength than spreading our aid and assistance on a less catalytic scale among all countries benefiting from our economic programs. President Eisenhower's program as it has been set before you takes a significant step in this regard.

Thus, as you are aware, our program this year highlights India, Pakistan, and Taiwan as principal examples of countries wherein it is clearly in our national interest, as well as in the national interest of these countries, to concentrate development assistance.

South Asia

Major capital assistance to south Asia will be provided through the Development Loan Fund, which will be described at a later session by Mr.

² BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1960, p. 369.

³ See p. 442.

⁴ BULLETIN of Mar. 14, 1960, p. 427.

[Vance] Brand [Managing Director, Development Loan Fund].⁵ However, I do think it is appropriate for me to say that the program of ICA can be properly judged only in relation to the other parts of the Mutual Security Program and related programs, such as those under Public Law 480. I am convinced that the India capital-resources program, appropriately the responsibility of the Development Loan Fund, forms an integral and essential part of our total response to the problems of economic development. We have our largest technical cooperation program in India. To carry out our heavy responsibilities in India and to help assure full integration of all U.S. economic activities in the country regardless of the Washington agency which backstops them, we have established a new position there, that of Economic Minister. Mr. C. Tyler Wood, whom many of you know and who is one of our most experienced and senior officials, is the incumbent of this position.

In Pakistan our response to the requirement for a heavy flow of resources will be made through the provision of defense support to finance imports of commodities and a Public Law 480 program of agricultural surpluses, as well as DLF lending.

Program for the Republic of China

Turning now to Taiwan, I would like to quote briefly from President Eisenhower's mutual security message:

The vigorous and skilled population on Taiwan, the record of growth in investment and output, the very real potential for acceleration, offer a prospect for a convincing demonstration that under free institutions a pace and degree of achievement can eventually be obtained in excess of that resulting under totalitarianism. For this purpose, we envisaged the full employment of both grant and loan assistance to hasten the day of ultimate viability and self-sustaining growth.

Last year during your hearings Leonard J. Saccio, then Acting ICA Director, highlighted the extremely encouraging, and widely unrecognized, accomplishments made on Taiwan in the last 8 years. Industrial production has more than doubled. The number of private entrepreneurs has mushroomed. There are now some 20,000 manufacturers producing goods ranging from small household items to heavy capital equipment. Agriculture has also expanded and diversified; yields per acre are now among the world's highest.

⁵ See p. 453.

The progress of the Republic of China leads us to believe that an accelerated effort may enable the island to reach the goal—full economic self-support.

The Government of free China has prepared a plan for acceleration of economic growth which has been transmitted to U.S. representatives for consideration. The plan includes many significant Chinese actions such as tax reforms, non-inflationary fiscal and monetary policy, more liberal foreign exchange controls, and transfer of public-owned industries to private hands. Taken as a whole the many proposed activities should stimulate the private sector and induce an increased level of domestic investment. It is proposed that the MSP, through an appropriate combination of grants and loans, assist in meeting the foreign exchange costs of this addition of investment. The achievement of rapid growth largely through the vigor of the private sector will have an impact of great significance in the Far East.

Why Concentration of Assistance?

Some persons may well ask, as I am sure a number of our staunch allies in the underdeveloped areas will ask, "Why are we suggesting an intense concentration of assistance for economic growth in Taiwan and south Asia but not in all the other areas?" It is my belief that the answer to this question belongs in my public statement and should not be reserved for executive sessions; it should and will be unclassified. The reasoning will not come as any surprise to this committee as much of the underlying rationale was articulately expressed in your report⁶ of nearly 1 year ago.

The answer is essentially twofold: first, that economic development cannot occur as a product of external assistance alone. Real development, which yields its broad range of benefits to the general population, will always be, in the main, a product of the work and devotion of the people concerned and cannot be given, or lent, or forced by an outside nation.

As President Eisenhower said in his state of the Union message:⁷

All of us must realize, of course, that development in freedom by the newly emerging nations is no mere matter of obtaining outside financial assistance. An

⁶ H. Rept. 440, 86th Cong., 1st sess.

⁷ BULLETIN of Jan. 25, 1960, p. 111.

indispensable element in this process is a strong and continuing determination on the part of these nations to exercise the national discipline necessary for any sustained development period. These qualities of determination are particularly essential because of the fact that the process of improvement will necessarily be gradual and laborious rather than revolutionary. Moreover, everyone should be aware that the development process is no short-term phenomenon. Many years are required for even the most favorably situated countries.

The provision of technical or capital assistance cannot induce dynamic progress unless the people themselves are prepared to make the difficult economic and political decisions required in the allocation and administration of their *own* resources. Foreign aid may be an indispensable part of the total, but increasing the amount of foreign aid in no sense substitutes for the necessary ingredient of full, determined, disciplined self-help.

The second part of the answer is that more than self-help and determination is required. There must be an economic, institutional, and human-resources base upon which rapid economic growth can be built.

However, when these two conditions are met, namely, full determination and disciplined self-help, plus an economic, institutional, and human base capable of accelerated growth, *then* the United States stands prepared to utilize a variety of tools and techniques in increased measure to help accelerate economic advancement.

There must be, however, a judgment made by the United States involving selectivity in choosing when and where to concentrate assistance. This Government does not believe that properly guiding its actions on such judgments constitutes interference in the internal affairs of others. The selection process does require that the United States make certain qualitative judgments as to the chances of success for economic growth unless the recipient deals realistically with such things as the tax policy, trade policy, and investment policy.

I wish to underscore my earlier statement that the heart of development must come from within. The United States is frequently criticized for giving too much assistance and also frequently criticized for not giving enough. These latter critics—both within the United States and abroad—may not fully appreciate the role of external assistance as we see it. The essential point is that the assistance policies of this Government must and do proceed with the recognition that our acts can

stimulate and can help but cannot substitute for effective self-help. This point has its corollary: that other nations must—and many do—recognize that it is in their national interest to plan and carry the major portion of their own programs for economic independence.

There is a discernible response by many nations to the questions of their future growth. We find a heightened and constructive attention to such questions as investment policy, encouragement of private enterprise, and tax and fiscal policies. This encouraging response is the product of many forces: a recognition of unfavorable relative rates of growth as compared to others, including potential aggressors; the uncertainties of external assistance, as well as out of their own “trial and error” efforts at development.

I said that the answer to why we should concentrate assistance is essentially twofold, but there is a third reason, a kind of dividend reason. I like to call this reason the “reverse domino” effect. You all know the danger of chain reaction in Communist aggression, which has been often called the “domino” effect—one small free country is invaded or subverted by the Communists, and the drive of the Communists in knocking down this first country might serve to knock down a series of neighboring small countries like dominoes.

The reverse-domino effect comes with the ability of these islands of development, once they have picked up the drive toward self-sustaining growth, to give assistance and inspiration in their turn to other underdeveloped countries which are farther behind in the growth process. We are now witnessing a major reverse-domino effect in the form of increasing efforts by Western Europe to assist the development of Asian and African countries. We are also witnessing it, on a smaller but still impressive scale, in the case of Israel, a small, medium-developed country, sending technicians to assist in Ghana, Nigeria, Burma, and other countries. We see the reverse-domino effect also in Indian aid to Nepal, situated precariously within arms grasp of Red China, and we see it as Taiwan and the Philippines are extending technical assistance to free Viet-Nam. These examples will be multiplied in the years to come.

There is also another significant effect which will come with success. I believe that free peoples everywhere will prefer to continue free even if freedom means that economic progress to the

stage of self-sustaining growth takes two generations compared to the one generation which may be possible under totalitarian rule. But they will have to know that progress under freedom is possible for underdeveloped countries. We propose to help supply the evidence.

Finally, I wish to make clear, as did your committee in its discussion of this concept in the report last year, that we do not mean in any way to suggest that those governments whose countries are not yet in a position to qualify for intensive development assistance should be cut off from assistance required by their special circumstances or from specific assistance to help establish an economic, institutional, and human base capable of accelerated growth. Such assistance will continue to be required. The main point of the proposal is its recognition that increased concentration of development assistance on countries ready and willing for dynamic growth will pay the greatest dividends.

Special Program for Tropical Africa

Turning now to a second major feature of foreign assistance planning and programing, our proposal for assistance to Africa I believe represents a new step in the right direction in the coming year.

Other representatives of the executive branch are presenting to you a picture of the swift and unexpected rate of political change in Africa. The African Continent is entering into a new relationship with other parts of the world. Developments in Africa require a reorientation of European-African relationships and a new and direct partnership between the United States and Africa.

During the past year there have been a considerable number of visits of African leaders to the United States. Some of you have talked with these leaders, as we have. They have emphasized their desire for our moral support and our understanding. They have stressed their needs for technical assistance and especially their needs for help in the fields of education and training. Most of them hope for and expect continuing strong support from the European powers. But they desire also to broaden their economic relationships, particularly by securing the support and assistance of the United Nations and of the United States.

Our Government will continue to encourage the

other Western Powers, particularly the European powers, to continue to help carry the burden of providing financial assistance to Africa. We are making a particular effort also to encourage private investment in Africa and to seek ways in which the resources of lending agencies can be used to meet capital requirements.

We are convinced, however, that it is in the United States interest also to increase direct assistance to Africa. We are proposing, therefore, an increase in our technical cooperation program in Africa, and in addition we are requesting a sum of \$20 million to finance the first year of an education and training program.

There is an extraordinary need on the African Continent to build and to strengthen human and institutional resources as a precondition of rapid economic growth. It seems clearly appropriate for us to apply increased emphasis toward helping to meet this need, so that the Africans will increase their abilities to do things for themselves and will be able to utilize more effectively other forms of economic development assistance.

From the oft-cited literacy and education statistics on Africa, you are all aware of the tremendous magnitude of the problem. It is a problem of which African leaders are well aware and one which they themselves must solve. We recognize that to spread our limited resources over the entire spectrum of African education would be futile. We propose, therefore, to offer our assistance at critical points where we believe the benefits will be greatest. You will note from the material that will be provided you that we hope to be able to strengthen African institutions, which in turn can serve as more effective centers of planning and leadership in the education and training fields. We propose to concentrate on basic improvements in approaches to education and training—improvements which will be responsive to Africa's development needs and aspirations and which have a maximum demonstrational and multiplier effect. Hence we plan to channel much of our efforts into assisting the African leaders with basic educational planning and program development, teacher training, language training, the development and production of training aids and teaching materials, vocational and agricultural training programs, and related fields.

In planning our program for tropical Africa we have been assisted by the recent ICA-financed

study "Recommendations for Strengthening Science and Technology in Selected Areas of Africa South of the Sahara"⁸ prepared by the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. Dr. J. George Harrar, vice president of the Rockefeller Foundation, served as executive director of the study with a variety of United States and other country scientific consultants assisting.

In conjunction with the special emphasis on education and training, we propose that a portion of the \$20 million program be used for activities which will encourage the African nations to work together on common problems of economic and technological development. Current political developments, as you are well aware, are tending toward a fragmentation of the continent into many separate units. The common bonds once provided by the European metropolises are fast disappearing with little to replace them. The African leaders themselves are concerned with this development and are seeking ways in which to establish closer ties between their countries. Both the political desirability of closer cooperation and the economic efficiency of bringing together their available resources and talents are sound arguments for the encouragement of regional cooperation. We plan to assist in this area through support to multicountry planning, conferences, workshops, and other related activities which you will be able to explore further when we discuss Africa specifically.

Justification of Magnitudes of Assistance

It is customary that I should dwell on these categories and purposes and explain to you the figures in the President's budget, as we are appearing before your committee to request authorization by broad category for particular purposes. And of course this is appropriate, although the President's budget message⁹ delivered in January, his recent mutual security message, and the addresses of Secretary Herter and Under Secretary Dillon before this committee have set before you by category the amounts required and the purposes for which they will be used. Those who follow in the presentation to your committee will discuss in

some detail these programs, explaining why the amounts requested are the amounts required for the accomplishment of United States objectives in the coming fiscal year.

I would also add that you will soon have before you comprehensive congressional presentation books which my staff, as well as other parts of the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the Development Loan Fund, have been preparing for the last 2 months and which represent the final product of 12 months of effort. In these books we have tried to provide fully reasoned, considered statements justifying in detail the funds requested.

As Director of ICA and as one who has spent his adult life largely in the Foreign Service of the United States, I wish to add some comments on our defense support, special assistance, and technical cooperation programs which I believe are appropriate and which I hope may be useful.

I wish to state that the amounts requested of the Congress are minimum amounts for an effective program. We are requesting less funds in defense support for fiscal 1961 than are at present programmed for fiscal 1960, more for special assistance and more for technical cooperation than is available for the present year.

Defense Support and Special Assistance

Also relevant is the fact that the Congress enacted last year section 503(c) of the Mutual Security Act, which called for the executive branch to present plans by country for reduction and elimination where possible of grant economic assistance in the categories of defense support and special assistance.

Your committee, I am sure, will discuss these plans in detail. However, at this point I would like to make a general observation. It appears to me that the manner in which our programs are presented to you and the way they are administered may well lead to the notion that our total defense support and special assistance programs are a summation of our responses to individual country situations. It may appear that with some work and good luck these individual situations can be remedied and then the United States can get out of the economic assistance business. In part, of course, this is a true representation of the picture, but only in part. It might be more correct to add that defense-support and special-

⁸ Copies of the report are available from the Office of International Relations, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington 25, D.C.

⁹ For excerpts, see BULLETIN of Feb. 8, 1960, p. 202.

assistance magnitudes are a function of the general state of international political and military relationships. In the long run the level of appropriations required will depend in large part on events beyond the control of either the United States or our friends and allies. Defense support and special assistance programs over the next several years may possibly go down significantly, or they may rise.

To illustrate my point, there are a number of indications that Communist China, a decade from now, will have grown economically to the point where its external "power" potential may exceed that of Russia at the beginning of World War II. We all recall the nearly universal belief in 1940 that the Japanese were a determined people with a low standard of living who had made some remarkable advances. But few people thought the Japanese strong enough to challenge the United States in mortal combat for a period of years. Likewise, we should recall that the relatively "underdeveloped" Soviet Union of the early 1940's was thought by many to be incapable of maintaining a massive and effective war effort.

If Communist China continues its rapid economic growth over the next decade (a real possibility), there will be an important power shift in the Far East and Southeast Asia. The free-world response to this power will, of course, depend upon the attitudes of Communist China in the conduct of its international relations. But we must not be caught by an economic or political Pearl Harbor.

When I speak of a Pearl Harbor, I have especially in mind a political, economic, and social offensive by the Chinese which might undermine or overwhelm the countries along the arc of free Asia from Afghanistan to Korea. Grant economic assistance in present, or modified, amounts and kinds will play an important role along the periphery of Communist China, stretching from the Near East and Southeast Asia to the Far East.

These countries must develop greater internal economic strength. It is in our own self-interest that these countries move forward as rapidly as feasible. In this forward movement we must devote increasing attention to helping the participating countries improve their plans and institutions for the encouragement of private enterprise among their own people and for attracting private external capital from the capital-exporting na-

tions. The goal of increased investment cannot be achieved solely by increasing the flow of capital from government to government. This cannot provide sufficient capital for the economic growth needs of the developing countries. Equally important, it cannot carry with it the full range of skills and practical operating experience required for the success of industrial and commercial investments. Furthermore, unless there is an appropriate balance between the input of public and private capital, there is little hope of building or preserving the kind of economic society conducive to the protection of individual liberty and democratic concepts. Our program will therefore be directed in the coming year to the improvement, wherever possible, of the overall climate for increased private participation in the process of economic growth, to building or strengthening institutions dedicated to the advancement of this process, and to the creation of adequate facilities for the provision of capital to potential entrepreneurs.

Likewise, grant economic assistance must necessarily be a part of our program in Africa. This year we are instituting our new program at a level of \$20 million. In reference to this program President Eisenhower said in his mutual security message:

It is my belief that this initial effort must grow significantly in the immediate years ahead and complement similar efforts on the part of other free world nations so that the capacity of the new and other developing nations in Africa to manage and direct their development can be strengthened and increased rapidly and effectively.

We do not want, nor is it possible, to turn our back on this continent four times the size of the United States, with more than 200 million people. I believe this committee will agree with me that the degree of our involvement in the African Continent can be expected to increase rather than decrease. I believe you will further agree with me that we are facing a situation in Africa wherein grant assistance rather than loan assistance will continue to be a necessary tool in our response to many of the African needs such as education and training.

In summary, as you look at our detailed plans for the elimination or reduction of individual country programs of grant economic assistance in the forms of defense support and special assistance, I believe it would be most advisable to keep

in mind that these categories of aid are among the principal tools of United States foreign policy and that the use of them must be responsive to total world military, political, and economic developments.

Technical Cooperation

Despite the notable successes of the technical cooperation program, we must not automatically conclude or assume that the programs, methods, devices of the past two decades are necessarily the best ones in helping today's underdeveloped countries achieve their national aspirations and adequate rates of economic and social progress.

In the past this committee has been instrumental in expanding and strengthening the technical cooperation program. Therefore it is with pleasure that I report today that we are initiating a serious study of this program looking toward recommendations as to how it can be made an increasingly effective instrument in the decade ahead. We are establishing a technical assistance study group for this purpose. We are seeking the best man we can find to head this group. We will provide him with such outside consultants and special staff support as he feels are necessary for a thorough study. Preliminary staff work has already begun. We need to know better the types of activities which give greatest promise of success. We must be ready to accept new ideas and to experiment with new devices if we are to achieve maximum results. For example, we need to know more about the potentialities and value of what is often referred to as community development. Community development is variously described as a concept, a profession, a technique. In essence, however, it represents one approach to problems of village-level development and in a number of the countries in which it is now being employed gives great promise of being a successful approach.

In the Philippines it has taken the following form: Twenty-three million people live in over 20,000 small, rural communities. The late President Magsaysay believed that these communities should be organized to obtain greater local participation in community affairs if democracy were to continue to progress. A series of reforms were initiated after the last war. A new law became effective at the beginning of this year in which these rural communities were given quasi-municipal authority, including authority to levy taxes for

locally initiated community improvement projects. The right to vote was extended to women and single men.

These represent changes of great significance for the Philippines, the importance of which may not be recognized by many of us in the United States where the concept of local democracy and local taxation is taken for granted, even though this concept has been a major factor in our political and economic progress. The ICA has given substantial support to this program for the past several years through allocation of appreciable sums of U.S.-owned local currency and by providing technical advisers.

We have been informed that the results of this cooperative effort are impressive. Over 20,000 community development workers have been trained. Projects are underway in each *barrio*. Funds are being used as a primary stimulant for initiation of more than 8,000 aided self-help community projects and 250 miles of *barrio* self-help roads each year. From April 1956 to June 30, 1959, some 21,000 self-help projects were initiated. About 75 percent of them have now been completed. These projects include such things as community centers, foot bridges, pure water supply systems, roads, and health centers. This is a program which touches a great percentage of the people of the rural Philippines in a very real and personal way.

Without prejudging the applicability of community development to each and every bilateral program, we can honestly say that had we waited for community development to have been fully accepted, professionally, the notable success of the Philippine effort might have been appreciably delayed.

Nor can we be satisfied with our accomplishments, nor with a reexamination of our past experiences to discover the way for future activity, nor with the addition of relatively new programs and devices such as community development. We must in ICA continuously raise our standards of what constitutes an acceptable level of performance from our personnel.

One example of our efforts in this field, and one which was initiated out of the special authorization of \$8 million made available by this committee for fiscal year 1959, is the ICA contract with Boston University to provide a course and field survey on African studies, preparatory to the as-

signments of personnel to the new and expanding programs in Africa. There currently are 20 ICA personnel in the first course. A second course will begin this coming July.

In conclusion, I believe our program is responsive to the guidance received from this Congress. I believe our program responds to the restatement of policy which was explained in your committee report last year as follows:

“... our first major purpose is to encourage free peoples to stand on their own feet, to make their

own choices, to defend themselves against aggression, and to create economic and political conditions under which the principles of liberty and human dignity can take root, grow, and ultimately flourish. . . . our global objective remains what it has always been: a world of freedom, justice, and peace in which all men may have the opportunity to develop freely and independently within the framework of their own cultures, religions, and national capabilities. Only in such a world can the United States develop freely and fully its own culture and national aspirations.”

The DLF Program for Fiscal Year 1961

*Statement by Vance Brand
Managing Director, Development Loan Fund*¹

I am gratified at the opportunity to appear before you today for the first time. It enables me to present what might be considered an annual report to this committee on the Development Loan Fund.

My report will have four parts: (1) a summary of our loan operations; (2) an explanation of recent policy and operating changes; (3) where our emphasis will be placed in the future; and (4) an explanation of why a \$700 million increase in DLF capital out of appropriations already authorized is essential.

Before proceeding to these matters, however, I should like to comment on one aspect of the legislation before you and on the setting against which my subsequent remarks will be offered.

The legislation to which I refer is the proposed section 404 of the Mutual Security Act, which deals with the development of the Indus Basin.² Secretary Dillon has already discussed this matter with you,³ and I understand that further elab-

oration will be offered during the regional hearings on the Near East and South Asia. I should merely like to add that, if the DLF is to play a useful role in this effort to be made in partnership with many countries and which the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is organizing, it is essential that we have the authority to allow the use of our funds in accordance with the requirements, standards, or procedures of the IBRD. Certainly if each of the participating nations were to insist on the application of its own rules, the effective coordination of this complex effort would be seriously impeded. On the basis of its known record, we have every reason to be confident that the IBRD's own standards and procedures will result in a program as efficient as that which our own standards are designed to insure.

Because we at the DLF are concerned with the economic, technical, and procedural aspects of lending for development, my report to you necessarily deals with such matters. This emphasis, however, should not obscure the fact the DLF is an instrument of United States foreign policy and that its operations are attuned to that policy.

¹ Made before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Mar. 1.

² See p. 442.

³ BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1960, p. 380.

You will recall that the legislation enacted almost 3 years ago specifically places the DLF under the foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State.

There are, of course, other than foreign policy requirements which govern the scope and direction of our lending. The legislation and our administrative interpretations impose a variety of economic and technical criteria as well. Three principal criteria govern the direction of DLF lending: first, a major United States foreign policy interest in a high rate of economic development; second, a capacity to mobilize domestic resources and to use foreign assistance effectively in furthering economic development; third, a need for foreign resources which cannot be financed by other private and public institutions.

Lending Operations

I should like to turn now to an analysis of our lending activity. In doing so I should like to call your attention to the red presentation book which we have placed before you. It contains, in much fuller detail than I can provide in the available time, a discussion of the role and nature of the DLF, its detailed progress, a description of each approved loan, and comprehensive financial statements. You will note that the book is entirely unclassified.

As the chart on page 2 of the red book shows, the Congress has made available to the DLF a total of \$1.4 billion for lending purposes. As of January 31 of this year, \$958 million had been committed for lending, representing 118 specific direct loans and loan guaranties in 43 countries.

Now I am sure there are some who are wondering why \$700 million in additional capital is being requested when more than \$400 million is still available for commitment. I am afraid that these doubts rest on an erroneous notion that there is a monthly, quarterly, semiannual, or other short-range rate of activity which suggests the level of future funding that is required.

On the basis of some years in this field I am convinced that development lending does not and cannot take place in this fashion. Its commitment rates are inevitably erratic, owing to the varying amounts of time needed to bring a project or program to readiness and the wide range of costs covered by development projects.

But additional factors bear on the operations

of the DLF this year. A considerable amount of my time and of the staff as well was spent in a review and assessment of policies and operations, a matter to which I will return in a few moments. Furthermore, the new requirement that section 517 of the Mutual Security Act apply to DLF has had an effect on the timing of our lending. Completion of basic engineering and reasonably firm cost estimates prior to the actual obligation of funds, which takes place when a formal loan agreement is signed, would constitute compliance with this section of the act. However, in the interest of more effective compliance with the intent of Congress, we normally require that such conditions be met before submitting a loan to the Board of Directors for approval. Moreover, we are now unable, as we were in the past, occasionally to conclude a loan agreement which makes the completion of basic engineering a condition precedent to disbursement.

These factors all had their effect on DLF operations at about the same time. Now, however, we are moving ahead rapidly once again. We have on hand substantially more proposals than funds, and we expect to commit the balance of our available resources before the end of this fiscal year.

The bulk of our lending through January 31, as you can see from the charts on page 3 in the red book, has been in South Asia, the Near East, and the Far East and for the purpose of developing transport and communications, industry, and power.

For a detailed breakdown of our activity, I refer to the section entitled "Approved Loans." There we summarize the various phases of our lending activity by region, by individual loan, and by fiscal year. The bulk of the section consists of detailed descriptions for all loans approved thus far.

I should like particularly to call your attention to the Development Loan Fund's support of private enterprise, a record which I believe is already substantial but which must be further expanded in the future. Of the total loans and guaranties approved for specific projects and programs through January 31, 1960, \$304.1 million, or 32 percent, is for the direct benefit and use of the private sector. Forty-three loans and two loan guaranties were approved for this purpose. About \$160 million of the total consists of transactions with private borrowers and intermediate institutions which relend to private entities. The balance went to governments who will make the foreign exchange thus secured

directly available to private industry. Our activities in connection with private investment are explained in a separate section of the book beginning on page 23.

Returning to our financial situation for a moment, you will note that it is summarized in a table on page 5 of the red book and that complete statements are provided in the last section of the book. These data show that formal obligations, disbursements, and income are all rising steadily.

Our disbursements are substantially behind formal obligations. This is to be expected, given the nature of our activity. One can expect a gap of years, as the experience of the Export-Import Bank and the IBRD shows, between the conclusion of a loan for a development project or program and the final disbursement of funds against that loan.

Recent Changes

The picture to which I have just drawn your attention is one of considerable activity—considerable activity right from the start. And this is as it should have been. The DLF was born with an important foreign policy mission, and it was confronted almost at birth with far more urgent and legitimate requests for its support than it had funds to satisfy.

At the same time, it was new, with a unique mission—a substantially new type of operation under the Mutual Security Program. There was no existing pattern of operations which it could simply adopt in full detail as its own. It was necessary, therefore, to create the organization, procedures, and policies which seemed best suited to its particular purposes and scope.

For every organization there comes periodically a time of stocktaking; no organization can remain static in this rapidly changing world. Early last fall it seemed particularly appropriate that the DLF itself pause to take stock. It had by that time accumulated approximately 2 years of operating experience, sufficient to judge the operational choices made in its earliest days. Several studies of its policies and organization already had been initiated. Moreover, as I took over my responsibilities as Managing Director in early September, a self-assessment seemed appropriate and timely.⁴

⁴For an address made by Mr. Brand on "The Future Course of the Development Loan Fund," see *ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1959, p. 635.

The results of this appraisal should be gratifying to those who guided the DLF during its early stages. The basic approach then charted still seems sound; the early decision to emulate the Export-Import Bank and the IBRD insofar as circumstances would permit has proved to be correct.

However, as a result of this review, the Board of Directors has decided to institute certain changes. With some of these you may already be familiar; others may be new to you. They include an internal reorganization of the DLF, a reduction of the application backlog, and a change in procurement policy. It is these changes that I would like to discuss.

However, lest I leave you with the impression that this review was confined to Washington or that it was concerned solely with organizational, procedural, and broad policy matters, let me first emphasize that a substantial part of the appraisal took place in the less developed countries themselves and included within its scope loans already approved, and pending and prospective applications as well. Over the past few months all of our senior officials, our senior loan officers, and most of our engineers and economists have spent at least several weeks each visiting the less developed countries with which they are concerned. Two of the six months I have spent with the DLF have been taken up with a travel schedule covering over 50,000 miles—as much as 4,000 miles in a single country. In the course of visits to seven countries reaching from Taiwan to Spain, I looked intensively into our present operations and conducted various negotiations.

In the course of these visits numerous problems involved in the implementation of approved loans were worked out, DLF policies and operating procedures were clarified, and the DLF's requirements for the information which must accompany applications were explained to many who are unfamiliar with the practices of a development financing institution. As a result, our borrowers, our applicants, and we ourselves are now better equipped for more efficient and expeditious joint endeavors.

Organization Changes

In the course of this self-assessment we concluded that certain functions were understaffed, that others being performed by ICA would prove more effective under DLF management's direct control, and that a general reorganization would

result in a more coordinated and efficient operation.

The resulting reorganization is graphically illustrated on page 15 of the red book and detailed further on page 101. I should like to draw your attention to three of its aspects in particular. First, we now have a Deputy Director for Private Enterprise, who, with an augmented staff, is expected to strengthen our activity in that sector. This is a matter I will discuss further in a few minutes. Second, the new reorganization makes provision for the installation and operation of a system of audit and accounts within the DLF itself, in accordance with the recommendations of a private consulting firm. This function is now being performed by ICA on a reimbursement basis. Third, the new organization provides for increased emphasis on engineering, economics, and financial analysis.

Reduction of Backlog

We were also struck in the course of our review with the continuing large size of our application backlog. It had been running at \$1.5 billion for more than a year. It was evident, given the resources then at our command, that we could not, within the next year or so, commit funds in that amount. Under these circumstances it was apparent that many applicants would remain uncertain as to the fate of their proposals for a year or more and that this uncertainty might culminate in disappointment. This state of affairs seemed neither fair to the applicant nor prudent in terms of U.S. foreign policy. We therefore elected to return to the applicants all proposals on which action could not be taken within the current fiscal year or a few months beyond. This process is still going on; when it is concluded we anticipate that the backlog will have been reduced to between \$800 and \$900 million. Thus, our current backlog is not a measure of our full lending potential.

Many of the proposals which we turned back for lack of funds this year will undoubtedly return in the next. And from our recent travels we know of many more applications which are in process or which will be submitted when more funds become available to the DLF.

Procurement Policy

I should now like to turn to a basic shift in policy which has been the subject of substantial public discussion and, if I may say so, considerable

misunderstanding. I refer to the Development Loan Fund's procurement policy announced on October 20 of last year.⁵

On that date I announced that the DLF would thenceforth place primary emphasis on the financing of goods and services of U.S. origin. The phrase "primary emphasis" was carefully chosen. We recognized that it would be necessary on occasion to finance other than U.S. goods and services in order to avoid undue hardship to our borrowers.

Basically this change was an attempt to improve our fulfillment of the congressional mandate that the DLF take into account, in connection with any financing transaction, "whether financing could be obtained in whole or in part from other free world sources on reasonable terms." We had observed, in examining many proposals entailing non-U.S. procurement, that sufficient financing on reasonable terms from the nation likely to be the source of supply was difficult if not impossible to arrange. Yet we knew that the other industrialized countries of the Western World were in a much improved economic position, capable of expanding considerably their development financing on the terms that the less developed countries require.

It was evident that our previous procurement policy deterred rather than encouraged the creation of financing institutions providing long-term credit on reasonable terms. As Secretary Dillon indicated to you several days ago,⁶ there is already some evidence that our new policy is beginning to encourage the expansion of such credit. It is only fitting that other industrialized nations provide more long-term loans on reasonable terms to finance their own exports to the less developed areas.

The Future

This, then, is where we are. But where are we going? Our recent experience suggests that an increased emphasis in two directions is essential.

First, we must expand and focus our resources in those places where conditions are the ripest for economic expansion. With the goal of greater self-sufficiency in mind, we can make our most effective contribution to the less developed coun-

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 708.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar. 7, 1960, p. 380.

tries by enlarging our effort where the will and disciplined self-help essential to sound growth are already in evidence and where the institutional and human resources are capable of accelerating the development effort in an efficient manner.

We plan, therefore, given a sufficient increase in our capital, to undertake in the next year a major effort in South Asia and in Taiwan. Others have already testified, and more will be said in the regional testimony on South Asia and the Far East, regarding the basis for these choices. For the Development Loan Fund, I should like to affirm our view that the potential exists in these areas for considerably increased lending against sound projects and programs.

Several weeks ago I returned from a month-long trip in the company of our loan officers and engineers which took me to India and Pakistan. A staff-level team has also recently completed a visit to India, where it surveyed future development prospects. On the basis of what we now know, these two south Asian countries will be able in the next fiscal year to initiate far more development projects and programs, for which financing is not yet assured, than even the increased capital we are requesting could support. We expect that, as in the past, substantial financing will be made available by other free-world sources, and we hope that the amounts will rise. But even under optimistic assumptions regarding contributions from elsewhere in the free world, the unfunded remainder constitutes a potential for substantially increased DLF activity in this area.

On my recent trip abroad I also visited Taiwan. One need only see the substantial economic advances already made and talk to the skilled and dedicated businessmen and public officials who have vitalized this island economy to appreciate the considerable economic potential of Taiwan. Given sufficient sound applications, I am convinced that the DLF can expand its lending in Taiwan to a substantial degree and thereby participate with the Government of the Republic of China in its program to move more rapidly toward self-sufficiency.

I should not like to leave the impression that we accord any less importance to areas other than those I have just mentioned. We expect to make substantial loans in several of the Latin American countries. Our operations in Latin America will continue to take into consideration the fact that the Export-Import Bank, IBRD, and now the

Inter-American Development Bank will be active in the area. Congress has, of course, made clear that, where other sources of financing are available, the DLF should not be active.

We are aware that many of the countries on the African Continent are keenly interested in economic progress which will contribute to the advancement of their peoples. Many are increasingly ready to use more capital effectively; others still face the task of improving the domestic supply of technical and administrative skills. We are today working with several of the African countries on specific proposals, and our interest is substantial.

Private Enterprise

I should like to turn now to another area in which, I believe, increased emphasis is essential.

When it created the Development Loan Fund, the Congress reaffirmed that “. . . it is the policy of the United States . . . to strengthen friendly foreign countries by encouraging the development of their economies through a competitive free enterprise system . . . [and] to facilitate the creation of a climate favorable to the investment of private capital. . . .”

We in the Development Loan Fund regard this emphasis on private enterprise in our basic law as a clear mandate to work with and through the business community to the utmost extent possible. Our task, as we see it, is not merely to assist less developed countries but to assist them in ways that will reflect, reinforce, and use free enterprise.

While DLF assistance to private enterprise has been substantial, my travels abroad and throughout this country have provided convincing evidence that a substantially accelerated effort in this direction is now possible. American business is increasingly ready to extend its investments if it can obtain assistance in partially sharing the risks presented by new and unfamiliar markets. Risk sharing through the provision of loan capital can often be the decisive factor in enabling private enterprise to embark upon major projects of considerable importance and significance to U.S. foreign policy interests.

Lest I leave the impression that our interest in free enterprise is confined to the large projects in which substantial American interests invest, let me emphasize our interest in and support of development banks or loan funds which extend long-term credit to small businessmen. To such

institutions the DLF had extended 14 loans and one guaranty totaling almost \$75 million by January 31 of this year. Thirty-three loans under \$100,000 have been made by such institutions as the result of DLF credits.

Our own American experience highlights the importance of such lending to our objectives in the less developed areas. We know from long experience how the viability of a free economy rests on the small entrepreneurs who form its core. And we also appreciate that without a strong middle class, comprised largely of independent, small businessmen, free institutions have an uncertain foundation.

Proposed Increase in Capital

It is with this record and this view of the future that the Development Loan Fund is now approaching the Congress for a \$700 million increase in its capital. New financing in this amount, out of funds already authorized, would enable the DLF to expand its lending operations to a level in fiscal year 1961 about \$150 million higher than it attained in each of the 2 previous fiscal years.

This increase is essential if the DLF is to continue its activity in most of the 43 countries to which loans have already been extended, expand its operations selectively in those countries where rapid economic gains are potentially the greatest, and enlarge its support of private U.S. capital in its efforts to join in the development effort abroad.

Beneath these reasons for a higher level of lending by the Development Loan Fund, however, lies another, more fundamental one. It originates in the wish, as expressed in section 503(c) of the Mutual Security Act, that bilateral grants of economic assistance be progressively reduced and terminated. I think you will agree that a principal means of reducing the need for such assistance are those courses of action which hasten economic growth and self-sufficiency. Certainly the developmental loans of the DLF are one such means. The goal expressed in section 503(c) argues, I believe, for a larger role for the Development Loan Fund.

In preparing this request we have taken into account an anticipated rise in capital available from international institutions and other nations. We have assumed that the Inter-American Development Bank will undertake some of the lending

in Latin America during fiscal year 1961 which the DLF would otherwise assume, that the International Development Association will not commence operations until late in the year, and that our efforts to increase the contributions of other industrialized nations to this effort will be substantially successful.

Applications, moreover, are still being received at a rate in excess of our available funds. On the basis of the discussions throughout the world which I have already described, we know of apparently sound applications in preparation which, together with those now on hand, would require even more than the funds we are now requesting.

Conclusions

Mr. Chairman, I again thank you for this opportunity and in closing reiterate my own firm conviction that the Development Loan Fund, which is about to pass its first \$1 billion in lending commitments, has well served and will continue to serve an essential national purpose in helping people throughout the world to maintain free societies.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 2d Session

Joint Resolution To Promote Peace and Stability in the Middle East. Fourth report of the President covering activities through June 30, 1959, in furtherance of the purposes of the Joint Resolution To Promote Peace and Stability in the Middle East. H. Doc. 342. February 15, 1960. 4 pp.

The Antarctic Treaty. Message from the President transmitting a certified copy of the treaty signed at Washington on December 1, 1959, by the United States and 11 other countries. S. Ex. B. February 15, 1960. 19 pp.

International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of Sea By Oil. Message from the President transmitting a certified copy of the convention which was signed at London on May 12, 1954, in behalf of certain states but not the United States. S. Ex. C. February 15, 1960. 34 pp.

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Meeting, Canberra, Australia, 1959. Report of the delegation appointed to attend the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting November 6-7, 1959. S. Doc. 83. February 16, 1960. 22 pp.

The Convention of Paris for the Protection of Industrial Property. Message from the President transmitting a certified copy (English translation) of the convention of March 20, 1883, as revised at Brussels December 14, 1900; at Washington June 2, 1911; at The Hague November 6, 1925; at London June 2, 1934; and at Lisbon October 31, 1958. S. Ex. D. February 17, 1960. 22 pp.

Mutual Security Program: Summary Report on Grant Economic Assistance Relating to Defense Support and Special Assistance Programs

Following is (1) the text of a letter of transmittal dated February 29 from Acting Secretary Dillon to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives which accompanied a full classified report submitted to the Congress pursuant to section 503(c) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and (2) a general summary report submitted on March 4.¹

Press release 100 dated March 4

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, February 29, 1960

The President has directed me to transmit to the Congress, pursuant to Section 503(c) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, a report of the plans of the Executive Branch for progressively reducing and terminating, wherever practicable, bilateral grants of economic assistance in the Defense Support and Special Assistance categories. There is attached a full report together with an annex projecting the future of these programs country by country, which of necessity, because of the sensitive nature of the contents, is being furnished on a classified basis. A general summary report which is unclassified is being prepared and will be provided to the Congress in a few days.

¹For text of President Eisenhower's message to Congress on the Mutual Security Program for 1961, together with statements by Secretary Herter and Mr. Dillon, see BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1960, p. 369. For statements by James W. Riddleberger, Director of the International Cooperation Administration, and Vance Brand, Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, see pp. 445 and 453.

For a number of years, programs of grant economic assistance have been proposed by the Executive Branch and approved by the Congress as the most effective means of promoting the attainment of United States objectives. Such programs have been annually reviewed by both branches of the government. These programs have served our national interests over a wide range of special and emergency situations and have contributed measurably to our security. They have been an indispensable instrument of foreign policy over a period of rapid and sometimes violent change. Thus, in formulating plans for progressively reducing and eventually terminating such programs we have had to review the objectives of these programs and to determine whether there were alternative and equally satisfactory methods of securing these objectives.

An intensive review of the goals of our economic assistance programs has been made by the executive agencies concerned. This review has confirmed the main conclusions of studies of our foreign aid methods undertaken by the Congress and the Executive Branch in 1956 and 1957. During the past few years, there has been a reduction in the amount of grant aid, particularly for countries receiving Defense Support assistance. For fiscal year 1961 the requirement for Defense Support is \$111 million less than was requested last year. There has been a gradual but continuous shift from grant to loan programs.

The principal means of reduction in grant aid is in courses of action which will accelerate the process of economic growth in less developed nations and hasten their economic independence. This argues for increased emphasis on economic development loans and a larger role for the Development Loan Fund. It also indicates a need for

reform of these economic policies and administrative weaknesses in the major aid-recipient nations which stifle initiative and impede economic expansion. Our future plans take account of these requirements. Economic growth, however, is not susceptible to precise scheduling. Conditions under which progress is possible can be described, and our energies and resources can be concentrated to these ends, but no timetable of achievement can be advanced. The accompanying report indicates the numerous conditional factors which may affect our future courses of action.

More generally, however, we must allow for ourselves a range of flexibility in the instruments and techniques of our foreign policy for the uncertain years ahead. The accomplishment of our mutual security objectives, upon which everything depends, will require not only the devotion and energies of the men and women responsible for the day to day conduct of our activities abroad but also the availability of resources in the forms most suitable to the tasks to be performed.

We have now, under the Mutual Security Act, methods of assistance designed for our several military, political, and economic purposes abroad. In the past, we have found grants of economic assistance indispensable to some of these purposes. Our review of goals, and our assessment of the prospective world environment within which these goals will be sought after, argues very strongly that this will continue to be the case for some years to come.

Economic progress in the poorer nations remains an abiding problem of our times. The great gulf between living standards of the people of the industrial countries and those of the developing countries must be narrowed. As the accompanying report indicates, we look forward to the possibility of gradually diminishing needs for grants of economic assistance abroad and for an increase in emphasis on loans for the direct objective of economic development.

The continuation of or the termination or reduction of grant assistance proposed in this report represents the best judgment based on the current situation in each of the countries concerned and in the world as a whole. However, we all realize that this is a time of fluid political conditions in which political change is frequent and sometimes drastic and unexpected. It is entirely possible that conditions may change so rapidly and so greatly that it would be possible to speed up the

timetable in some countries, or it may be necessary to slow it down in others. As the proposals in this report are being implemented, it will be necessary to keep each country situation under constant review in order to ensure that our actions are consonant with conditions at the time.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS DILLON
Acting Secretary

TEXT OF REPORT

Preface

Section 503(c) of the Mutual Security Act provides as follows:

The President shall include in his recommendations to the Congress for the fiscal year 1961 programs under this act, a specific plan for each country receiving bilateral grant assistance in the categories of Defense Support or Special Assistance whereby, wherever practicable, such grant assistance shall be progressively reduced and terminated.

A detailed report in response to this statutory requirement is being submitted to the Congressional Committees considering the proposed Mutual Security Program for fiscal year 1961. That report deals with general issues of foreign economic assistance policy raised by the amendment. It contains planned courses of action with respect to future Defense Support and Special Assistance bilateral grant aid, projected country by country. The report is of necessity classified because of the sensitive material upon which it touches.

However, the subject of the report is of such general interest and importance that it was deemed appropriate to provide, on an unclassified basis, as much of its general content and conclusions as could be done without injury to the security interests of ourselves and of other nations which are involved. This unclassified version of the report has therefore been prepared.

Introduction

Objectives. The reexamination of our forward planning under Section 503(c) required a review of the objectives of foreign economic aid programs and of the methods and instruments available for prosecuting these objectives.

Our grant economic assistance programs to a very large extent trace to military and political emergencies: the war in Korea, the military struggles in the Indochina peninsula, the political upheavals in the Near East, and the abrupt emergence of the new countries out of the breakup of colonial systems. Aid programs had to be designed to strengthen weak and divided states, to help support military deterrents to aggression, and to cope with urgent political problems in the new countries and around the periphery of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

Grants of economic assistance were and are appropriate to these circumstances and to our objectives in them.

We have in the Development Loan Fund an agency and

economic resources for the specific and direct purpose of promoting economic development in the less developed countries. It provides aid for sound development projects and programs on a case by case basis. As a general rule, loan assistance is suited to the economic development purpose and under present policies is used for it.

This distinction of purpose is important to the planning of reductions in grants of economic aid. Given our different immediate objectives, grants and loans are not in a strict sense interchangeable. For many situations, the grant method is essential to the successful achievement of our aims. Plans for reducing grants of aid must seek progress toward our objectives rather than changes in the method of aid.

Means to reductions of grant aid. The varied objectives of our grant economic assistance programs make it impossible to establish a uniform pattern of planning. In a number of the smaller programs, a more or less clear path to our primary objectives can be marked out. In others, however, the attainment of our objectives depends on the success of a broad program of action, of which grant assistance is one part.

Special emphasis has been given to the problems presented by the major Defense Support programs in five countries: Korea, China, Vietnam, Pakistan, and Turkey. These five programs, it is presently estimated, will account in fiscal year 1960 for over 73 per cent of Mutual Security Act obligations for defense support assistance.

For this group of countries in particular, the only practicable means through which a reduction of grant economic assistance can be envisaged is to be found mainly in expansion of their own economic capabilities. This in turn depends upon our Mutual Security aid policies as a whole, upon the availability of other sources of economic assistance, upon the domestic policies and attitudes of the countries concerned and upon the extent and nature of internal and external pressures upon them. Our objectives probably will call for more development loan assistance as a part of the process; as a result the resources of the Development Loan Fund will be of key importance.

Taken as a whole, our plans do not project the termination of all present grant aid needs in a defined period of time. This seems neither possible nor desirable in the light of the known factors and our own objectives. Moreover, new needs for grant aid are likely to arise. The grant method of economic assistance is peculiarly well adapted to the purposes and situations to which it has been devoted. It has been an essential instrument of foreign policy and, in an uncertain world, promises to remain so.

After these necessary qualifications, however, it seems clear that the foreign economic aid program is moving, as rapidly as is compatible with our own interests, in the direction pointed to in Section 503(c). If the plans and programs discussed prove possible of realization, there will be gradual reductions in present grant economic aid requirements. If needs for grants for military and political objectives do decline, the emphasis of our economic assistance policy as a whole can be placed more and more on the longer run purpose of helping to foster eco-

omic growth. Our institutional and policy structure has already been partially redesigned for this objective. The opportunity to direct resources and energies to it in greater measure will be a welcome challenge.

The Objectives of Foreign Aid

GRANT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Defense Support assistance, provided to 12 countries, is presently estimated to require \$765 million in fiscal year 1960 and may have to be increased before the year ends. Among these countries, Korea, Vietnam, China, Pakistan, and Turkey are presently expected to receive about \$575 million. The programs range from assistance for the construction of military facilities in the Philippines to general economic support for these major recipients.

The Defense Support programs are designed to provide, through grant economic aid, the margin of resources necessary to assure the capability of the recipient government to provide the military forces and strength mutually agreed to be required for the common defense. In the broadest sense, they are intended to prevent the economic retrogression and political instability that would follow if the country were to attempt to rely on its own resources to provide this degree of military strength. Our aid is thus provided for mutual objectives where the defense interest is paramount. It is for this reason that we consider these as objectives properly to be sought through grants of aid.

Special Assistance is a flexible category of economic aid which has as its broadly stated purposes the maintenance or promotion of political or economic stability abroad.

Programs in this category are being used to support friendly governments that have come under heavy external political pressure; to cope with political and economic emergencies; to maintain an American presence and interest in situations where Soviet or Chinese Communist efforts at penetration have been on a substantial scale; to provide economic aid for defense purposes where it has been found infeasible to enter into the usual mutual security relationship; to assist with small scale projects or programs supplementary to technical cooperation activities; and to provide assistance to projects, for example in the fields of health and education, which are of a non-loanable character.

Most of the bilateral Special Assistance programs are grant programs. Our objectives in these programs usually do not meet the criteria for loans or fit the procedures of established lending institutions. Special Assistance grants are provided mainly for projects or purposes in themselves economically constructive but not on their own merits reimbursable. A special case here is the support of activities directly related to technical assistance. In such cases, the loan method clearly could not serve our objectives. Each Special Assistance program, however, involves a separate judgment about the most effective means to the achievement of our specific aims, and in some cases Mutual Security loans, rather than grants, are used.

Validity of grant aid objectives. Do the general security and political objectives of the grant aid programs remain

valid? The answer to this depends basically on judgments about the kind of world in which our foreign policy will have to be conducted in the years immediately ahead.

These give no present basis for expecting that the underlying conditions which created needs for grant aid in the past will now disappear. In Asia, the divided countries and the newly independent states continue under the ominous shadow of the Communist Chinese regime. The Near East is still politically unstable. The process of rapid political change in the less developed areas as a whole seems certain to continue. The Communist subversive effort, worldwide, is not diminishing. The realities of the military balance between East and West give no satisfactory basis for looking forward to a declining level of defense requirements and particularly not to a declining requirement for defense against local aggression.

Against this background, the overall purposes of the Defense Support and Special Assistance programs are sound. It is in our interest to share the burdens of mutual defense, to support or assist countries exposed to unusual political or military hazards, and to help new countries to get off to a favorable start as independent states. We need economic assistance methods suited for these objectives. To reduce or end the requirements for grant aid by altering or abandoning the goals of such aid is a conceivable but not an acceptable approach.

LOAN ASSISTANCE

Under our current policies economic development assistance is provided, as a general rule, as a loan, and under the Mutual Security Act by the Development Loan Fund which for the current fiscal year has received appropriations of \$550 million for lending.

Our national interest in the economic development of the less developed countries is well recognized. The wide, and in some cases growing, disparities in standards of life as between people in the industrial countries and those in the less developed nations make for a profoundly destabilizing force in the world. Expectations of a better future have been aroused and persist. Unless there is economic expansion, population growth alone will frustrate them. We can ill afford to have whole societies increasingly embittered and despairing. Even on the narrower ground of sustaining our material prosperity, we need in the underdeveloped areas more productive countries which can also be better customers and trading partners. Economic development is one of the prerequisites to an evolution of the world which will enhance our national safety and well-being.

Obviously, economic development is not set aside as the objective of only one instrument or method of policy. Our technical assistance programs always have been directed specifically to helping develop the basic skills and institutions necessary to economic growth. Our grant economic programs help to set a floor of economic activity from which economic expansion is possible; or, in assisting toward other objectives, they provide some of the resources needed for development. Our sales of agricultural surpluses for local currencies are related to the economic development objective.

At the same time, there is a need for a method of economic assistance having development as its *primary* objective, with its procedures and techniques created for this main purpose. This was a basic conclusion of the intensive studies of foreign economic aid carried on in 1956 and 1957 by the Executive Branch and by the House of Representatives and the Senate. These studies uniformly agreed that our foreign economic aid program had to be devoted to a variety of purposes and that each of these purposes should be pursued by methods specifically suited to it. In the case of economic development, it was concluded that the proper instrument would be an agency to make loans on flexible terms for the financing of development programs and projects. To give effectiveness to this judgment, the Congress and the Executive Branch established the Development Loan Fund.

The choice of the loan method of providing assistance for the purpose of economic development derives from two principal considerations.

First, the economic development of another country, while clearly in our general and long term interest, does not normally represent a requirement of such urgency from our point of view as to necessitate the provision of grant assistance. The growth of an economy depends on more than the provision of additional resources. If the determination and capability to achieve growth exists, the loan technique for financing development is suitable to the interests of both the lender and the borrower.

Secondly, there is the question of repayment. Financing of the creation or expansion of economic capabilities and facilities which help create the means for repayment, is logically to be provided through lending.

Aid in the form of either grants or loans can and should be so administered as to encourage sensible and sound economic and fiscal policies. The use of the loan technique is not incompatible with this objective. The process of preparing and justifying loan requests can itself be a part of the broad process of economic growth. The lending agency can require that loan applications reflect an examination of relative economic needs and priorities, expressed in terms of costs. It can also require the would-be borrower to view possible expenditures in the light of basic economic considerations. These actions help to impose a desirable economic discipline on the borrower.

Prospects for Achievement of Short Run Objectives

The foregoing discussion argues that, while the grant and loan programs under the Mutual Security Act are closely related, loans are not in a significant degree substitutable for grants. This follows because our objectives fix the pattern of aid as between loans and grants. Reductions in grant economic aid depend on progress toward the particular objectives of the Mutual Security Act rather than on a shift among the economic aid methods of the Act.

The variety of the grant aid programs makes it impossible to project uniform courses of action for expediting the achievement of their objectives. In a number of cases,

our objectives are limited and it is feasible to schedule more or less firmly future reductions in grant aid. In others, we have set target dates for the termination of present programs. In a few instances, on the other hand, the context within which our grant economic aid is provided gives no basis for expecting or planning reductions in that aid.

Finally our major Defense Support programs present a unique set of issues and problems. Among these, the programs for Korea, China, Vietnam, Pakistan, and Turkey are expected to account in fiscal year 1960 for an estimated 73 per cent of all Defense Support economic assistance. Because of their magnitude, these programs and the planning for them have been considered in more detail.

The Problem of Reducing Defense Support Grant Aid

Magnitude of deficits. In each of the major Defense Support countries there is a very large gap between, on the one hand, total requirements for goods and services and, on the other, the capabilities of the local economies to produce goods and services to match these demands. This gap, or deficit, is especially large in Korea, in Pakistan, in Vietnam, in China and in Turkey. In each case, it is attributable in whole or in large part to the costs of military forces maintained in the mutual defense. Grants of Defense Support aid are intended to make possible the continued maintenance of those forces by filling a portion of the deficits.

In considering the problem of dealing with deficits of this magnitude, two initial assumptions are made. One relates to the defense budgets which directly underlie the deficits, the other to the continuing availability of agricultural surpluses as a partial means of meeting the deficits.

Defense budgets. In the Defense Support program countries, however, the Communist threat is a highly immediate one. If the free world is to have a flexible capacity for meeting that threat, effective local forces are required in the most directly exposed areas. This is a requirement that does not now appear to be susceptible of being diminished significantly.

If, however, developments make it feasible to hold defense budgets more or less stable, increased economic capabilities can then be devoted to productive investment and to meeting the consumption needs of growing populations.

Agricultural surpluses. An important contribution of resources has been made to grant aid countries through local currency sales of surplus agricultural commodities under the provisions of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, usually known as Public Law 480. Among the countries having large Defense Support programs, Pakistan in 1959 received \$86 million of agricultural commodities, Turkey \$35 million, Korea \$34 million, and China \$13 million.

The utility of surplus agricultural commodities in specific country situations is strictly dependent, of course, on our availabilities in relation to the ability of countries concerned to absorb amounts in excess of normal require-

ments. Where all requirements for the particular commodities that we have in surplus are satisfied, through local output or normal imports, there is no possibility of Public Law 480 commodities supplementing Mutual Security Act assistance. Also, especially in the case of food grains, fairly small increases in domestic production will often make the difference between shortage and sufficiency. Wide shifts in requirements from year to year are thus quite possible.

It is anticipated, nevertheless, that sizeable demands for surplus foods and fibres over and above normal needs will continue in the countries receiving grant economic aid. The assumption is made, therefore, that it will be possible, as in the past, to serve important economic purposes with surplus agricultural commodities on terms similar to those of Public Law 480.

Economic Development. The most promising means of reducing Defense Support needs is through the more rapid economic development of the countries concerned. We intend to take vigorous and specific actions looking to an expansion of the domestic economic capabilities of the countries now requiring heavy grants of Defense Support aid. To the extent that such measures expedite economic development, the economic deficits of the aid receiving countries will diminish, and with them the needs for grant economic aid.

This approach, it should be stated frankly, does not lend itself to a timetable of scheduled aid reductions. Economic development is a highly complex matter. We can identify the main elements in it but there are many uncertainties about the forces that affect them. Present techniques and information allow forecasts about trends and directions of change, but we do not have the tools for predicting specific magnitudes.

Furthermore, United States policies and actions have limits of effectiveness. Our aid programs, even the very large ones, make up small fractions, rarely as much as one-tenth, of the total resources involved. As for the policies and attitudes of other governments and peoples, which are critically important variables, we could not and indeed would not take responsibility for deciding them on a unilateral basis.

These limitations on our ability to foresee or manage events in detail make it clear that we cannot set some stated level of economic activity in another country as an objective of American policy. The issue cannot be that much under our control.

The possibilities for expediting economic development are broadly favorable, however. Economic growth has occurred in the grant aid countries and, in many countries, has outrun population growth by varying margins. For example, the Republic of China since 1956 has had an estimated 1.5 per cent rate of increase annually in per capita output.

For some of these countries, the recent past has been devoted to building basic political institutions or, as in Korea, to rebuilding from a devastating war. The next phase, in the absence of new military threats and tensions, can be one of emphasis on progress toward economic viability. This is also the view of political leaders in power in these countries.

Our planning problem is to identify—and our intention is to act vigorously in—the areas where our actions can be most effective in providing the means, or removing the hindrances, to economic development.

In a broad sense, these are, first, capital assistance for expanded investment and, second, actions that will help to make existing and future investment more productive.

Investment assistance. This is a matter for development lending on our part, and on the part of other industrial countries and the international agencies. As time goes on, private foreign investment should make up an increasing element in it.

Our forward planning is based heavily on the proposition that lending agencies will increasingly be able to finance sound development projects and programs outside the probable range of private investment in the countries receiving grant aid.

The Development Loan Fund, which can meet a range of developmental needs, without putting unmanageable immediate burdens on the international accounts of the less developed countries, is particularly important in this respect. Its continued functioning, with substantial resources and flexible techniques, will be an essential feature of the approach outlined here.

An aggressive and effective program of development financing will require in some countries that our technical assistance personnel and our field missions provide help and guidance in planning development projects and programs. It may also involve experiments with new lending techniques by the Development Loan Fund, especially in relation to the provision of limited credits on which countries could draw if increased imports resulting from an accelerated development effort created unusual temporary strains on their balance of payments.

A substantial amount of foreign economic assistance already is provided by other nations or comes from international financial institutions. The United States is currently seeking to encourage larger contributions from Western Europe and Japan to the general task of economic development in the less developed countries. The outlook on this score is favorable. Further, the capital of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has been increased and agreement has been reached on the creation of the International Development Association. The trend is toward an expansion of public and private capital flows to the developing countries.

This process will have an indirect effect on future grant aid requirements. It is not possible, obviously, to forecast the amounts of increased economic assistance that will go to individual countries. Moreover, the needs of the developing nations as a whole for investment capital will for a long time be larger than available supplies. Nevertheless, some of the Defense Support countries probably will be able to obtain added assistance for the economic development needed to reduce the huge resource deficits that now exist.

Possible flows of private capital to the countries under consideration cannot be estimated even roughly. We believe, however, that there is room, in these countries as in many other less developed nations, for meaningful improvements in policies and attitudes bearing on private

foreign investment. This is a critical point for economic development prospects. It bears not only on supplies of capital but also upon the likelihood that such capital will be fully productive.

Productivity of investment. The second part of a program for economic development must stress improvements in those factors that restrict the productiveness of investment.

Our technical assistance already has made major contributions to creating or expanding the basic skills and institutions that are necessary. This is clearly, however, a long term process. We shall need to continue training programs and advisory services on a substantial scale as an essential complement to our foreign economic assistance.

The productivity of capital, and the supply of capital as well, is dependent on government policies and attitudes.

This is a matter of key importance. Capital assistance from public sources can break investment bottlenecks and provide resources that would not otherwise be available. But such investment must have an environment generally favorable to economic activity if its productivity is to be maximized. The creation of such an environment is a part of the economic development problem.

There is no specific formula for this. In fact, the policy issues are seldom clear cut. Usually they are combined with sensitivities that, as a practical matter, affect the exercise of our influence. Nevertheless, where it is plain that potentially remediable policies of another government perpetuate the needs for extraordinary assistance, we can properly look for ways to cooperate in amending those policies. Or, on the other side, where opportunities appear for collaboration in positive programs to foster economic development, it will be in our interest to view them sympathetically.

Specifically, we have a legitimate interest in consulting with aid receiving governments on such matters as:

Policies and attitudes toward the private business sector, including private foreign investment.

Fiscal and tax policies, as they relate to investment and to price stability.

Proposed increases in military expenditures.

Exchange rates and foreign trade regulations and controls.

Economic development plans and programs.

Specific applications. Plans embodying the dual approach outlined above are spelled out in the classified report submitted to the Congress. Although these plans list specific possibilities for future reductions in grant Defense Support, they point to economic growth as the chief means to progressive cuts in grant aid requirements.

In the case of China, we have received from that Government a proposal for the hastening of progress toward independence from extraordinary grant economic aid. The Government of China has put forth a series of measures it would take to accelerate the rate of economic expansion in Taiwan. These are designed, in the main, to give private enterprise greater scope and incentive. We consider that the momentum already achieved by the Taiwan

economy holds out relatively unique possibilities for the success of this kind of effort.

We propose, subject to Congressional appropriations, to provide within Defense Support grant assistance for FY 1961 an incentive component to be used for additional imports required in connection with an accelerated rate of domestic investment and to encourage the Chinese government in taking the measures necessary to induce the acceleration. It is anticipated that the result of these actions will be additional needs for imported machinery, equipment, structural steel, spare parts, and industrial raw materials. If such demands were to go unmet, strong inflationary pressures would be created and the economic growth process retarded or distorted. The assurance of a sufficient volume of imports is thus essential to the success of the program.

This is frankly an experimental approach. While we regard this grant economic assistance as essential to launching the new program, we believe the principal support for development should be the Development Loan Fund. Thus we will review, in the light of the year's experience, the roles of grant and loan aid in meeting future requirements.

Additionally, we expect from the Government of China a much increased volume of requests for loan assistance for development projects in the public sector. There appear to be good opportunities, also, for Development Loan Fund credits and guarantees for Chinese and foreign private investors on a sizeable scale.

This program for Taiwan, it is to be stressed, emphasizes both elements of an economic development program. We propose, on the one hand, to increase the flow of investment capital to Taiwan, while on the other we expect from the Chinese side that a range of governmental policies bearing on the productivity of capital, particularly in the private sector, will be rapidly liberalized.

Conclusions

This report has discussed the special roles assigned to grant economic assistance under our present foreign aid policies. Grants of economic aid have served the national interests over a wide range of special and emergency situations and have contributed measurably to our security. They have been an indispensable instrument of foreign policy during a period of rapid and sometimes violent change. Every indication is that we shall continue to need the grant method of providing aid if we are effectively to prosecute our objective of a peaceful and stable world.

There are some prospects, however, for a declining level of grant aid requirements. This follows, in part, from progress toward the specific objectives of many of our grant programs and in another part from the expectation that the economic capacity of the countries receiving large grant aid sums can be progressively enhanced. There is an evident opportunity to place increasing emphasis on economic development as an objective and it is this opportunity that we expect to seize upon. It offers the way to a progressive reduction of the grant aid part of our total foreign economic aid program and, more importantly, to the growth of increasingly self-reliant and prospering allies and friends.

March 21, 1960

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Finance

Agreement establishing the Inter-American Development Bank, with annexes. Done at Washington April 8, 1959. Entered into force December 30, 1959.

Signature: Uruguay, February 12, 1960.

Acceptances deposited: Uruguay, February 12, 1960; Venezuela, February 13, 1960.

Health

Amendments to articles 24 and 25 of the constitution of the World Health Organization of July 22, 1946 (TIAS 1808). Adopted by the 12th World Health Assembly, Geneva May 28, 1959.¹

Acceptances deposited: Thailand, September 21, 1959; Norway, November 2, 1959; Indonesia and Spain, November 4, 1959; Belgium, November 20, 1959; Iraq, November 25, 1959; Sweden, December 1, 1959; Cambodia, December 8, 1959; Korea, December 29, 1959; Israel, January 4, 1960.

Postal Service

Universal postal convention with final protocol, annex, regulations of execution, and provisions regarding airmail with final protocol. Done at Ottawa October 3, 1957. Entered into force April 1, 1959. TIAS 4202.

Ratifications deposited: Israel, October 23, 1959; Ceylon, November 16, 1959; Viet-Nam, December 3, 1959; India (with a declaration), December 21, 1959; Cambodia, January 12, 1960; Luxembourg, January 13, 1960; Iraq (with a reservation), January 18, 1960.

White Slave Traffic

Protocol amending the international agreement for the suppression of white slave traffic signed at Paris May 18, 1904 (35 Stat. 1979), and the international convention for the suppression of white slave traffic signed at Paris May 4, 1910.² Done at Lake Success May 4, 1949. TIAS 2332.

Accession deposited: Iran, December 30, 1959.

BILATERAL

China

Agreement supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of June 9, 1959 (TIAS 4258). Effected by exchange of notes at Taipei February 11, 1960. Entered into force February 11, 1960.

Denmark

Agreement to facilitate interchange of patent rights and technical information for defense purposes. Signed at Copenhagen February 19, 1960. Entered into force February 19, 1960.

Spain

Agreement on the settlement of claims of Spanish subcontractors relating to construction of military bases in

¹ Not in force.

² The United States is not a party.

Spain. Effected by exchange of notes at Madrid February 8 and 13, 1960. Entered into force February 13, 1960.

Viet-Nam

Agreement supplementing and amending the agricultural commodities agreement of October 16, 1959 (TIAS 4351). Effected by exchange of notes at Saigon February 13, 1960. Entered into force February 13, 1960.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

United States Delegations to International Conferences

Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference

The Department of State announced on March 5 (press release 105) the members of the U.S. delegation to the Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference, to be held at Geneva beginning March 15, 1960:

U.S. Representative and Chairman of the Delegation

Fredrick M. Eaton, Ambassador

Deputy United States Representative

Charles C. Stelle, Department of State

Advisers

Alexander Akalovsky, Department of State

N. Spencer Barnes, Department of State

Jeremy Blanchet, Department of State

Rear Adm. Paul L. Dudley, Department of Defense

W. Richards Ford III, Department of Defense

G. McMurtrie Godley, Department of State

Robert E. Matteson, Department of State

Capt. Willard de L. Michael, USN, Department of Defense

Donald Musser, Atomic Energy Commission

Robert G. Sturgill, Department of State

John M. Stuart, Jr., American Consulate General, Geneva

Lt. Col. Harry E. Tabor, USA, Department of Defense

Malcolm Toon, Department of State

Henry S. Villard, U.S. Representative at the European Office of the U.N. and Other International Organizations, Geneva.

Lawrence D. Weiler, Department of State

Col. Thomas Wolfe, USAF, Department of Defense

Secretary of Delegation

Richard C. Hagan, Department of State

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

The Subcontinent of South Asia. Pub. 6839. Near and Middle Eastern Series 41. 72 pp. 40¢.

Another issue in the popular *Background* series, this pamphlet discusses the far-reaching economic, political, and social developments taking place in Afghanistan, Ceylon, India, Nepal, and Pakistan.

Report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program—for the second half of fiscal year 1959. Pub. 6926. General Foreign Policy Series 145. 114 pp. Limited distribution. The 16th semiannual report to Congress for the second half of fiscal year 1959 describing the achievements of the United States and its friends in building security against external attack and strengthening political and economic stability in the free world.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4288. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Poland, amending agreement of June 10, 1959. Signed at Washington November 10, 1959. Entered into force November 10, 1959. With exchange of notes.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. TIAS 4345. 11 pp. 10¢.

Declaration extending the standstill provisions of article XVI:4 of the agreement of October 30, 1947. Done at Geneva November 30, 1957. And procès-verbal extending the validity of the declaration. Done at Geneva November 22, 1958. Declaration and procès-verbal entered into force May 11, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4351. 9 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Viet-Nam—Signed at Saigon October 16, 1959. Entered into force October 16, 1959. With exchange of notes.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4354. 15 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and India—Signed at Washington November 13, 1959. Entered into force November 13, 1959. With exchange of notes. And amending agreement. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington November 20 and 23, 1959. Entered into force November 23, 1959.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Extension of Loan of United States Vessels to Japan. TIAS 4355. 7 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Japan. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tokyo October 2, 1959. Entered into force October 2, 1959.

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105	3/5	Delegation to Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference (rewrite).

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Vol. XLII, No. 1033

March 28, 1960

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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March 28, 1960

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau 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 selected 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 is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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Toward Mutual Understanding Among the Americas

President Eisenhower returned to Washington on March 7 after a 2-week trip to South America, where he visited Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay.¹ During his trip the President held talks with President Juscelino Kubitschek of Brazil, President Arturo Frondizi of Argentina, President Jorge Alessandri of Chile, and President Benito Nardone of Uruguay and addressed the National Congress of each country. On March 8 the President made a report on his trip to the Nation by radio and television.

Following is the text of the President's report, together with his addresses to the four Congresses and the joint declarations and statements issued in each country.

REPORT TO THE NATION, MARCH 8

White House press release dated March 8 (as delivered text)

Good evening, friends: My first words upon my return from the four American Republics I have just visited must be a heartfelt expression of gratitude for the friendly receptions my associates and I experienced wherever we went.

Millions endured for long hours along the streets the hot summer sun—and occasionally rain—to let us know of the enthusiastic good will they have for the Government and people of the United States. In the nations of Latin America—indeed as I have found in all of the 18 countries I have visited in my trips of recent months²—there is a vast reservoir of respect, admiration, and affection for the United States of America. The expressions of this attitude by Latin American peoples and their leaders were so enthusiastic and

¹ For an address made by President Eisenhower to the Nation prior to his departure, see BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1960, p. 351.

² President Eisenhower visited Europe Aug. 26–Sept. 27, where he held talks with officials in Germany, the United Kingdom, and France; for background, see *ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1959, p. 371, Sept. 21, 1959, p. 403, and Sept. 28, 1959, p. 435. On Dec. 22 the President returned from a 3-week trip to 11 countries in Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa; for background, see *ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1959, p. 931, and Jan. 11, 1960, p. 46.

so often repeated as to admit no possibility of mistake. Two or three insignificant exceptions to this may have made a headline, but they were only minor incidents, lost in the massed welcome.

This was a good-will trip; but it was also much more. Members of my party and I held serious conversations and exchanged information on bilateral, hemispheric, and global problems with the four heads of states, with cabinet members, with leaders of labor, education, finance, and business.

Two Impressions From Trip

Two impressions are highlighted in my mind.

First, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay treasure as much as we do freedom, human dignity, equality, and peace with justice. In freedom they are determined to progress, to improve and diversify their economies, to provide better housing and education, to work ceaselessly for rising levels of human well being.

Second, while certain problems are continental in scope, nonetheless each of the countries I visited—indeed, each of the 20 Republics of Latin America—is highly individual. Each has its own unique problems and ideas regarding future development. Hence, our cooperation with each Republic must be tailored to its particular situation.

I was gratified to learn that, as the indispensable basis for their self-improvement, comprehensive surveys of resources, capacities, objectives, and costs have progressed rapidly in recent years. But each nation feels it must do more in this regard and seeks help for this purpose. The United Nations has funds for such predevelopment studies. The new Inter-American Bank also should be able to lend technical help. The studies of each country called for under Operation Pau America³ will likewise contribute to this end.

Once sound planning has made significant progress, a nation can formulate specific projects for action, with priorities established and with confidence that each development will open still further opportunity to speed the spiral of growth.

The execution of any development program will of course depend primarily upon the dedicated efforts of the peoples themselves. I was impressed, for example, by what I saw in Chile. I visited a low-cost housing project. The Government had provided land and utilities. The homeowners were helping one another build the new houses. They will pay for them monthly, over a period of years. Personal accomplishments brought pride to their eyes, self-reliance to their bearing. Their new homes are modest in size and character, but I cannot possibly describe the intense satisfaction they take in the knowledge that they themselves have brought about this great forward step in their living conditions.

In Argentina and Uruguay I witnessed encouraging sights—men building schools, homes, and roads—and in Brazil, erecting a wholly new capital city.

The people of Latin America know that poverty, ignorance, and ill health are not inevitable. They are determined to have their resources and labors yield a better life for themselves and for their children.

I assured them that, most earnestly, we of the United States want them to succeed. We realize that to speed improvement they need foreign capital. They want sound loans, public and private. Their repayment record on loans previously made is noteworthy.

International and United States lending agencies have recently had their funds greatly increased. The new Inter-American Development

³ For background, see *ibid.*, June 30, 1958, p. 1090, and Oct. 13, 1958, p. 574.

Bank will soon be functioning. I believe that each nation which has produced a well-conceived development program will find that these lending institutions will respond to their needs. Should this not be so in a particular situation, we of the United States would want to know the circumstances and do what we could to help to rectify the difficulty.

In our discussions I stressed that all nations—large or small, powerful or weak—should assume some responsibility for the advancement of humankind in freedom. Though we of the United States will, within the framework of our world situation and economic capacity, assist all we can, we look for the time when all the free nations will feel a common responsibility for our common destiny. Cooperation among free nations is the key to common progress. Aid from one to another, if on a one-way street basis only and indefinitely continued, is not of itself truly productive.

The peoples of Latin America appreciate that our assistance in recent years has reached new heights and that this has required sacrifice on our part.

Misunderstandings That Need To Be Corrected

I must repeat, however, what I said several times during my trip: Serious misunderstandings of the United States do exist in Latin America. And, indeed, we are not as well informed of them as we should be.

Many persons do not realize the United States is just as committed as are the other Republics to the principles of the Rio Treaty of 1947. This treaty declares that an attack on one American Republic will in effect be an attack on all. We stand firmly by this commitment. This mutual security system, proved by time, should now enable some of the American Republics to reduce expenditures for armaments and thus make funds available for constructive purposes.

One editorial alleged that the United States did not accept the principle of nonintervention until 1959. In fact our country has consistently abided by this hemispheric concept for more than a quarter of a century.

Another persistent misunderstanding which I sought to correct wherever I traveled is that we sometimes support dictators. Of course, we abhor all tyrannical forms of government, whether of the left or of the right. This I made clear.

In Brazil I explained another important item of our policy: We believe in the rights of people to choose their own form of government, to build their own institutions, to abide by their own philosophy. But if a tyrannical form of government were imposed upon any of the Americas from outside or with outside support—by force, threat, or subversion—we would certainly deem this to be a violation of the principle of nonintervention and would expect the Organization of American States, acting under pertinent solemn commitments, to take appropriate collective action.

On occasion I heard it said that economic advance in some American Republics only makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, and that the United States should take the initiative in correcting this evil. This is a view fomented by Communists but often repeated by well-meaning people.

If there should be any truth in this charge whatsoever, it is not the fault of the United States. So far as our purpose is involved, projects financed by our institutions are expected to yield widespread benefits to all and, at the same time, to conform to our policy of nonintervention. I know that the Latin American leaders I met also seek this same result.

Moreover, when internal social reform is required, it is purely an internal matter.

One of the most far-reaching problems of continental scope is this: In their exports the Latin American Republics are largely single-commodity countries. The world-market prices of what they sell fluctuate widely, whereas the prices of things they buy keep going up.

We have tried to be helpful in the cooperative study of this vexing situation. Many facts about supply, demand, production are widely comprehended for the first time. Thus, for example, with the facts about coffee understood, producing nations are cooperating in orderly marketing for this commodity with beneficial results.

The real solution is in agricultural and industrial diversification. Here we are encouraged by the progress being made toward the creation of common markets. Large areas, relatively free of trade restrictions, will make for greater efficiency in production and distribution and will attract new capital to speed development.

Despite such problems as these, our relationships with our sister Republics have, with notable—but

very few—exceptions, reached an alltime high. Leaders and populations alike attested to this truth. But an even firmer partnership must be our goal.

Special Relationship of the Americas

The Republics of this hemisphere have a special relationship to one another. The United States is important to all of Latin America, as its largest buyer, as the main source of foreign investment capital, and as a bastion of freedom. Our southern neighbors are important to us economically, politically, culturally, militarily. Indeed, no other area of the world is of more vital significance to our own future.

This interdependence must be comprehended by us and by them. Each should know the policies, attitudes, aspirations, and capacities of the other. For, as I have said time and again, all fruitful, abiding cooperation must be based upon genuine mutual understanding of vital facts.

Exchanges of students, teachers, labor leaders, and others are helpful. Newspapers, magazines, all means of communication should accept the responsibility not merely of transmitting spectacular news but of helping build the knowledge on which cooperative action may flourish.

In one respect our neighbors put us to shame. English is rapidly spreading as the second language in Latin America. Business executives, labor leaders, taxi drivers—most speak English well, learned in school or in binational institutes. The study of Spanish is increasing in our schools, but I wish that literally millions of Americans would learn to speak Spanish or Portuguese fluently and to read the literature, histories, and periodicals of our sister Republics.

H. G. Wells once said that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe. His thought is applicable to hemispheric relations. With common dedication to the highest ideals of mankind, including shared aspirations for a world at peace, freedom, and progress, there is no insurmountable impediment to fruitful cooperation, save only insufficiency in mutual understanding. This is something that you and I—every single citizen, simply by informing himself—can do something about.

I hope each of us will do so.

Again, I express my gratitude to President Kubitschek, President Frondizi, President Ales-

sandri, and President Nardone and all their peoples for providing me with a most instructive and rewarding experience.

And I convey to you their best wishes and warm greetings.

Thank you, and good night.

JOINT STATEMENT, BRASILIA, FEBRUARY 23⁴

White House press release dated February 23

The Presidents of the United States of Brazil and of the United States of America, Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira and Dwight D. Eisenhower, meeting together in the new city of Brasilia, soon to be the capital of Brazil, reaffirm the joint determination of the two nations to defend the following principles:

1. The democratic freedoms and the fundamental rights of man, wherein are included the fight against racial discrimination and the repudiation of any attempt against religious freedom and of any limitation on the expression of thought. These are inalienable conquests of civilization which all free men have the duty to protect, bearing in mind the sacrifices of the soldiers of both countries in the last war, and the need to prevent repetition of the causes which led to the loss of so many young and precious lives.

2. The belief that the aspiration of the peoples of the Americas to an ever-improving way of life, moral and material, presents one of the great challenges and opportunities of our time. This challenge should be met by joining together, ever more closely and harmoniously, the efforts of all countries within the inter-American community in order that, through coordinated action, there may be an intensification of measures capable of combating underdevelopment in the vast area of the American continents.

3. The full implementation of the principles of political and economic solidarity contained in the Charter of the Organization of American States and in the Mutual Assistance Treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

4. The recognition that economic advancement cannot be disassociated from preservation of peace and democratic rights, and that the effort

⁴Read by Secretary Herter at the site of a monument commemorative of President Eisenhower's visit to Brazil.

of each nation must be complemented by hemisphere action helping all Americans to achieve the improved living standards which will fortify belief in democracy, freedom and self-determination of peoples. To this end, the Presidents reaffirm their solidarity with the principles approved by all the nations of America within the scope of Operation Pan America and assure their wholehearted support to the Organization of American States and to those other entities which already are formulating measures to help achieve these ends. This will pave the way to the realization of the inter-American ideals, economic as well as political.

Acknowledging that joint efforts of the American nations have already achieved much, but firm in the conviction that action still more fruitful should be taken, the two Presidents are confident that the hemispheric crusade for economic development will lead toward greater prosperity and harmony for all.

ADDRESS TO BRAZILIAN CONGRESS, RIO DE JANEIRO, FEBRUARY 24

White House (Rio de Janeiro) press release dated February 24
(as delivered text)

Mr. President, I think you must understand how deeply touched I am by the scene which here before me spreads. I see here represented in the members of this body the spirit, the intellect, and the character of the great Brazilian nation, a nation which is surging forward to heights as yet unimagined even by ourselves. Beyond this I am grateful for the generous statements directed to my country and to me by those who have preceded me today.

I am proud that I have been invited the second time by the representative body of Brazil to meet with them for a brief period, and I am more proud of the fact that your spokesmen have greeted me and my country as a country and as an individual that with them work to support and forward the priceless values that make men free and fight those influences which tend or would want to regiment or enslave them.

It is, then, with a sense of singular honor that I come before you, the elected representatives of the people of the United States of Brazil.

But the warm glow of personal pleasure is tempered by the realization that we share awesome

responsibilities which this profoundly moving occasion prompts me to discuss with you.

If the burdens of my office permitted, I would travel to the largest cities and the remotest villages of all the Americas to speak of these responsibilities and of how, together, we may possibly bear them successfully. Since I cannot do this, I trust that what I say here will be accepted by the Governments and peoples of all the Western Hemisphere nations as an expression of hope from the millions of my country to the millions who constitute Latin America.

It is fitting, I think, that I should do this here, at the beginning of my present journey, for you of Brazil and we of the United States of America have always worked together for the spiritual unity and material advancement of the hemisphere. If it were physically possible for us to do so, I am sure we would speak with a single voice to all our neighbors of this vast continent.

Sharing a Common Inspiration

Not long ago you and we shared anxieties, suffering, and tragedy in an agony of worldwide war. Many of your families, as of ours, paid a heavy price in order that the rule of law and moral suasion might replace the rule of naked force. To pay homage to the gallant Brazilian soldiers, airmen, and sailors who fought side by side with others of the free world, I came here 14 years ago.

I know that your brave men, who knew the horrors of war, pray with me now that their children and their children's children will find a better way—so that in the future the deep, abiding desires of humanity will prevail over the arrogance and ambitions of misguided or willful leaders; that consultations will replace coercion; that mutual understanding will eliminate threat and crude accusation; that the earth, casting aside the sterile use of resources for arms, will yield its rich bounty to all who are willing to work in freedom.

I am confident I shall not be thought presumptuous in suggesting we—our two nations—could speak with a single voice. For our basic ideas have a common inspiration: Man, in his sonship under God, is endowed with dignity, entitled to equality in all human and political relations, and destined, through the employment of consecrated intelligence, to shape a world harmonious with basic moral law.

Adhering to these beliefs we have established similar governmental systems; we have constantly maintained friendly relations unmarred by a single explosive incident; and we have worked together to establish and strengthen the Organization of American States, the United Nations, and other cooperative international organizations.

We of the United States admire Brazil for its enviable record of constructive leadership in hemisphere and world affairs, and we salute your statesmen who have played decisive parts in critical international situations, even some involving the United States and one or more of our sister Republics.

National Well-Being in Self-Reliance

Speaking with one voice then—your country and mine—we would say, I know, that the first responsibility of leadership in any nation is to work for the welfare of its own people, its own land.

We would emphasize that heavy reliance must be placed upon the creative talents of the people themselves, with government a helpful partner. While we recognize that success or failure in the whole domestic enterprise is largely a nation's own responsibility, we would look for any needed outside temporary assistance to speed our development. Certainly my country did this from its establishment as a free nation until late in the 19th century. And in receiving and using these honors our sovereignty was not violated—nor was our self-reliance diminished.

You now are experiencing, primarily due to your own persistent labors, a remarkable industrial and economic growth. Yesterday, on what was once a remote plateau, I saw your growth revealed in the stone and steel of an emerging and magnificent new capital—a symbol of the vision and sturdy confidence which characterize modern Brazil. This surging growth is evident everywhere in this seaport city of Rio, and tomorrow I shall see what I am told is the most rapidly growing city in the world—São Paulo.

We of the United States are proud that our public and private agencies have responded to the best of their ability to your requests for temporary assistance. United States public and private investments and loans in Brazil now total about \$2,500,000,000. To this could be added the loans

of international financial agencies which obtain the major part of their funds from the United States.

These are mighty, but only supplemental, aids. The time will come when Brazil, through its own efforts, will experience both the benefits and the complexities of being a creditor nation, and others will be seeking your help—a seeking which I know will not be unrewarded.

Strengthening Hemispheric Relations

Our second responsibility is to all our good neighbors of this hemisphere.

We, Brazil and the United States, hold the common burning conviction that relations among these sister nations must be characterized by mutual respect, juridical equality, independence, respect for each human being, regardless of his race, creed, or color, and a willingness to help one another promote the well-being of all our peoples.

Neither of us covets one acre of land from another. We do not wish to prosper at another's expense. We do not wish to impose our particular form of democracy upon another. Rather, fervently and persistently, while avoiding all forms of intervention, we proclaim our hope that the nations of the hemisphere will each, according to its own genius and aspirations, develop and sustain free government.

We pray that all of us will reject cruel tyranny, for tyranny is, in simple essence, the outright denial of the teachings of Christ. May each of us in every appropriate way, and especially by example, work for the strengthening of democratic institutions.

You of Brazil have constantly shown your desire for the Americas to be a community of free democratic nations, united by the common ideal of hemispheric cooperation and solidarity. You, like we, insist upon freedom of choice for every country. And you, like we, aspire to the day when poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and discrimination in all forms will become relics of the past.

In proposing Operation Pan America, Brazil has taken an important initiative for the democratic development of the entire hemisphere. The high purpose of this imaginative proposal of your distinguished President—to attack the problem of underdevelopment by cooperative effort—is one which my Government endorses. It is for this reason that we have joined with Brazil in requesting an early meeting of the Committee

of Nine;⁵ this committee should accelerate the formulation of the specific projects needed to translate this plan into a working reality.

U.S. Assistance Pledged

Permit me here to renew a pledge, which I have made repeatedly. The United States itself stands ready and will continue to urge other free nations to be ready to join in a gigantic effort: to devote substantial portions of the savings made possible by disarmament to vast constructive programs of peaceful development.

We embrace this idea despite the fact that we are now carrying such heavy burdens throughout the world that our own internal and external financial situation requires great caution in management—and incidentally, this aid includes significant volumes of public and private capital and technical assistance to Latin America.

Pending that achievement, I assure you that my Government, while honoring its commitments outside this hemisphere, is in no mood to allow its special responsibilities among the American states to go by default. Indeed, these commitments and responsibilities are part and parcel of the same problem—preserving the strength and unity of the free world.

Striving for World Peace

This brings me to the third responsibility which we may speak of in common voice—that which involves the larger world.

This is truly a time of fateful decision. Nations now possess power so terrible that mutual annihilation would be the only result of general physical conflict. War is now utterly preposterous. In nearly every generation the fields of earth have been stained with blood. Now, war would not yield blood, only a great emptiness for the combatants and the threat of death from the

⁵The Committee of Nine, composed of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, the United States, and Venezuela, was established by the Special Committee of the Council of the Organization of American States To Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Cooperation (Committee of 21) during its meeting at Buenos Aires Apr. 27–May 8, 1959. The main purpose of the Committee of Nine is to maintain contact with OAS inter-American organs in connection with the progress of the Committee of 21 and to receive and give preliminary study to any new proposals in this regard which might be presented by governments.

ADDRESS TO ARGENTINE CONGRESS, BUENOS AIRES, FEBRUARY 26

White House (Buenos Aires) press release dated February 26 (as delivered text)

skies for all who inhabit the earth. To strive ceaselessly, honestly, and effectively for peace is today the imperative responsibility of every statesman—of yours, of ours, of all countries.

At the same moment of this great crisis, we face anew decisions involving tyranny or freedom, totalitarianism or democracy. Our shared view on this issue is so eloquent and so clear that any words of mine would not be enlightening.

And, perhaps inseparable from the decision of freedom or slavery, we face the philosophic issue which today brings fear, misgiving, and mistrust to mankind. In contrast to our adherence to a philosophy of common sonship, of human dignity, and of moral law, millions now live in an environment permeated with a philosophy which denies the existence of God. That doctrine insists that any means justifies the end sought by the rulers of the state, calls Christianity the "sigh of the oppressed," and, in short, seeks to return mankind to the age-old fatalistic concept of the omnipotent state and omnipotent fate.

You of Brazil and we of my country do not say that this philosophy shall not be held, that peoples may not return to that unenlightened system of tyranny if they so wish. We would feel a great sorrow for them, but we would respect their right to choose such a system. Here is the key to our policy—the right to choose. Human beings everywhere, simply as an inalienable right of birth, should have freedom to choose their guiding philosophy, their form of government, their methods of progress.

But we—you of Brazil and we of the United States—would consider it intervention in the internal affairs of an American state if any power, whether by invasion, coercion, or subversion, succeeded in denying freedom of choice to the people of any of our sister Republics.

To work throughout the world for a guaranteed peace, free of all outside interference, and for rising levels of human well-being, in justice and freedom—this is the greatest of the responsibilities which you of Brazil and we of the United States now share.

It is to confer with your distinguished President and his colleagues about these bilateral but hemispheric and global problems that I am making my brief trip to Brazil and your neighbors in this great southland.

May God cast his grace upon us and guide us in this noble purpose.

First, an expression of my warm gratitude for the cordiality with which you have received me in this hall. I cannot fail to mention what I have just seen in the streets of your beautiful city. I have seen crowds on those streets, I have seen the smiles on their faces, the flowers in their hands, and I have heard their shouts and cries of welcome. To me this can mean one thing only: that the people of the Argentine, like the people of the United States, are proud that they are free men and they want to stand together as partners in our never-ceasing search for a just peace in which all men can prosper and better themselves, their families, their communities, and their nations.

I am honored by this opportunity to address the Congress of the Argentine Republic. To you, and through you to all your people, I bring friendly greetings from my Government and my fellow citizens. I convey to you our unbounded admiration for the courageous efforts you are making under the inspiring leadership of President Frondizi to strengthen respect for human dignity and human rights and to build institutions which will eternally guarantee the free exercise of those rights.

Though the people of the United States do not know your history, philosophy, and aspirations as well as they should—and this is a shortcoming which, despite distance and dissimilar language, simply must be overcome—nonetheless they are mindful of the extraordinary efforts you are making to restore your national economy. We hope and expect that the solid economic foundations you have been building will soon result in improved living standards.

I am happy that Argentina has created conditions which have made it possible for some of our credit agencies to extend to it a significant program of dollar credits. During the past few years, public and private lending agencies of the United States, and international financial institutions to which we contribute substantially, have joined in lending to Argentina approximately a billion dollars. This is the most intensive program of financial cooperation to have been yet carried out in the history of this hemisphere.

In a nation that is truly determined to develop, capital is one essential instrument of production. If there is a shortage of capital, production and living standards suffer simultaneously. But new capital, if accompanied by other instruments of production, including technical proficiency—in this case provided by Argentina itself—quickly translates into more production, more and better-paid jobs, and higher living standards. Everybody gains in the process.

We of the United States are highly gratified that we have been able to be of some assistance in your march toward a better life.

U.S. Aspirations for American Nations

In words so candid and clear that no one in all the Americas can possibly misunderstand me, I wish to emphasize again our deep desire:

First, to see every one of the American nations make steady economic progress, with the blessings of this advance reaching all of its people;

Second, to cooperate in every sound way we can, within the limits of our ability, in helping the American nations attain their just aspirations. We also wish to persuade them and others to join in a worldwide effort to help the less developed nations to progress in freedom;

Third, while adhering strictly to a policy of nonintervention and mutual respect, to applaud the triumph of free government everywhere in the world. We do not urge emulation of the United States, but we do know that human beings, sacred in the sight of God and more majestic than any institutions they may create, will in the long sweep of history never be content with any form of slavery or coercion;

Fourth, to bring ever closer the realization of a world in which peace with freedom is guaranteed and in which the mighty productive power of man can work constructively for the betterment of all humankind.

As perhaps you know, I have recently traveled in Europe, the Middle East, and India. I am now at the halfway point in this all-too-brief trip through South America. In June I shall go to the Soviet Union and Japan. When those journeys have been completed, I shall have visited many countries, large and small, industrial and agricultural communities, highly developed nations and some newly emerging. In all these travels I have

had one paramount interest: to assure everybody of my Nation's peaceful intent and to do what I can to promote the cooperation of all in the cause of peace and freedom.

I have emphasized that we seek peace, but only in freedom. If peoples were willing to give up their liberty and their personal dignity, they could readily have peace—a peace in which a single great power controlled all other nations.

Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Hitler, and others sought to establish that kind of peace. But always peoples and nations have rebelled against their false, self-serving doctrines. We do not want an imposed peace. We want a cooperative peace in which the peoples of every nation have the right of free choice—the right to establish their own institutions, to live by their own cardinal concepts, and to be free of external pressure or threat.

These are deep-seated desires held passionately in common by the peoples of the United States and Argentina. We hope to see machines capable of destruction turned exclusively to constructive purposes.

Sharing a Common Heritage

These shared aspirations spring from a common heritage:

Both our countries won their independence from European powers. The drafters of our Declaration of Independence proclaimed that "all men are created equal," endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In Argentina Esteban Echeverria said: "Equality and liberty are . . . the two poles of . . . Democracy. . . ." In the United States Abraham Lincoln described democratic government as "of the people, by the people, for the people." In Argentina Juan Alberdi declared: "Public freedom is no more than the sum . . . of the freedoms of all." The Constitution of the United States carefully separated the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of our Government. In Argentina the great liberator, José de San Martín, stated: "Displaying the most excellent principles matters not at all, when he who makes the law, he who carries it out, is also he who judges it."

Your founding fathers and ours acted upon

the same great hopes and expressed—almost identically—the same wisdom. This is of course not surprising: The vision of true freedom cannot be dimmed by a barrier of language or distance.

It was once possible to think of democratic freedom as a matter of purely national concern. But now, in a world of exacting interdependence, freedom must be fostered, developed, and maintained cooperatively among many nations. Hence, across national boundaries, among peoples and governments, a constant increase in mutual understanding must prevail. Based on that understanding, political, cultural, and economic cooperation will succeed, with benefits for all.

Unhappily, until the last threat of force has been suppressed, there must also be military cooperation, for no single nation, no matter how mighty, can alone protect the freedom of all. Together, however, the nations which cherish independence can command a power so great that no potential aggressor could violate the peace without inviting his own destruction.

Progress Through Technology and Science

Can the ugly external threat which faces us impose such physical strains upon us as to impair or destroy our heritage? With confidence our two nations emphatically and jointly say "No." I have heard some say that, the more a country develops its technology and science, the more "materialistic" it becomes and the less it possesses or cherishes the cultural aspects of life. But of course science, technology, and richness of culture must, and do, march forward hand in hand.

Surely scientific advances that make possible the conquering of human disease, that remove drudgery from the household, that yield shorter working hours with leisure for the arts and recreation—surely these are not inimical to the fulfillment of man's spiritual aspirations.

No single technological development in all history did more to advance the cultures of the world than the invention of the printing press. Modern technological miracles have speeded communications to the point that an event in a remote part of Africa is known minutes later in Buenos Aires. They have enabled us to move from one part of the world to any other in a matter of hours.

With these so-called "materialistic" advances

we have the means of obtaining accurate information, and more knowledge, faster. These accomplishments are helpful in developing that genuine human understanding on which all other cooperative actions among peace-longing nations can be based.

I have watched, with much satisfaction, the increasing amount of news published in each of our countries about the other and the increasing number of books translated from each of our languages into the other's. I have observed, too, the growing numbers of our teachers, students, businessmen, labor leaders, and others who are exchanging visits between us.

My country was recently honored by the visit of a number of distinguished members of this Congress, who traveled extensively in the United States and conferred with their fellow legislators and other American citizens. Also, legislators from the United States have visited Argentina on numerous occasions. I can think of nothing more useful to our relations than such exchanges.

But it is not possible for everyone to travel great distances. So our schools and universities, the press, books, philosophic societies, study groups, and government—all these must work ceaselessly to promote better understanding between us, as well as among all the Americas. And there must be interchanges to the maximum degree possible—of ideas, of persons, of techniques. I hold the unshakeable conviction that the greatest single impediment to abiding, mutually helpful cooperation among nations desiring peace with freedom is not opposing policies, or different aspirations, or insoluble conflicts—serious as these sometimes are. No, the most persistent, single impediment to healthy, effective cooperation is the lack of deep and abiding understanding and the trust that flows from understanding. Here, then, in this effort to increase mutual understanding among all nations, is the basic problem. It is one that every citizen, in your country and mine, can help to solve. Overcoming it will build the surest foundation for the kind of cooperative progress and the just peace we all seek.

Again, I convey to you the admiration of the people of the United States for the courage and determination with which Argentina is facing its problems. We wish you every success. I am also happy to assure you of the continued readiness of my Government to cooperate with you to the ex-

tent that such cooperation is feasible, is welcomed, and may contribute to the well-being of your great country.

I thank you for the privilege of addressing you, the elected representatives of the Argentine people.

JOINT DECLARATION, SAN CARLOS DE BARILOCHE, FEBRUARY 28

White House (San Carlos de Bariloche) press release dated February 28

The Presidents of the Argentine Nation and of the United States of America, having conferred on matters relating to peace, freedom and cultural and material opportunities for the peoples of the Americas, have decided to issue a joint declaration.

They reaffirm the determination of their respective governments to foster improved living standards for the peoples of the Americas.

They agree that:

Improved living standards result from economic progress which in turn depends upon adequate economic policies, upon friendly international cooperation, and upon efficient utilization both of natural resources and of the talents and capacities of the individual citizen acting alone or in voluntary association with others.

Economic progress and improved living standards facilitate the development of strong and stable political institutions and enable countries to make a more effective contribution to international understanding.

Likewise whatever serves to reinforce democratic institutions contributes not only to political, economic and social progress but also to the improvement of relations among nations.

The inter-American system, an expression of the common experience of the peoples of the Americas, has proved itself an effective instrument for peace and for cooperative relations among countries.

Experience within the inter-American system has taught that non-intervention is the keystone of international harmony and friendship and that its corollary is mutual respect among nations, however large or small.

The efforts of the Government of the Argentine Republic and of the United States of America will continue to be directed to the attainment of these inter-American ideals.

ADDRESS TO CHILEAN CONGRESS, SANTIAGO, MARCH 1

White House (Santiago) press release dated March 1 (as delivered text)

It is a high honor indeed and a personal privilege for me to address the elected representatives of the free people of the Republic of Chile. In this year, the 150th anniversary of the first movement toward independence by Chilean patriots, I bring to you and your people the warm greetings and congratulations of my countrymen.

We Americans glow with pride when we recall the early links between our two countries—when you were seeking your independence and our own was scarcely a generation old. It was not just coincidence, I suspect, that your first Congress was inaugurated on the fourth of July. That was in 1811, the 35th anniversary of our own Declaration of Independence. Later, in 1812, the first draft of your provisional Constitution was written in the home of Joel Poinsett, United States consular representative to Chile. In the battle which helped bring final victory, one of my countrymen was the chief of staff of Lord Cochrane.

These early associations helped forge lasting bonds of friendship. Their firm base is a shared philosophy—faith in God, respect for the spiritual dignity of man, and the conviction that government must be the servant of the people.

During the past 24 hours I have had friendly and helpful discussions with your distinguished President. I have gained new insight into your problems and the efforts you are making to achieve economic stability and growth which will mean a better life for all your people.

We all know that in today's interdependent world no nation can live unto itself or be immune to developments in other lands.

We in the Western Hemisphere are still young nations, still growing, still experimenting.

How much easier would be the tasks of our own internal development and of helping nations sustain liberty if the awesome threat of conflict and coercion could be eliminated from the minds and affairs of men.

Quest for Peace and Friendship in Freedom

The quest for peace is the imperative of our time. War has become preposterous. And maintaining armaments is consuming resources which,

if constructively used, could bring forth a new era of benefit for all mankind.

As you know, I recently visited a number of the nations of Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa. There I had an opportunity to convey to millions the wish dearest to the hearts of my own countrymen: a world of free men living in peace and friendship.

Soon, with my colleagues in Great Britain and France, I will meet with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.⁶ It is in part to prepare for this meeting that I have sought the opportunity to confer with the leaders of some of the Latin American nations. All of us hope fervently that out of this and subsequent international meetings may come understandings which will permit at least a partial relaxation of tensions and a modest advance along the road of lasting peace.

We seek to promote universal acceptance of the rule of law. We are determined to do all in our power to help the United Nations become an ever more effective instrument for peace. We support the International Court of Justice.

Though the road to guaranteed peace is a long one, we in the Western Hemisphere may take satisfaction that we among ourselves have made encouraging progress along that road. By providing guarantees of national independence and integrity to our own nations, we have set a useful example for the world. The Organization of American States has provided our American family of nations a valuable mechanism for consultation and has made possible the evolution of political and juridical doctrines in international relations which are accepted by all our Republics. The vitality of our Organization was recently demonstrated in the meeting of Foreign Ministers which took place here in Santiago.⁷ Under the able chairmanship of your distinguished Foreign Minister, the meeting agreed to the strengthening of the Inter-American Peace Committee, and it gave new emphasis to two basic concepts of the inter-American system: nonintervention and representative democracy.

With a long history of successful consultation, fortified by solemn agreements and machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, it is logical that leaders throughout the hemisphere should

now have a new concern regarding the burden of armaments on the economies of the American Republics. Hence the initiative of His Excellency President Alessandri in suggesting that the time is ripe to find effective means of reducing the burden of armaments in Latin America has been hailed as an act of statesmanship.

Working out the procedures for achieving limitation and assuring compliance will not be easy. The level of armaments which a nation feels it must maintain to assure the safety of its people involves a decision which the sovereign authority of that country must make for itself. In reaching its decision each government will have to balance the minimum requirements for security against the drain on its resources.

While the technical steps will be difficult, multi-lateral agreement can be achieved if each nation of the hemisphere has confidence that it need not fear unprovoked aggression.

It is precisely such confidence that our inter-American system should provide. The Rio Treaty of 1947 provides, and I quote from that document, "that an armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States and, consequently, each one of the said Contracting Parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack."

My Government supports this solemn agreement. Should any American Republic be the victim of aggression, the United States is ready to fulfill its treaty obligations with strength, promptness, and firmness.

Bearing in mind the guarantees provided by the Rio Treaty, I assure you that my Government is prepared to cooperate in any practical steps that may be initiated by the Government of Chile or any of her neighbors to reduce expenditures on armaments.

Foundations of Economic Development

As arms expenditures decline, funds will be released for more productive purposes. This will be at best a gradual process. In the meantime, Chile, like other growing countries, will need capital for economic development. Here and elsewhere that capital must come primarily from within; from the encouragement of savings, which depends on confidence in economic and political stability, and their intelligent investment; from a just and equitable tax system, strictly enforced;

⁶ BULLETIN of Jan. 18, 1960, p. 77.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1959, p. 342.

and from incentives to more efficient production and distribution, including the incentive of competition.

Yet domestic capital, while of first importance, will not always be sufficient to meet demands in a period of rapid growth. Hence Chile, like other countries, looks abroad for capital. I am glad that lending institutions in the United States have been able to grant substantial credits to the Government of Chile.

In addition considerable other credits and equity capital have flowed into various sectors of your economy. Thus United States copper companies have in the past 3 years invested more than \$125 million in new capacity, which means more earnings, more tax revenue, and more jobs. Investments are either being made or planned in fabricating plants to use the output of your great steel mill. I have been happy to learn that your national power company has received approval for a loan from the International Bank which will permit needed expansion of your power supply and that this will be supplemented by the investment of substantial private United States capital to increase power capacity in the Santiago-Valparaiso area. All this is good, since it will make important contributions to the growth of your country.

And yet the demand for more capital, in South America as in other parts of the world, continues. It is for this reason that during the past year the Congress of the United States, despite our own difficult situation with respect to international balances, has increased the resources of the Export-Import Bank, has approved the doubling of our subscription to the capital of the World Bank, and has joined with you and your neighbors in the formation of the Inter-American Development Bank.

As this Bank starts its career, under the presidency of a distinguished Chilean, it, together with the other institutions I have mentioned, should do much to meet the need for long-term credits.

I must emphasize, however, that the competition for both public and private credit is severe. Some charge that private capital in the more developed countries is seeking every opportunity to pour into the less developed countries in order to engulf their economies. Nothing could be more erroneous. Investment capital is limited. Competition for it is keen in the United States and in

many other countries. It will flow only to those areas where it is actively sought, welcomed, and treated fairly. More and more it seeks the partnership of local capital and local experience.

I congratulate your President and all of you on your efforts to strengthen the economy and fiscal situation of your country. You will thus create confidence for investment, both domestic and foreign.

As I have said, the principal impetus for any nation's economic development must be its own will, its own dedicated effort. Then, financial and technical assistance from abroad can be extremely helpful. So, too, can increased cooperation between neighbors. Working together, nations can increase trade and reduce costs of production, to their mutual benefit. These developments will attract additional credit. Hence the United States is sympathetic to the progress being made by Chile and her neighbors to establish some form of common market.

The United States, as the largest common market in the world, could not but look with favor on the efforts of other free nations—in Europe, Latin America, or elsewhere—to enhance their prosperity through the reduction of barriers to trade and the maximum use of their resources. We feel that a common market must be designed not only to increase trade within the region but to raise the level of world trade generally.

Working for a Better World

Members of the Chilean Congress, in mentioning briefly this afternoon our quest for peace and friendship in freedom, our common concern for reducing the burden of armaments, the need for development capital, and the benefits that may be derived from common planning, I have merely touched on several elements involved in our hopes for a better world for the future. What we do, or fail to do, will have its maximum impact on the lives of our children and grandchildren. The future is the domain of youth. More than ever before our young people, living in a world of interdependence and rapid communication, must possess technical competence. They must develop intercultural understanding, possess high spiritual values and integrity, be imbued with a passion for cooperation, and be devoted to building societies in freedom, that yield benefits to all. Only then

will they be able to use effectively all of their material resources, including capital. Hence we now have the obligation to expand educational opportunities in each of our countries and provide for the maximum exchanges of students, teachers, and others. We must provide an environment which convinces our youth that only in a democratic society can there be the intellectual freedom they cherish, that there is no shortcut to a richer life, and that the path they must follow will demand courage and a deep and abiding faith in humanity.

These are values which for generations have been held dear in Chile, as they have been in my country. I trust that our sons and daughters will in the future give them even deeper meaning. From my visit to Chile and her neighbors I shall take back renewed faith in the lofty aspirations of free people and renewed courage to face the tasks during the time which remains to me as President of my country.

From my heart I thank you for the honor you have done me in inviting me to be with you today and for the cordial welcome you have given me.

I thank you.

JOINT STATEMENT, SANTIAGO, MARCH 1

White House (Santiago) press release dated March 1

The Presidents of the United States of America and of Chile, Messrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower and Jorge Alessandri, on the occasion of the visit to Santiago of President Eisenhower, from February 29 to March 2, 1960, exchanged views on various matters of common interest:

The Presidents discussed the collaboration of Chile and the United States of America in international organizations with a view to the realization of the common principles which guide the foreign policies of both countries.

In particular they exchanged ideas regarding the principal affairs of the world situation and, moreover, concerning measures which would make possible the strengthening of the inter-American system in accordance with the Declaration of Santiago,⁸ which was unanimously approved at the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held in August 1959.

⁸ For text, see *ibid.*

They reaffirmed the urgency of seeking solutions for the problems of economic development and of improving living standards in America. They likewise reiterated that the inter-American system should be based on respect for human rights, the effective exercise of democracy, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

Economic matters of common interest, particularly those of hemispheric scope comprehended in Operation Pan America, were also discussed. Similarly, special attention was given to the armaments problem in the continent and to Chile's initiative in proposing that the nations of the Americas give their urgent consideration to this matter, with the objective of reaching an appropriate equilibrium within a general policy of limitation on arms purchases.

The financing of economic development, both public and private, was also discussed, as was the formation of various regional trade zones, both in Europe and the Americas, and their possible effects on the economies of this hemisphere.

Finally, programs of cultural collaboration were reviewed, with emphasis on the importance of disseminating scientific and technical knowledge.

ADDRESS TO URUGUAYAN CONGRESS, MONTEVIDEO, MARCH 2

White House (Montevideo) press release dated March 2 (as delivered text)

Before I give to you my communications, the thoughts that I have wanted to say to you, I want to express something of my feelings concerning the welcome that has been given me by Montevideo—all the way along the beaches, through the streets with their majestic buildings, and by a people that seemed to be expressing the utmost in friendship.

My only regret is that every member in every dwelling in the farms and cities of my country could not have seen this day, because they would have realized that this people was trying to say, "We are with you in believing in freedom, in our dedication to liberty; and because we are so joined with you, we send across these oceans to you from North America our very best wishes."

I deem it a high honor to address you, the democratically elected representatives of the people of

Uruguay. I bring you from my people and my Government earnest expressions of friendship and good will.

The United States shares with Uruguay an abiding desire to live in freedom, human dignity, and peace with justice.

The great wonder of history is that leaders—knowing that peoples everywhere, regardless of economic station, race, or creed, possess a burning desire to achieve these values—still have been unable to prevent the world from becoming tragically divided by mistrust, threat, and even overt hostility.

In our time the destructive power available for misuse is awesome. We now have reached the point in human progress where the choice before us is mutual annihilation or abiding cooperation in the construction of the peace that lives as a cherished dream in the hearts of people everywhere.

Principles Motivating U.S. Aid

At this fateful time the people of the United States find themselves carrying unbelievably heavy burdens. They do this not just in their own interest but for the benefit of all who cherish freedom, all who believe that human affairs should be managed in harmony with basic moral law. They do this for all who are deeply convinced that peoples have the inalienable right to live in peace, with their creative energies devoted exclusively to building the social, cultural, and economic institutions consonant with their own desires.

My country makes these sacrifices with no avaricious end in view. The United States does not covet a single acre of land that belongs to another. We do not wish to control or dictate to another government. We do not desire to impose our concepts of political, cultural, or economic life upon either the largest or the smallest, the strongest or the weakest, of the nations of the earth.

We believe that the people of every nation are endowed with the right of free choice and that the most sacred obligation of the world community is to guarantee such choice to all.

Need I document these assertions? The Philippines today are independent—by their own choice. Alaska and Hawaii are now, proudly, equal partners in our federated, democratic enterprise—by their own choice. Puerto Rico is a Commonwealth within the United States system—by its own choice. After World War I, World

War II, and the Korean war, the United States did not in any way enrich itself at another's expense—even from former enemies.

Indeed, it did the opposite. We offered substantive help to others, first for reconstruction and then, because of thundering threats, for the creation of a cooperative defense system to protect the free world from deliberate attack or the miscalculation of arrogance.

Benefits to Latin America of U.S. Programs

I am aware of the feeling of many people in Latin America that the United States, while giving bounteously for postwar reconstruction and mutual security, has been less generous with our good neighbors of this hemisphere. I am the first to acknowledge the fallibility of nations and leaders, even those with the best intentions. But I ask you and all our good friends of the Americas to consider this:

The aid we gave to Europe after the Great War helped restore that area as a producer and buyer, to the benefit of Latin America as well as to ourselves. During the war the trade of Latin America with the United States increased sixfold and has been sustained at a higher level since then.

The resources we have exported for the construction of a defense perimeter have been for the benefit of all who desire freedom, independence, and the right to be unmolested as they work for the improved well-being of their people.

These efforts have required our people to impose upon themselves the most burdensome levels of taxation in our national history. They have caused us to forgo doing as much as we otherwise would in some internal projects. They have brought difficulties in our international financial affairs.

But—let me emphasize this—the assistance flowing to Latin America from the United States, in the form of private and public loans and technical aid, has been higher in recent years than ever before. Indeed, I wonder if many realize the extent, both in mass and beneficial effect, of the capital going into Latin American enterprises from United States sources.

In the last fiscal year, for example, the private and public funds made available in Latin America from the United States and its companies approximated \$1 billion; and it is difficult to set a figure representing the subsidiary benefits

brought about by the creation of new jobs, new markets, and new enterprises.

Yes, while we have known holocausts of anxiety, suffering, and great human tragedy three times in this century, we have not turned inward to indulge in self-pity. We have willingly extended the hand of friendship and cooperation, and in this process we have attached no greater importance to solid, abiding partnerships with any area than we have with those of the American Republics.

Of course we face vexatious problems requiring constant attention. We have them. You do. As for our bilateral problems the record clearly reveals that they have been susceptible of solution when the healing balm of understanding has been applied.

I am keenly aware that all of Latin America—and Uruguay is no exception—is plagued by the fluctuation of raw commodity prices. Latin America has need for industrialization, diversification, education, health facilities, and capital to speed development.

Progress Through Cooperation

Progress in any nation is and must be largely the task of its own people, institutions, and leaders. But the United States stands ready to help in any way it soundly can, within the framework of our world responsibilities and the limits of our resources. Further, we work for the time—not distant I hope—when all the nations of the world in attaining greater prosperity will progressively share in programs of assistance to less developed countries.

Indeed, I would go further. I believe it is the duty of every nation, no matter how large or small, how weak or strong, to contribute to the well-being of the world community of free men. For a time, perhaps, some can supply only certain skills, or personnel, or spiritual support. The important consideration is that we should all accept a common sense of responsibility for our common destiny.

I am sure you hold the concept, as we do, that every human being, given an opportunity to do so, will make his contribution to the general welfare. You must feel, as we surely do, that hunger and privation must be eliminated from the earth by the cooperative effort of peoples and of govern-

ments of good will. We are certain, as you must be, that the cooperative effort of free-working men and women, dedicated to and living under democratic principles, can outproduce the regimented working force of any nation suffering under dictatorial control.

Nations must constantly explore new opportunities to be helpful to one another. Who would have thought a few years ago that six nations of Europe would now be joined in a common effort to enlarge trade opportunities, to lower production costs, and thus to improve living standards? Or that seven other nations would develop a loose confederation for cooperation with those six?

Yet these developments are under way. They can contribute to the growth of the free world, provided of course that both blocs operate with due regard for the interests of other countries.

Here in Montevideo last month you were host to a meeting of the representatives of eight nations, at which was taken an important formal step toward the creation of a Common Market in which Uruguay would be a participant. You are dealing here with the possibility of widening each nation's markets in such a way that you increase the efficiency of many industries and thus greatly enhance the opportunity to obtain credits to hasten development. I congratulate you.

Basis of U.S.-Uruguayan Understanding

The beginning point of all cooperation—between individuals, or between groups within a single society, or between nations—is genuine human understanding.

The conclusion within the next few days of a Fulbright agreement between Uruguay and the United States for the exchange of students and professors is an important step in this direction.

Surely we of Uruguay and the United States should not fail in developing the knowledge about one another, and the abiding understanding, on which dependable cooperation may be based. I know you respect our democratic processes, our system of economic freedom, our adherence to those cardinal concepts of human dignity and consecrated intelligence which we draw from our religious philosophy.

Certainly we admire you. The people of Uruguay, like the people of the United States, came

from many different places, but all were guided by passionate desires for freedom, justice, and opportunity. Under a great leader, José Artigas, you struggled for independence, even as we did under George Washington. And then you set to work.

We have watched the development of democratic institutions in Uruguay with unbounded admiration. We have been impressed with your individualism—with the development of the flaming spirit of liberty, justice, and self-discipline in the citizens of Uruguay. And we have applauded your successes as you have battled against human want, without sacrifice of human liberty.

It is no wonder that, in a world in which millions have been subjected to the philosophy and fetters of vicious tyranny, we feel a deep spiritual relationship to you.

We have worked well together in helping build the most influential regional organization on earth, the Organization of American States, in helping make the United Nations an instrument of true promise for international cooperation, and in seeking the solution to the problem of transcendent importance: peace, with justice, in freedom.

Controlled, universal disarmament is now imperative. The billions now living demand it. That we can make it our children's inheritance is our fondest hope. The United States is deeply committed to a ceaseless search for genuine disarmament, with guarantees that remove suspicions and fears.

Nearly 7 years ago I said what I now repledge:⁹ The United States "is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of its savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction."

Members of the Congress, I thank you profoundly for the honor of meeting with you, for

⁹ For an address by President Eisenhower before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on Apr. 16, 1953, see *ibid.*, Apr. 27, 1953, p. 599.

your generous hospitality, and for the friendly greetings of the Uruguayan people whom you represent. May God favor you in your efforts to promote the interests of your people in freedom and inspire you to still greater effort in our common struggle to achieve a world which lives in harmony under moral law.

JOINT DECLARATION, MONTEVIDEO, MARCH 3

White House (Montevideo) press release dated March 3

The National Council of Government of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay and the President of the United States of America have agreed to make the following declaration defining the basic principles which, in each of their countries, govern the international relations of their respective peoples and inspire the ideal of freedom which binds them:

1. The sacred respect for human rights and dignity, the strengthening of their democratic institutions and the repudiation of all manner of anti-democratic actions or penetration;

2. The wide and growing acceptance of these same principles throughout the Americas in accordance with juridical standards freely accepted by the participating states, and, therefore, in strict compliance with the principles of non-intervention;

3. The most sincere and wholehearted support of institutions and organizations for international cooperation which promote both universally and regionally, in accordance with the rules of international law, the consolidation of peace, the strengthening of international security and the parallel economic, social and cultural development of the American nations, as well as the rest of the world.

4. Both countries will endeavor to increase their economic, social and cultural cooperation directly and through international organizations.

5. This declaration shall be known as the Declaration of Montevideo.

Secretary Herter's News Conference of March 9

Press release 110 dated March 9

Secretary Herter: I should like to begin this morning with a few remarks in regard to the recent trip to four nations in South America. The President reported last night to the Nation over the radio and TV and covered most of the essential matters in connection with that trip.¹ But I do want to add my own comments because I think they have some significance and fall in the category on which the President himself didn't wish to comment.

The reception that he received in every one of the capitals that he visited and the other cities that he visited in those four countries was a truly remarkable thing. It was a very great personal tribute as well as a tribute to the United States. Many of you who have traveled with him can recognize the amazing magnetic qualities that he has when he stands up in his car and waves to the crowds that are assembled on the street—a magnetism which seems to call from the crowds a type of enthusiasm which he himself reflects in the warmth of his response to the crowd. It is a two-way activity that is very extraordinary. And those of us who followed some distance behind the President himself could see the real warmth and happiness on the faces of the people who felt that he had really greeted them personally as he went along.

The size of the crowds, of course, was enormous, and I had the feeling that, not alone from the point of view of our relations with the peoples of those countries but also from the point of view of the impression that the people's attitude toward the President made on the government officials, the trip was an unqualified success.

I say that because of course the President can't talk about his own personal popularity, but to me

¹ See p. 471.

it was a very extraordinary outpouring and a very gratifying demonstration not only of warmth for the United States but of personal appreciation of his efforts in making the visit and an acceptance of a very unusual personality.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there seem to be some doubts in Latin American quarters on how long that impression should last unless it is followed with some complete policy measures, increasing economic aid, and perhaps also responding to President Kubitschek's demand of consulting more closely with Latin America in formulating overall Western policy. I wonder if you could comment on that.

A. Yes. I think there will be a followup inevitably. As you know, the capital of the Export-Import Bank has been increased very considerably. The new Inter-American Bank has been created and is in the process of organization, and it will of course be an instrument of very great importance. The discussions that Mr. Kubitschek is anxious to have take place, not only in the Organization of American States but in bilateral talks, we have agreed to, we are anxious to proceed with, and I think we have worked out the mechanism by which that will be done. I think that there will be a followup. I think that, as the President said last night, we realize fully the need of capital, both private and public, in the development of Latin America, and we are very much aware of the desirability of moving as fast as it is possible in assisting the nations of Latin America to develop themselves.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on his recent trip to the Far East, Mr. Khrushchev said that if the Western Powers did not come to some agreement with him on Berlin at some point he would have to go ahead with a separate treaty for East Germany. He also said when he got home from that trip that he

thought it was time for everybody to avoid doing or saying anything which might impair the prospect for agreement at a summit conference. I wondered how you assessed these matters and what the United States attitude is toward this approach period before the summit.

A. Well, there are two separate thoughts to the question you have asked, as I see it. The first has to do with Khrushchev's statement that was made in Indonesia. Whether or not that constituted a violation of the agreement made at Camp David and confirmed in the exchange of statements immediately after Camp David with respect to there being no time limit on negotiations with respect to Berlin and the German question, it is our own impression—and we have studied that statement very carefully—that there is no time element involved. The statement made in Indonesia is similar to statements that Mr. Khrushchev has made in other places before he took that trip in which he has indicated that, if no progress is made, there will come a time when he will be forced to a separate peace treaty with East Germany. That is not at variance necessarily with the earlier agreement. But we cannot see that he has put an ultimatum date, a specific date, on that statement.

With respect to the second part of your question, I am not certain whether you are referring to any particular incident or not. If you are referring to the matter of high-altitude flights, I can just say this, that the British, the French, and ourselves have always taken the position that we have the right to fly at whatever altitude we see fit in the corridor, that there has never been any restriction agreed upon from the point of view of the height. It is true, however, that we have this matter constantly under review from the point of view of the operational necessity of high flights. The most recent review, which was concluded after the President came back, determined that there is no operational necessity at the present time. Should that operational necessity arise, we are in agreement that we have the absolute right to fly at whatever altitudes we see fit.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there have been reports that a decision was made to make those high-altitude flights because of the operational efficiency of them. Can you say whether there has been a change of mind as between operational efficiency and operational necessity?

A. No. I think that the two go together. And I think that the review, as I say, while it was in the course of being made and was concluded after we got back from South America, determined that there was no operational necessity or any need of these flights for the sake of efficiency at the present time.

Q. Mr. Secretary, may I ask whether this in effect reverses a decision reported about 10 days ago referring to a situation about 3 weeks or a month ago in which there was supposed to have been a decision made to conduct such flights at an early date?

A. No such decision was made.

Relations With Cuba

Q. Mr. Secretary, can you tell us whether the administration has been considering the possibility of breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba? And could you tell us what extremities might have to prevail to precipitate such action?

A. No. We have given no consideration to breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba. Circumstances might arise—and I don't want to specify what they are—which would require us to break off such relations. I hope those circumstances will never arise. We, as you know, have been hopeful throughout that the atmosphere of our relationship with Cuba would allow us to settle through diplomatic means such differences as we may have with Cuba.

The most recent unfortunate statement of Mr. Castro's, to which I referred the day before yesterday [March 7] with the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires, unhappily tried to turn the very real grief that the Cuban people have and that we have over that hideous explosion in Habana Harbor to animosity against the United States. We felt that that was a very unfortunate thing. As you know, I spoke quite severely to the Cuban Chargé on this matter. The Cuban Government is clearly taking the point of view that they resent the language that I used. I notified the Cuban Chargé that we would be sending a formal note on the subject, which will undoubtedly go out before the end of this week.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you agree with the Cuban assertion that some of the language that you used in talking with the Chargé was insulting in any way?

A. No. It was not insulting at all. The language was very carefully chosen, and I thought it was not insulting in any way, but it fairly reflected the views I held with respect to the occasion of the burial of these victims being used to arouse animosity against the United States.

Q. Mr. Secretary, going back to the previous question on the Berlin problem and flights, I think the question was phrased, had we changed our decision to send flights in—something to that effect. What I would like to know is whether we had decided earlier, within the last month, not to send flights but to inform the Soviet authorities again with a restatement of our feeling about this problem and our rights, and was that decision changed?

A. No decision had been reached on that. We have discussed the matter from time to time with the French and the British, and we have been in complete agreement on the matter.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on the Cuban matter, the Cuban reaction was that your language to the Chargé was couched in terms of the personality of Premier Castro, and I believe their note requested that this not be done in the future. Will this have any effect on your future dealings with the Cubans?

A. Well, it was inevitable that I should comment on Mr. Castro's speech, because that was the occasion for my calling the Chargé in. It was Mr. Castro who had utilized this occasion, to my mind very unfortunately, to try to engender animosity against us, and even more than that to point the finger at us as being responsible for the explosion. Obviously in talking about that I could only refer to Mr. Castro's speech and characterize it as I did.

Q. Mr. Secretary, how do you see the prospects for an agreed Allied position by the opening of the disarmament talks next week in Paris?

A. I am very hopeful that there will be an agreed position. There have been reports to the effect that there were some differences between ourselves, shall I say, and the French in this matter. They have been largely a matter of degree and emphasis, and I am hoping that those matters will be straightened out in the talks that are

taking place in Paris at the moment, and I am very hopeful that they will be.

Q. Could you tell us what issues are involved?

A. No, I would rather not get into the question of the issues involved. If they are satisfactorily resolved, we will have a united front.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you regard it as a little unusual that the envoys of 10 Arab nations should have registered a complaint about the visit of Premier Ben-Gurion here?

A. Well, I don't know how to comment on that. Of course, they had a perfect right to do it if they saw fit to do it.

The question of their visit here raises the whole unhappy relationship between Israel and the Arab states. And, as you know, we have hoped for a long period of time that we would be in a position to do what we could to ameliorate that situation, and I certainly don't want to say anything that might make it worse.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on Cuba, what advice is the Department giving American corporations that are now saying they are going to have to pull out of Cuba, that they can't operate down there any more? And, also, similarly, what advice is the Department giving to American firms that are not getting paid for goods shipped to Cuba prior to September 15?

A. In general, the advice that has been given is that, since the troubles that they are having are due to internal factors controlled by the Cubans, they should exercise such legal remedies as are available to them. If they can get no satisfaction through the exercise of legal remedies, they should then come to us and, where we feel that they have not been given an opportunity to exercise those rights, we will take up their cases.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in your luncheon meeting with Mr. Hammarskjöld, what progress did he report with respect to his negotiations to end the continuing blockade in the Suez against Israel's ships and ships of other nations carrying Israel's goods?

A. That was a matter that was not discussed.

Q. It was not discussed at all?

A. No, not at all.

Q. Do you have anything new to report on progress being made in this respect?

A. No. We had a long discussion, but the principal matters that we discussed did not involve that.

Q. Mr. Secretary, a few moments ago when you referred to this C-130 business you referred to consultations or discussions with the British on that. Did you mean to exclude the French from those consultations, and, if so, why?

A. No. It was my impression that I had said both the English and the French. Because, throughout, these have been tripartite discussions.

Q. And West Germany?

A. No, not necessarily the West Germans, because this is primarily a responsibility of the three nations.

Q. Mr. Secretary, while you were away in Latin America there were a good many stories written to the effect that the Americans, the British, and the French had reviewed the question of high-level flights and had decided that it would be desirable to reintroduce them at this time and that the Soviets were going to be notified one way or another. Now, is what you are saying is that all these stories are incorrect and there had never been such a review or decision?

A. I am saying that no such decision had ever been reached.

Treaty With Japan

Q. Mr. Secretary, as I am sure you know, in Japan these days there is a great deal of intense controversy about the new treaty which you signed in January here.² Particularly, the controversy centers on the challenge that this treaty and the American bases there would expose Japan to a greater risk of involvement in a war. And also that this treaty runs counter to the efforts by the United States to reduce tensions. Can you deal with those questions now?

A. I think that the arguments that you have raised against the treaty are the ones that are being advanced particularly by the Soviet Union in its continuing attacks on that treaty and have been picked up by some of the opposition to the Government in Japan. We do not place any cre-

dence in those, and I do not think that the Japanese Government does. And, in fact, we have felt that in the signing of that treaty we were signing a treaty of mutual benefit to both of us, that its aspects were essentially defensive, and that there was no element of increasing tensions in any respect with regard to the carrying out of that treaty. I can only repeat what I think I have said previously: that the efforts of the Soviet Government to try to either slow down or force a rejection of the treaty in Japan are a clear violation of the precept of not interfering in the affairs of another country.

Q. Mr. Secretary, as you know, the execution date for Caryl Chessman has been set again for May 2. I was wondering if you heard very much about the case when you were in South America and if you plan to handle any foreign protests yourself, if there are any between now and the next one? (Laughter)

A. In South America I did hear a good deal about it. Apparently his writings and his case have stirred up a lot of interest—to me, quite a surprising amount of interest—in many countries in South America. I didn't realize how much interest there was in it until we were told by those who were not alone familiar with the situation in the four countries that we visited but in other countries as well. It is an interest that I think is born out of a feeling against capital punishment. I don't think that the interest is necessarily confined to any particular group in those countries, but it is, again, one of those things that have been exploited by those who are anti-North American to attempt to put us in a bad light. I have no idea, of course, whether there will be any further protests from South America or from any official organs of South America. If there should be, we would forward them in the usual routine way. We would probably put a clearer disclaimer from the point of view of not representing our judgment than the last one. (Laughter)

Q. Mr. Secretary, you mentioned coming talks with President Kubitschek of Brazil. Our policy has been, for the last year and a half, that they should go to the International Monetary Fund and work out some sort of stabilization agreement or anti-inflationary measures before coming to us for further loans. Is that still our policy, or has there been a change in that policy?

² BULLETIN of Feb. 8, 1960, p. 179.

A. No. Actually, the problems of Brazil are of such magnitude that Brazil will have to work out with the various financial agencies the best way of handling those matters. The question of the determination as to whether the Brazilians would take such internal steps as the International Monetary Fund requires is, of course, a matter for its own decision. It is something that it is pondering, I think, even now. It is still having real inflationary problems; and, on the other hand, its internal economy has, I think, progressed more favorably than had been anticipated a year ago.

Q. You mentioned, sir, the increased funds for the Export-Import Bank. Now, many of these countries in Latin America are beyond their ability to service hard loans any more, and much of the IDB's funds for this coming year, the majority at any rate, are earmarked for India and Pakistan. Now, are we contemplating asking for more contributions to the new Inter-American Development Bank, or some special arrangements?

A. No, not at once. Of course, the Inter-American Bank will have to start slowly. It may be disappointingly slow. I hope not. The question of more capital for it before it has even begun seems a little premature.

Q. Mr. Secretary, it has been suggested that in the forthcoming German negotiations Chancellor Adenauer has a veto power over any decision that we might make there. We have said that we would make no agreements with the Soviet Union that would not be satisfactory to the people of Germany and the people of Berlin. Is this not true then, that Adenauer does have veto power over our decision regarding Germany?

A. Again, when you speak about our decision over Germany, we don't pretend to have the sole right to make a determination as to what shall be done with Germany. This is a matter that we have continuously felt was one for consultation between the British, the French, the Germans, and ourselves as the powers principally responsible and principally concerned.

The question, of course, of an overall peace treaty which would settle the East German situation would, naturally, affect a great many more countries besides. So that in the Berlin situation, in which the predominant interests of these

four nations reside, we have never taken it unto ourselves to say that anyone has necessarily a right of veto or that we have a right of veto. What we are obviously trying to do is to concert our position as best we can, and I think that in connection with that the visit of Chancellor Adenauer next week may be very significant.

Q. Mr. Secretary, Senator Kennedy yesterday won a nice victory in New Hampshire, and he told us at the Press Club, and several other times, that if elected President he would abandon the Quemoy and Matsu Island groups. Now I wondered what you think about that, sir, and if you think that is a violation of the traditional American theory that politics should stop at the waterline.

A. I would rather not get into any altercation with Senator Kennedy at this time. I can only say this: that the determination regarding those islands is left in the hands of the President of the United States today. It is he who determines whether or not the security of those islands is tied in with the security of Formosa, on which we have a treaty agreement. And I would assume that if Senator Kennedy became President of the United States he would have exactly that same discretionary power.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in Latin America the administration is confronted with two vividly, if not violently, contrasting situations. You spoke of the President's triumph on his tour, and we are now faced with the crisis of relations with Cuba. Has any consideration been given to the possibility of turning the President's magnetism directly on Mr. Castro—(Laughter)—either through a message or through a visit to one capital or the other? And as a corollary to that question, what did you find in South America to be the sentiment of our Latin American friends regarding the Castro regime?

A. With respect to the first, this is a matter which, as far as I know, has not been under active discussion. With regard to the second, I think we found a considerable unanimity of feeling, of very real anxiety, with respect to the direction in which the Castro regime is heading. There was, I think, real appreciation of the patience with which we have dealt with the situation and still a very strong feeling about nonintervention,

the principle that is naturally of such sensitivity in the whole of Latin America.

Q. Mr. Secretary, I would like to take another crack at the Berlin flights question: If no decision or consideration had been given to resuming flights above 10,000 feet, why was it necessary, after the President returned, to make a decision that they were not now operationally necessary?

A. It was not necessary to make a decision, but the decision was one that was pending. The review was underway before the President got back, was brought to him, and he made the decision.

Q. Mr. Secretary, can you tell us whether there is likely to be any important change in Russian-American relations as a result of the note the President received yesterday from Mr. Khrushchev?

A. No, I can't comment on that. Any comment on that note will have to come from the White House.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you have talked about Mr. Khrushchev's comments in Indonesia and have said that we have concluded that there was no ultimatum aspect. What do you think about the tone of his utterances and his repeated references to the necessity of signing a separate peace treaty with East Germany, unless some sort of solution is forthcoming in a—fairly early?

A. Well, this tone that you speak of was not apparent for the first time in Indonesia. He had made a number of statements of the same kind before he took this trip. How much they are for internal consumption, how much they are intended to put us on notice that this is going to be the principal matter which he will want to discuss at the summit, is hard to tell. Whether this is a tactical move or whether this is something that he is going to press and try to press to a conclusion at the summit, we don't know.

Meeting Latin American Development Needs

Q. Mr. Secretary, one continuous theme that seems to have permeated the conversations and the public statements with the President in Latin America was the real effort by the Latin American leaders to dramatize to the United States that there are two fundamental ideologies struggling

to capture the public imagination in Latin America—who can meet the needs for development more quickly. And this, in turn, seems to have stirred some expectation that we would have a—rather a whole series of new ideas, of new policies for the area. Now, some people felt that the President's statement yesterday—the most dramatic thing was apparently a crash program for people here to learn Spanish. Was there any additional—is there some fundamental change that we are contemplating besides that?

A. I wouldn't say there was any fundamental change. And let's not forget that over the last 10 years a great deal of American assistance has gone into Latin America. More is needed. It's a question of degree. It's a question of priorities. It's a question of determining where such aid as we can give, or other nations can give, can be most effectively used. Those are things that we have got under very active consideration. I would say that, if nothing else, this whole trip has been very helpful in our overall awareness of the urgency of the problem as it has been presented to us not only in other nations of the world but also in the Latin American area.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if I may refer once more to this much-discussed matter: I gather from what you say about the Berlin flights that what the President decided against yesterday was any immediate flight plan at a high level between West Berlin and West Germany. And I wanted to ask you whether it is unlikely now that any such flights would be undertaken before the summit conference.

A. I don't think it has any direct relation to the summit conference at all. I think that this was determined entirely on the question of operational needs as of now. If those operational needs should change, we would feel entirely free to move ahead.

Q. Well, I asked the question that way, sir, because you mentioned the subject in response to the first question I asked, which had to do with Mr. Khrushchev's suggestion that nobody should do anything to upset prospects for an agreement.

A. Well, I was merely speculating that this was what you were inquiring about.

Q. Mr. Secretary, how much longer do the American people have to take Castro harangues

without doing anything more positive about it, except to say that the charges are not true? Is there anything more definite that we can do except deny his charges?

A. Well, as you know, the President has said that we are not going to take economic counter-measures. The Sugar Act will be up before the Congress. It will have to be renewed in some form or other before the end of the congressional session. Whether or not the members of the Congress will have ideas on this subject themselves, or not, I can't speculate. I can't tell what they are likely to do.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there is a report today from Paris that there was a postwar agreement, as yet undisclosed, among the United States, France, and Britain, agreeing on world strategy, and that this agreement led to a series of meetings at which our representative was General Ridgway, and eventually this process led to the formation of NATO.

Now, the French have for a long time been pressing for this approach to world affairs, that is, three-power agreement on their policy around the world, and I wondered whether there has been any reconsideration of the United States position on this matter in view of President de Gaulle's coming visit, at which the question is likely to be raised again.

A. No. I don't think there has been any change in our position. From time to time we have had talks with the British and French about many matters. Those have been of an informal nature. They are not institutionalized in any way. But those will undoubtedly continue in the future.

Nuclear-Test Negotiations

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you give us a progress report on the nuclear-test negotiations in Geneva?

A. Well, as of the present moment we are still waiting for a specific answer from the Russians to our latest proposal, which they have not given us. The matter has stalled to a considerable extent on this question of quotas. We have agreed to their criteria, which were very different from those before—the proposal that we made. Their criteria now are that any event of any kind which is registered by seismology could be subject to inspection. But they will not say that they are willing to relate the number of inspections that take place to the number of such events that

might be recorded. Because, as you go down into the lower tremors, of course, there are a great many more such tremors recorded, and obviously, if one were going to try to determine whether or not they were of a natural nature or an artificial explosion, you would have to have a great many more inspections. We are still stuck on that point.

Q. Mr. Secretary, does it appear to you, sir, that Mr. Castro and others in the Cuban Government are deliberately kicking us in the teeth in the hope of forcing us into a policy of reprisals?

A. Well, it is not my business to try to interpret their motives. But the minute things seem to be riding along a little more smoothly, they seem to go out of their way to make them more difficult.

Q. Mr. Secretary, among the many heads of state coming here in the next few months are Chancellor Adenauer, the King and Queen of Nepal, President and Mrs. Charles de Gaulle of France, and the King and Queen of Thailand. Is the State Department, in assisting in the press arrangements, arranging them so that all accredited reporters, regardless of sex—(Laughter)—may be able to cover the functions that presumably are press-sponsored?

A. The answer to that question I will leave to my friend, Mr. Berding, right here.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what changes do you favor in the Sugar Act?

A. I would rather not comment on that at the present time. The administration position has not been firmed up. As soon as it is and we send our reports up to the Congress, you will know what it is.

Q. Thank you, sir.

Foreign Ministers To Meet at Washington in April

Press release 116 dated March 11

As part of the continuing preparations among the Western Powers for the May conference of heads of government, arrangements have been made for a series of meetings of foreign ministers to take place at Washington between April 12 and 14.

Invitations from the U.S. Government to attend these meetings have been accepted by the Foreign

Ministers of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. NATO Secretary General Paul-Henri Spaak has also been invited and is expected to attend.

The composition of the various meetings will vary in accordance with the subjects for discussion and will follow the general pattern which has been established for the preparatory working groups that have been meeting here at Washington, at Paris, and at London. The Foreign Ministers of Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States will meet to discuss the subject of disarmament. The Foreign Ministers of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States will discuss the problem of Germany, including Berlin. The Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and the Secretary General of NATO will discuss East-West relations. The Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States will discuss tactical and procedural questions relating to the summit meeting.

The exact schedule of the meetings will be announced later when final arrangements have been made.

Thomas Masaryk Honored as "Champion of Liberty"

Remarks by Under Secretary Merchant¹

I am pleased to be here today to share in paying homage to Thomas Masaryk. In honoring him as a champion of liberty, we also mark our dedication to the principles by which he lived and

¹Made at a ceremony dedicating the Thomas Masaryk "Champion of Liberty" postage stamp at Washington, D.C., on Mar. 7 (press release 108).

which he translated into action in his own country—principles of freedom and human dignity which are fundamental in American society and which motivate us in our international relations.

In paying tribute to President Masaryk we honor both the father of Czechoslovakia and the social philosopher who looked at life and society from a deeply moral point of view. His strong convictions as to the democratic and moral basis of the state helped to shape the free Czechoslovakia that played so influential a role in European affairs. He expressed these convictions when he said that "no State, no society, can be managed without general recognition of the ethical bases of the State and of politics; and no State can long stand if it infringes the broad rules of human morality."

Interested in American history and institutions, Masaryk was impressed by the Jeffersonian philosophy of democratic federalism—represented in the voluntary association of free people. Concerned with the freedom of Czechoslovakia and her neighbors, Masaryk was outspoken in his advocacy of freedom and self-determination for these peoples.

It is fitting that we today refer to these principles, to which the United States has given—and continues to give—its full support. In championing the aspirations of these European nations for independence almost half a century ago, the United States respected their right to establish by their own free choice the government and institutions which best satisfied their needs as they saw them. Today we continue to support the right of these peoples to institutions of their own free determination. It is an article of American faith that, in the spirit of Thomas Masaryk, free men remain dedicated to the search for freedom and human dignity for all mankind until these high goals are realized.

Economic Assistance in United States Foreign Policy

by Charles E. Bohlen
*Special Assistant to the Secretary*¹

When I was asked to speak to you on certain aspects of our foreign aid programs, I really wondered whether I was qualified to speak to you on this subject. It has not been within the limits of my specific experience in the American Foreign Service, and I am therefore not competent to discuss with you the complexities of this very large subject, the vast variety of our present aid programs through the world, or the particular problems of administration and execution which are involved. However, since mutual security programs, as foreign aid is termed in Washington, are indeed an integral and continuing part of our general foreign policy, I thought I would speak to you today not on the actual facts and figures of the programs themselves but rather on the origin of these programs from a historical point of view and their effect in broad terms on our foreign policy and its conduct. In so doing I shall keep the use of figures to a minimum.

In discussing the history of assistance to foreign countries and its development as an integral part of our relations with friendly countries abroad, it should be emphasized that this is a comparatively new venture in relations between nations. Prior to World War II, with the exception of wartime loans, certain emergencies, and a modest amount of foreign lending by the Export-Import Bank established in 1934, government-to-government assistance was virtually unknown. To grasp what has happened to the United States position in the world in the last generation, I might mention that, at the time I joined the Foreign Service in 1929, the budget of the State Department for

that year was \$14.5 million. This appropriation was not only for the administrative expenses of the Department of State, including salaries of its employees in Washington and abroad, but also included the U.S. contribution to existing international organizations such as the U.S.-Mexican boundary committee, the Pan American Union, and the International Fisheries Commission. The State Department budget thus represented, together with some small additional appropriations from other Government departments, the total cost to the U.S. taxpayer of conducting our foreign relations.

Now what is the comparable cost of United States foreign relations today, 30 years later?

For the 1961 fiscal year the Department of State budget is \$247 million, 17 times greater than in 1929. But this does not include the cost of our foreign military and economic assistance, which is embodied in the Mutual Security Program. On February 16 the President transmitted to Congress the administration's request² for the Mutual Security Program in the 1961 fiscal year of \$4.175 billion. There can be no more dramatic indication of the changed role of the United States in the world today than in the comparison with the figure I gave you earlier for 1929—\$14 million—and approximately \$5 billion. And this of course does not take into account that portion of national defense which supports our military establishments overseas.

What are the reasons for this vast increase in U.S. expenditures in the field of its foreign relations which has come about within the span of one generation? The basic reason, of course, is that the world situation which we face now compared

¹ Address made before the Greater Philadelphia Area Committee for UNICEF at Philadelphia, Pa., on Mar. 7 (press release 106).

² For text, see BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1960, p. 369.

to 30 years ago has undergone its own form of revolution.

I cannot here go into all the vast changes which have occurred in the world during that period or the immense increase in the role that the United States has been called upon to play in these changing circumstances. But it is sufficient to say that in 1929 the United States lived in a state of virtual political isolation from the world. We enjoyed a position of greater security than that of any other major nation in the world. With friendly neighbors to the north and south of us we were also protected, under the conditions of military capabilities then prevailing, by the broad expanse of two oceans. Furthermore—and this is extremely vital to the understanding of what has happened in the world—the great democracies of Western Europe stood guard on the ramparts on our behalf to a greater degree than we perhaps realized at the time. In addition, these democracies governed and controlled large sections of the world in the shadow of whose authority and policing functions we in large measure lived. In two world wars these countries took the first shock of an onslaught antagonistic to the philosophy of human society and ideals which we had in common and thus afforded this country the priceless element of time in which to mobilize our resources, both human and material, to join in beating back the attack.

Insofar as the United States is concerned, this all changed in a breathtakingly brief period of time. We found ourselves catapulted in the space of some 15 years from a position of relative security, when we could divert our entire energies to our own national development and the advancement of our own society, to a position of responsibility in the world perhaps unequalled in human history. These fundamental changes in the world, and in particular our position in it, underlie the whole question of foreign aid. Having learned, although possibly imperfectly, certain lessons of World War I, we approached the entire problem of the conflagration which broke out in the world in 1939 with a somewhat more understanding attitude.

The Lend-Lease Program

The beginning of the conceptions which underlie our policies of assistance to foreign countries may in part be found in a specific measure adopted by the United States before it was a belligerent in

World War II. I refer, of course, to lend-lease. Although we were not militarily involved in the war, lend-lease was nonetheless a clear expression of the recognition of the United States Government at that time that our interests were vitally and indissolubly bound up with the fate of the Western democracies engaged in a struggle with the Axis powers. Lend-lease was the forerunner of our future aid programs in that it recognized that U.S. contributions to the common cause of national survival could not be treated merely as commercial transactions.

We had learned after World War I that the attempt to collect, on a bookkeeping basis, loans advanced for the prosecution of a war in a common cause was not only morally questionable but also economically and politically undesirable. The idea of lend-lease, which was subsequently carried over into the time when we were an active belligerent in both the European and Far Eastern theaters of war, was predicated on the recognition of these simple facts. We have never, therefore, sought to collect from any of our former allies repayment for the military supplies and equipment, and indeed for any supplies consumed, during the course of the war itself. Lend-lease settlements dealt merely with what is known as civilian inventory with due allowance for depreciation of such items of lend-lease supply as had a continuing and real value to the economy of the recipient country. Although entirely related to the prosecution of the war, nevertheless lend-lease itself indicated a keen awareness on the part of the United States of the role that it might be called upon to play in the postwar world in the field of foreign assistance.

The second phase of this developing program of assistance was found in our contribution to take care of the immediate human needs of the people who had suffered so heavily during the war. For the Allied and friendly countries this took the form of UNRRA [United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration]. For former enemy countries this assistance went under the name of GARIOA [Government and Relief in Occupied Areas]. It was obvious that the first great task of the postwar period of reconstruction and recovery would be to take care of the simple human wants of the peoples most afflicted by the ravages of the war. This was the essential purpose of UNRRA and GARIOA. However, it soon became

apparent that the mere alleviation of human suffering was not sufficient to restore economic health and political stability. Measures of a longer term and more coordinated nature were clearly necessary.

The Marshall Plan

It was in response to this need that the United States developed the first coherent measure of economic recovery, generally known as the Marshall plan. The aim of this great venture, certainly one of the most successful in U.S. postwar history, was of course to assist European countries which had suffered particularly from the war and which wished to retain their independence and their ability to order their own affairs. It was heavily influenced, however, by one of the central facts of our time. The Soviet totalitarian system and the postwar policies of its leaders had emerged as a new menace to the powers so recently victorious over the Axis coalition. It was this visible threat of unchecked Soviet power, supported by widespread Communist subversion and infiltration, that lent the Marshall plan its urgency.

I might go back here a bit into history and describe to you a single event which had a very important impact on the thinking of General Marshall, then Secretary of State, and therefore on the development of this concept of American foreign assistance. In Moscow in 1947, toward the close of the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting, General Marshall paid a courtesy call upon Stalin. I accompanied him as his interpreter. We were about to terminate almost 6 frustrating weeks of discussion of the central problems of the postwar settlement in Europe, particularly that of German reunification. We had encountered during this time Foreign Minister Molotov's unquestionable skill in obstruction, diversion, and delaying tactics. The conference, as you all know, made no progress whatsoever in the task of postwar European solutions. During this interview Stalin seemed to view with complete equanimity, and even satisfaction, the prospect of a Europe continuing to flounder in economic disorder and hopelessness. He saw no reason for any urgency in the solution of the problems put to him by the Western foreign ministers. In fact, he very clearly left General Marshall with the impression that he welcomed rather than

deplored the prospect of a steady deterioration in the European situation. It was clear that he looked on an enfeebled Europe as nothing but an asset to Soviet ambitions.

Stalin's cynical attitude toward the problem of European recovery made a deep imprint upon the mind of General Marshall. I have always believed that this meeting in the Kremlin convinced General Marshall that some program would have to be devised with the utmost urgency if Europe were to recover and not to drop like a ripe plum into Soviet hands.

Time does not permit me to outline in any detail the various steps which led to the congressional adoption of the Marshall plan in 1948. The speech of General Marshall at Harvard University on June 5, 1947,³ while very short, nevertheless set forth most succinctly and clearly the concept of this great venture in foreign assistance.

It is this philosophy of self-help and mutual assistance expressed in this speech which has remained at the heart of all our foreign aid programs, whether administered bilaterally or under U.N. aegis.

You all know how brilliantly the Marshall plan succeeded in its original objectives and indeed far surpassed them. Western Europe has now regained its economic vitality and political stability. Many Western European countries are beginning to share with us in increasing measure the burdens of economic and financial assistance which the less developed parts of the world so urgently need at the present time. I think it is safe to say that Western Europe, with its enormous productive capacity and skills, has been made secure against subversive activity and penetration by communism. It is sufficient to contemplate what perils the United States would have confronted if Western Europe had passed into the Soviet orbit in the immediate postwar period. At the present time we continue to give some military assistance to the countries of Europe whose economy still does not permit them to incur the vast expense of modern armaments, but U.S. economic assistance to Europe has dwindled almost to the vanishing point. The recovery of Western Europe and the American part therein in a sense brought to a close the third period of the development of American foreign economic assistance.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, June 15, 1947, p. 1159.

Aid to Less Developed Countries

The fourth period, which we are now in, primarily relates to the necessity of affording economic and financial assistance to the less developed countries of the world, as well as to those in close proximity to the centers of Communist power. In the last few years 21 countries have emerged into independent national life, with 6 more African countries due to assume this status in the next year. These are countries which for one reason or another have entered the modern era at a much lower stage of development than that of the advanced industrialized countries of the world. It is in the area of these less developed countries where very possibly the outcome will be determined of the worldwide contest now going on between the Soviet concept of the organization of society, which we generally and sometimes inadequately describe as communism, and our own complex of beliefs.

Before proceeding to a description of our current aid policies and programs, I should like to say a few words concerning the Soviet entry into this field. Up to 1954 the Soviet Union had no programs of assistance to any parts of the non-Soviet world. Her efforts in this direction were directed solely toward her economic relations with the satellites in Eastern Europe and subsequent to 1949 to Communist China. In 1954, however, the Soviet Union entered the field of economic assistance to countries outside of her immediate area of control and influence. If, as the popular saying goes, imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, surely there is no better tribute to the efficacy and value of the assistance programs of the United States than the fact that the Soviet Union, once it was economically able to do so, has emulated our policies in this field. Their effort has not been inconsiderable and shows every prospect of growing. In the period from 1954 to 1959 the Soviets committed themselves to a total amount of assistance, both economic and military, of some \$3.2 billion, of which \$2,450 million were in economic assistance alone.

With the exception of a small \$17 million credit to Turkey, \$5 million to Iceland, and \$104 million and \$2 million to Argentina and Brazil respectively, the entire emphasis of Soviet aid has been in the area of so-called "neutral" or "uncommitted" countries. This distribution of Soviet

aid demonstrates its highly political purpose, which in the short run at least does not seem to be the promotion of an actual Communist takeover in those countries so much as to influence the foreign policy of these countries, to tie them as closely as possible to the Soviet bloc. Soviet assistance is not primarily directed toward assisting in the sound economic development in those countries but rather toward influencing the governments' attitudes toward international affairs, in some cases by seeking to engender popular support. Not being accountable to its own people, as democratic governments are, the Soviet Government has a greater degree of flexibility in the handling of its aid programs. Soviet programs therefore tend to concentrate on projects which have immediate psychological impact rather than on those which are sound factors in future economic growth.

But although the tardy entrance of the Soviet Union into the aid field makes clear the nature of the challenge that faces the West, our efforts to promote the development of the less developed countries have their own integral justification irrespective of the extent of the Soviet effort. The danger to the developing countries is not Soviet aid so much as it is the possibility that their own growth may lag behind aspirations and that discontent may push extremist leaders to the fore. So long as the uncommitted countries are aware that the West is willing to provide a timely alternative to dependence on the bloc, they can resist any improper pressures that the Soviets may seek to apply.

Aid Programs and Conduct of Foreign Policy

Assistance programs of one form or another and in varying degrees of magnitude have now become an organic part of our international relations. What has been the effect of this major new development on the conduct of our foreign policy? One of the first results has been to involve Congress more directly and intimately in the operation of our foreign affairs. At the time I entered the Foreign Service some 31 years ago, as I have already pointed out, the cost to the U.S. Government of its relations abroad was minute. Congressional interest, therefore, was confined merely to the budget of the State Department and, as far as the Senate in particular was concerned,

to the treaties concluded by the executive branch. As a matter of fact it was extremely difficult in those days to generate any interest in Congress, particularly in the House of Representatives, in our foreign relations.

This has radically changed. Now Congress is called upon annually to appropriate vast sums of money for the implementation of the assistance part of our foreign policy. Its Members quite properly have an acute and profound interest in the purposes for which these moneys are to be appropriated and the manner in which they are to be spent for their achievement. No program therefore of foreign assistance can have any hope of coming into being unless it can engage the support of the Congress as representatives of the people. As a result, during the period when these programs are being presented to Congress, hardly a day goes by in Washington that a senior official of either the Defense or State Department does not appear to testify before one of these committees. The very fact of increased congressional responsibility and involvement in the conduct of our foreign affairs has greatly increased congressional interest in the entire subject and has radically affected the relationships between the executive and legislative branches in the entire field of our foreign affairs.

In addition, the introduction of a large-scale foreign assistance program inevitably raises a whole host of new problems with the recipient country. In the first place, it is never possible to meet all the demands or needs of any of the recipient countries. Secondly, there is a tendency to be critical of our allocation of assistance as between countries. Certain countries feel that they have greater claims than others on the United States. Often they feel that they have been "taken for granted" or neglected in the quantity of American assistance offered to them compared with that given to others. This of course is inevitable, but I am sure you would agree with me that it would be quite impossible to allow our foreign assistance programs to be determined on the basis of such claims.

The only criteria that seem to us to be sound for the allocation of our aid are those of need, and the ability of the recipient effectively to utilize the aid given, and above all the relationship of any such program to the security and economic health of the free world as a whole. To base it on other

criteria would involve us in a program of international bribery and reward. What we seek is results, and while political considerations of course play a part in the determination of the allocation of our foreign aid, we have not sought to dictate to any country how it should conduct its foreign or domestic policies. Indeed we have sometimes been criticized, particularly in the Far East, for the extension of a very large portion of our aid to countries which have declared themselves neutralists. The reason is that it is more important to the United States that these countries remain independent, with the right of free choice, than that they express particular foreign policy views at any given period.

Foreign aid programs, of course, require trained and experienced personnel to carry them out, and the requirements of executing our programs have caused a great increase in the number of U.S. personnel serving overseas. The 6,200 Foreign Service employees of the State Department assigned abroad are now matched almost exactly by the number of ICA [International Cooperation Administration] employees and U.S. citizens under contract assigned to carry out our foreign aid programs. At many posts in less developed areas ICA personnel far outnumber those of the Foreign Service. An increase of this magnitude in the number of resident Americans inevitably gives rise to new problems and therefore new difficulties in the day-to-day conduct of our foreign relations.

The Mutual Security Program for Fiscal 1961

To bring this question now more up to date, I would like to mention briefly how we envisage the application of U.S. aid at the present time. The Mutual Security Act for fiscal 1961 asks for a total of \$4.175 billion divided into \$2 billion military assistance and the balance for economic aid. Under the heading of economic aid is included \$724 million in defense support, \$268 million in special assistance, \$206 million in technical assistance, and \$700 million for the Development Loan Fund. In addition the United States continues to be the chief contributor and supporter of assistance through the international bodies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and, of particular interest to this audience, the U.N.

Initially the U.S. Government decided that the

bulk of its aid, military and economic, would be handled on a bilateral basis. But we have never at any time neglected our obligations or support of the U.N. or any of its specialized agencies. Since its founding in 1945 the United States has contributed to the U.N., its specialized agencies, and voluntary programs \$2.6 billion, of which \$280 million has gone to the organization in which you are particularly interested, UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund]. We have also contributed \$225 million to the Expanded Technical Assistance Program, \$106 million to the World Health Organization, and \$376 million to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

During the period when the United States was not only the major contributor to foreign aid in the free world but virtually the sole source of such assistance, it was understandable that the Congress and the Government of the United States would find it necessary to exercise a degree of purely American control and supervision over the aid thus rendered. This was devised not for the purpose of promoting a specific American business or other interest but rather for the purpose of assuring that the money contributed by the American taxpayer would be expended for the purposes indicated and would not be frittered away or diverted to other ends.

We are now entering a period when some of our allies and associates, particularly in Western Europe, having recovered their economic health, are in a position to share with us at least a part of the burden. We have every expectation that this will come about, and indeed there has already been tangible evidence to this effect. Therefore, when we look to the future of foreign assistance, though recognizing that this responsibility will continue to be a major one for the United States, we can also envisage the prospect of greater contributions from other countries and the consequent greater use of multilateral agencies for the execution of this aid than has been possible in the past.

I have mentioned the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, with which the U.S. has worked in the closest cooperation ever since their founding. Recently representatives of this Government have returned from Central America, where organizational arrangements were agreed

upon by the Inter-American Development Bank.⁴ On February 18 the President submitted to Congress the articles of agreement for the establishment of the International Development Association⁵ designed to assist the less developed countries of the free world by increasing the flow of development capital on flexible terms. The Association, which is expected to be established before the end of the year, is a cooperative venture to be financed by the member governments of the World Bank and to have initial subscriptions totaling \$1 billion. The U.S. and the economically strong countries would subscribe about 70 percent of this amount in freely convertible currencies, while the developing countries would subscribe the balance, of which 10 percent would be freely convertible. As the President remarked, the IDA will perform a valuable service in promoting the economic growth and cohesion of the free world.

I am well aware of the criticisms which from time to time have been directed against these foreign aid programs. I should like to say here that I feel the popular term "foreign aid" is unfortunate in that it carries with it the connotation that only the foreign recipient benefits. This is not true. While the benefits to the United States, certainly in those portions of the program which would involve grant aid, cannot be calculated in dollars and cents, nevertheless their value in intangibles of security and well-being far transcend the cost to us all. Had the United States recoiled from the challenge and responsibility that its position in the world has placed upon us and at the end of the war had refrained from this aspect of our foreign policy, we would be confronting unimaginable dangers and increased cost to our taxpayers for our national defense and our economic well-being. These added costs would many times transcend the cost of the programs themselves. Even in terms of the actual outlay, they do not represent an unduly severe burden on the American economy. The present Mutual Security Act, plus the contributions to the U.N. and its specialized agencies, accounts for hardly 5 percent of the total Federal budget and, with a gross national product estimated to reach \$500 billion in 1960, less than 1 percent of our national income.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 29, 1960, p. 344, and Mar. 14, 1960, p. 427.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 14, 1960, p. 422.

I might also add that, contrary to popular belief, the economic advancement of less developed countries will in the long run be a benefit to the type of economy such as ours. In its initial stages substantial expenditures on our part may be involved, but in the end, if these programs are successful and if some of the countries assisted reach a self-sustaining posture, they will be much more flexible partners for trade with the United States, both as sources of supply for basic raw materials and as markets for U.S. goods. This consideration nonetheless remains secondary compared to the harmful effect on world stability and security which failure to assist them would produce.

I would, therefore, like to terminate this very brief account of some aspects of our foreign assistance programs by stating to you that a country placed by history in a position of responsibility cannot fail to meet its destiny without dire consequences to itself. We are entering a period of sustained struggle to determine what kind of world the second half of the 20th century will see. To sacrifice now for the sake of the future is surely one of the hallmarks of a country's greatness.

U.S. Citizens Notified To Claim Frozen Accounts in Cuban Banks

Press release 115 dated March 10

American citizens whose bank accounts were frozen in Cuban banks by the Ministry of Recovery of Misappropriated Property are informed of Cuban Resolution No. 2841 published in the Cuban official Gazette No. 40, February 29, 1960. This resolution provides a 15-day period which ends March 18, 1960, during which account holders are to claim their accounts or take steps to clarify any charge of complicity with the former Cuban Government. Failure to do so will mean loss of the account. The resolution further provides that claims are to be presented personally or through an attorney in fact to the Ministerio de Recuperación de Bienes Malversados, Comisión Bancaria. The bank accounts under consideration are entirely distinct from the accounts of foreigners which were frozen by Law 568 on September 24, 1959, and which are subject to review by the Monetary Stabilization Fund.

Grand Jury Investigating Ocean Shipping Practices

Press release 119 dated March 11

The Department of State has received notes¹ from a number of the governments whose steamship lines and conferences are involved in a Federal grand jury investigation of ocean shipping practices of a large number of U.S. and foreign companies.² Since many of the questions raised in these notes were related primarily to enforcement of the antitrust laws, the Department, in cooperation with the Antitrust Division, Department of Justice, arranged for a general meeting on March 11, 1960, with the various interested embassies.

The purpose of this meeting was to answer these questions and, in addition, to explain the background and nature of the grand jury investigation.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 2d Session

Mutual Security Program. Message from the President relative to the Mutual Security Program. II. Doc. 343.

February 16, 1960. 9 pp.

Study of International Activities of Federal Executive Branch Departments and Agencies in the Field of Health and Medical Research. Report to accompany S. Res. 255. S. Rept. 1089. February 17, 1960. 10 pp.

Foreign Investment Incentive Tax Act of 1960. Report of the House Ways and Means Committee to accompany H.R. 5, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage private investment abroad and thereby promote American industry and reduce Government expenditures for foreign economic assistance. II. Rept. 1282. February 19, 1960. 82 pp.

Temporary Suspension of Duty on Certain Alumina and Bauxite. Report to accompany H.R. 9307. H. Rept. 1286. February 22, 1960. 4 pp.

¹ Not printed.

² In November 1959 the Department of Justice commenced a grand jury investigation of alleged restrictive practices by shipping conferences. Subsequently subpoenas *duces tecum* were issued to a large number of U.S. and foreign steamship lines, agencies, and conferences calling for production of documents relating to rates and a wide variety of other matters, whether such material is presently located within or outside the United States. Motions to quash these subpoenas are presently pending before the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

U.S. Interest in Africa and Our Economic Aid Programs

*Statement by Christopher H. Phillips*¹

As the Observer of the United States, I have come here primarily to listen and to learn. However, in view of the real and growing interest of the United States in Africa and especially in the important work of this newest of the four regional economic commissions, I have asked for a few minutes to make several brief observations, within the context of the Commission's work.

Two years ago I had the privilege, as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council, of participating in the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa. In doing so the United States was motivated by the conviction that the Economic Commission would make a substantial contribution to the economic development and well-being of nations and peoples of Africa. I am particularly pleased now to have the privilege of visiting this great continent and meeting with so many of its distinguished leaders. It has been a source of great satisfaction to me and my Government that these last 2 years have witnessed a political evolution which has been so much in accord with the aspirations of the African peoples.

I believe our record makes it clear that the United States stands behind the interests and aspirations of peoples in all areas of the world who are striving for a better life in freedom. We have a special interest in Africa; 1 out of every 10 Americans is of African descent. Part of the brain, the muscle, and the heart of the United States, they are exemplified by such leaders as the distinguished Under Secretary of the United Nations, Mr. Ralph Bunche, who with the Secretary-

¹ Made on Feb. 1 before the second session of the Economic Commission for Africa, which was held at Tangier, Morocco, Jan. 26-Feb. 6. Mr. Phillips is the U.S. Representative on the U.N. Economic and Social Council; he was the U.S. Observer at the session.

General attended the opening of this session at the conclusion of their series of visits in Africa.

Since the establishment of the Commission, the interest of the United States in Africa has become even more pronounced. President Eisenhower recently had the opportunity to visit this continent.² Not long ago Vice President Nixon learned at first hand of the problems and aspirations of the people of Africa.³ A few weeks ago Ambassador [Henry Cabot] Lodge represented the President at the celebration of Cameroun's independence and at the inauguration of President Tubman in Liberia. One has only to look at our press and magazines to see how much more attention the American people are devoting to Africa and its people.

U.S. Assistance to African Economic Development

Of particular relevance to the work of the Commission, the United States has initiated or participated in a variety of programs to assist African economic development. Our bilateral assistance to African countries has increased more than 65 percent since the Economic Commission for Africa was established, and, as the *Economic Survey of Africa Since 1950*⁴ notes, the United States has provided nearly \$800 million to Africa in grants and long-term loans. Some 650 United States technicians are now cooperating with African governments furthering economic and social development, and 1,700 students from Africa are this year attending our schools and colleges.

A few weeks ago in Paris a Special Economic Committee met⁵ to discuss a problem of great importance to all of us. Its purpose, as described by Under Secretary of State Dillon, was to find the most effective manner of marshaling the total economic resources of the free world to provide invest-

² For background, see BULLETIN of Jan. 11, 1960, p. 46.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Apr. 22, 1957, p. 635.

⁴ U.N. doc. E/CN.14/28 (1959.11.K.1).

⁵ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139.

ments, loans, and assistance to the less developed countries in ways which will make the maximum contribution to their economies. We are hopeful that this year will witness important progress on this problem which is of such great mutual interest for us all.

Direct private investment from the United States is responding to the growing investment opportunities in Africa and has quadrupled during the past decade. President Eisenhower in his annual budget message to Congress a few days ago⁶ proposed that United States taxation on income earned in the less developed areas by American private enterprise should be deferred until repatriated as an incentive on our part for American private investment. No doubt this investment will grow substantially, particularly if, as the distinguished representative of Ghana observed, countries provide adequate incentives to attract capital. American private capital will go where it is welcome but clearly will not go where it is not welcome.

Concerning world trade, I wish to assure you that the United States is most conscious of its responsibilities as a major purchaser of the world's exports and intends to do all in its power to keep trade flowing and expanding throughout the world to the mutual benefit of all.

African Attitude Toward Economic Aid

Having made these remarks about trade, private investment, and direct United States assistance in Africa, I would like to comment on what appears to me to be a significant African attitude toward economic aid. The people of Africa, it seems to me, want to strike out on their own. They are skeptical of any foreign help which looks to them to be given purely for selfish nationalistic or ideological motives. I believe that is why there is a growing tendency to turn to the United Nations for help. Therefore, the activities of the various United Nations and specialized agencies programs are bound to assume increasing importance in many African countries.

Together with other industrialized countries, the United States has from the outset been one of the foremost supporters of United Nations activities in the economic and social field. For example, 10 years ago we took the initiative to establish the

United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and more recently the Special Fund. We have pledged 40 percent of the total contributions to those two programs. The United States has also been one of the strongest supporters of the United Nations Children's Fund and provides about half of the total contributions to UNICEF. Moreover, we have long been active participants in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the other specialized agencies of the United Nations. Recently the United States proposed the establishment of an International Development Association, which will make loans for development projects that cannot be financed under International Bank standards and criteria. Incidentally, yesterday in Washington the World Bank announced that the articles of agreement of the International Development Association are now ready for acceptance.⁷ The text is now being submitted to the 68 member governments of the World Bank. The Association will come into being when governments whose subscriptions aggregate at least 65 percent of the total initial subscriptions of \$1 billion have accepted membership. This is expected to occur before the end of the year. We believe that this new international lending institution will play an important role in African economic development.

With regard to all United Nations activities, our financial contributions have been substantial, but they would be larger if some other members in a position to do so were prepared to increase theirs. As a matter of principle, the United States restricts its contribution to less than 50 percent of the totals involved to assure that United Nations activities are truly multilateral. Although bilateral aid will continue to be of great importance, I see in expanded United Nations activities a source of assistance of growing importance to the economic and social development of Africa which is particularly responsive to African attitudes and needs.

Confidence in Africa's Future

The United States has great confidence in the future of Africa. Perhaps this is because we ourselves, on becoming independent, were an undeveloped country of only 3 million people. And

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 29, 1960, p. 345; for text of the President's letter transmitting the articles of agreement to the Congress, see *ibid.*, Mar. 14, 1960, p. 422.

⁷ For excerpts, see *ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1960, p. 202.

of course we do not forget that it was private foreign investment from Europe which played such a major role in our development. Throughout our history we have held uppermost in our minds the same goals that inspire most African leaders today—protection of our national and individual freedom, protection of the general welfare, and respect for the dignity and rights of each citizen. These goals have always been more important to us than material progress. The encouraging thing is that in pursuing these goals we have not had to sacrifice material welfare. On the contrary, free men have demonstrated their ability to move forward with unprecedented rapidity in economic development and to new heights of individual well-being. We do not expect that the African countries will develop according to any American pattern; each has its own personality and its own characteristics. But the expressed convictions of African leaders reinforce our own belief that African development will be based on the same principles of freedom.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I want to express my pleasure at the very high standard of representation and activity which I have been privileged to witness here. With the continuation of this high standard, bolstered by the excellent work of the Commission secretariat under the distinguished leadership of its Executive Secretary, Mr. Mekki Abbas, the Economic Commission for Africa can look forward to a bright future. Although it is not a member, the United States Government will do its utmost to assist the Commission in its work, which we consider of transcendent importance for Africa and its people.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

Second U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea

The Department of State announced on March 11 (press release 118) that President Eisenhower has appointed Arthur H. Dean as chairman of the U.S. delegation, with the personal rank of Ambassador, to the second U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea, which will convene at Geneva March 17. Mr. Dean also served as chairman of the U.S. delegation to the first U.N. Conference on

the Law of the Sea, which was held at Geneva February 24–April 28, 1958.¹

Arthur L. Richards, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Law of the Sea, will serve as vice chairman to Mr. Dean.

The Department also announced that President Eisenhower has designated Edward T. Miller, former Member of the House of Representatives, as alternate U.S. representative and as an additional vice chairman of the delegation.

The Congress has been asked to designate two congressional advisers. It is expected that these names will be announced at a later date.

Other members of the delegation include:

Alternate U.S. Representatives

Vice Adm. Oswald S. Colclough, USN (retired), Department of the Navy

William C. Herrington, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Fisheries and Wildlife, Department of State

Arnie J. Suomela, Commissioner of Fish and Wildlife, Department of the Interior

David W. Wainhouse, Minister-Counselor, American Embassy, Vienna

Raymond T. Yingling, Assistant Legal Adviser, Department of State

Advisers

Norman Armour, Jr., U.S. Mission to the United Nations

Frank Boas, attorney, Brussels, Belgium

Wilbert M. Chapman, Natural Resources Committee, San Diego, Calif.

Ralph N. Clough, First Secretary, American Embassy, London

George J. Feldman, attorney, New York, N.Y.

Capt. Leonard Hardy, USN, Department of the Navy

Capt. Wilfred A. Hearn, USN, Department of the Navy

Lt. Comdr. Harold Hoag, USN, Department of the Navy

Nat. B. King, American Consul General, Dacca, Pakistan

Harold E. Lokken, manager, Fishing Vessel Owners Association, Seattle, Wash.

John Lyman, National Science Foundation

William R. Neblett, executive director, National Shrimp Congress, Key West, Fla.

Charles H. Owsley, Deputy U.S. Representative at the European Office of the United Nations and Other International Organizations, Geneva, Switzerland

G. Etzel Pearcey, Geographer, Department of State

Thomas D. Rice, executive secretary, Massachusetts Fisheries Association, Inc., Boston, Mass.

Peter Roberts, Consul, American Consulate General, Seville, Spain

¹ For a statement made by Mr. Dean on Mar. 11, see BULLETIN of Apr. 7, 1958, p. 574; for Mr. Dean's closing statement on Apr. 28, together with texts of the conventions, protocol, and resolutions adopted by the conference, see *ibid.*, June 30, 1958, p. 1110.

Harry Shooshan, Office of the Secretary, Department of the Interior

George H. Steele, director, Fishery Products Division, National Cannery Association, Washington, D.C.

Fred E. Taylor, Office of the Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Fisheries and Wildlife, Department of State

William Terry, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior

William Witman II, First Secretary, American Embassy, Paris

Edward E. Wright, Office of the Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Law of the Sea, Department of State

Secretary of Delegation

Virgil L. Moore, Resident U.S. Delegation to International Organizations, Geneva, Switzerland

Technical Secretary

Ernest L. Kerley, Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for United Nations Affairs, Department of State

The conference will undertake to resolve the two highly important problems left unsolved by the 1958 conference: the breadth of the territorial sea and fishery limits. It is expected that representatives from most of the 89 countries which have been invited to participate will attend.

Current U.N. Documents:

A Selected Bibliography¹

Economic and Social Council

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Report of the Inland Transport and Communications Committee (Eighth Session) to the Commission (Sixteenth Session). E/CN.11/511. December 28, 1959. 50 pp.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Activities in the Field of Statistics: Report of the First Working Group of Experts—Subject: Sampling Methods. E/CN.11/517. December 31, 1959. 52 pp.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Activities in the Field of Statistics: Report of the Second Working Group of Experts—Subject: Capital Formation. E/CN.11/518. December 31, 1959. 49 pp.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Information Paper on Technical Assistance Provided to Countries and Territories of the ECAFE Region Under the Expanded and Regular Programmes. Prepared by the TAB secretariat for the 16th session of ECAFE. E/CN.11/520. January 4, 1960. 23 pp.

Commission on the Status of Women. Implementation of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women by the States Parties Thereto. Memorandum by the Secretary-General. E/CN.6/360. January 11, 1960. 12 pp.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Report of the Committee for Co-ordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin, March 1959-January 1960. E/CN.11/513. January 11, 1960. 13 pp.

Commission on the Status of Women. Access of Girls and Women to Education Outside the School. Report prepared by UNESCO. E/CN.6/361. January 11, 1960. 97 pp.

Commission on the Status of Women. Report of the Representative of the Commission on the Status of Women at the Fifteenth Session of the Commission on Human Rights. E/CN.6/362. January 19, 1960. 2 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Automotive Traffic

Convention on road traffic and annexes. Done at Geneva September 19, 1949. Entered into force March 26, 1952. TIAS 2487.

Notification by United Kingdom of application to: Zan-zibar, February 8, 1960.

Aviation

International air services transit agreement. Done at Chicago December 7, 1944. Entered into force for the United States February 8, 1945. 59 Stat. 1693.

Notification that it considers itself a party: Federation of Malaya, February 11, 1960.¹

Convention on international civil aviation. Done at Chicago December 7, 1944. Entered into force April 4, 1947. TIAS 1591.

Ratification deposited: Yugoslavia, March 9, 1960.

Shipping

Convention on the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Signed at Geneva March 6, 1948. Entered into force March 17, 1958. TIAS 4044.

Notification by United Kingdom of associate membership of: Federation of Nigeria, January 19, 1960.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1960. TIAS 4390.

Notification of approval: Argentina, January 25, 1960.

Trade and Commerce

International convention to facilitate the importation of commercial samples and advertising material. Done at Geneva November 7, 1952. Entered into force November 30, 1955. TIAS 3920.

Accession deposited: Poland, February 18, 1960.

United Nations

Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scien-

¹ The Malayan note states that "the Federation of Malaya considers itself a party as from 31st May, 1945," the date of acceptance by the United Kingdom which included all territories.

tive and Cultural Organization. Done at London November 16, 1945. Entered into force November 4, 1946. TIAS 1580.

Signature: Guinea, February 2, 1960.²

BILATERAL

Brazil

Agreement amending the military advisory mission agreement of July 29, 1948, as amended and extended (TIAS 2970, 3330, 3659, and 4139). Effected by exchange of notes at Rio de Janeiro June 9 and 17, 1959. Entered into force June 17, 1959.

Agreement for the loan of two United States destroyers to Brazil. Effected by exchange of notes at Rio de Janeiro September 18 and October 19, 1959. Entered into force October 19, 1959.

Ecuador

Agreement relating to a cooperative program in Ecuador for the observation and tracking of satellites and space vehicles. Signed at Quito February 24, 1960. Entered into force February 24, 1960.

Japan

Agreement providing for the reallocation of certain Japanese yen accruing to the United States under the agricultural commodities agreements of May 31, 1955, as amended (TIAS 3284 and 3579), and February 10, 1956 (TIAS 3580). Effected by exchange of notes at Tokyo February 18, 1960. Entered into force February 18, 1960.

Korea

Agreement relating to investment guaranties authorized by section 413(b)(4) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 847; 22 U.S.C. 1933). Effected by exchange of notes at Seoul February 19, 1960. Entered into force February 19, 1960.

Pakistan

Agreement supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of November 26, 1958, as supplemented and amended (TIAS 4137, 4257, 4331, and 4353), with exchange of notes. Signed at Dacca January 28, 1960. Entered into force January 28, 1960.

Peru

Agricultural commodities agreement under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 454; 7 U.S.C. 1701-1709), with exchanges of notes. Signed at Lima February 12, 1960. Entered into force February 12, 1960.

Agreement extending the agreement of April 17, 1957, as extended (TIAS 3823 and 4163), for the establishment and operation of a rawinsonde observation station at Lima. Effected by exchange of notes at Lima December 30, 1959, and February 18, 1960. Entered into force February 18, 1960.

Philippines

Air transport agreement, with annex. Signed at Manila November 16, 1946. Entered into force November 16, 1946. Amendment of section "B" of annex by exchange of notes at Manila August 27, 1948. TIAS 1577 and 1844, respectively.

Terminated: March 3, 1960.³

²The instrument of acceptance by Guinea having been deposited, the constitution entered into force for Guinea Feb. 2, 1960.

³Notice of intention to terminate given by the Philippines Mar. 3, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

British Somaliland To Be Included in Mogadiscio Consular District

Effective February 24 British Somaliland was removed from the Aden consular district and included in the Mogadiscio consular district.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4356. 4 pp. 5¢. Agreement between the United States of America and Uruguay, supplementing agreement of February 20, 1959, as supplemented. Signed at Montevideo November 16, 1959. Entered into force November 16, 1959.

Double Taxation—Taxes on Income. TIAS 4360. 6 pp. 5¢.

Convention between the United States of America and Norway, modifying and supplementing convention of June 13, 1949. Signed at Oslo July 10, 1958. Entered into force October 21, 1959.

Emergency Flood Relief Assistance. TIAS 4361. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Japan. Exchange of notes—Dated at Tokyo November 12, 1959. Entered into force November 12, 1959.

Air Force Mission to Argentina. TIAS 4363. 5 pp. 5¢. Agreement between the United States of America and Argentina, amending agreement of October 3, 1956. Exchange of notes—Signed at Buenos Aires October 16, 1959. Entered into force October 16, 1959.

Aerial Mapping of New Zealand Coastal Areas. TIAS 4364. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and New Zealand. Exchange of notes—Dated at Washington October 30, 1959. Entered into force October 30, 1959.

Defense—Loan of Vessel to Italy. TIAS 4365. 5 pp. 5¢. Agreement between the United States of America and Italy. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rome August 18, 1959. Entered into force August 18, 1959.

Surplus Property—Sale of Excess Military Property in Turkey. TIAS 4366. 5 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Turkey. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ankara October 6 and November 13, 1959. Entered into force November 13, 1959.

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Check List of Department of State Press Releases: March 7-13

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

No.	Date	Subject
106	3/7	Bohlen: "Economic Assistance in U.S. Foreign Policy."
*107	3/7	Educational exchange (Afghanistan).
108	3/7	Merchant: dedication of Masaryk "Champion of Liberty" postage stamp.
*109	3/8	Cultural exchange (Uruguay).
110	3/9	Herter: news conference.
†111	3/9	Delegations to Development Assistance Group.
*112	3/9	Deputy Assistant Secretary White: statement on Great Lakes pilotage.
*113	3/10	Cultural exchange (U.S.S.R.).
*114	3/10	Cultural exchange (Far East).
115	3/10	Cuban Resolution No. 2841.
116	3/11	Western foreign ministers meeting.
†117	3/11	Rubottom: "The United States and Latin America: A Maturing Relationship."
118	3/11	Delegation to law of sea conference (rewrite).
119	3/11	Investigation of ocean-shipping practices.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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**THE MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM
FISCAL YEAR 1961
A Summary Presentation**

Proposed mutual security programs for fiscal year 1961 are outlined in this 125-page pamphlet prepared jointly by the Department of State, Department of Defense, International Cooperation Administration, and the Development Loan Fund. The booklet is a summary of the annual request for funds submitted to Congress for its consideration and includes the text of the President's message to Congress on the program.

Part I of the pamphlet reviews proposals for major aspects of the program, including military assistance, defense support, special assistance, the Development Loan Fund, technical cooperation, the contingency fund, and other programs. Part II discusses the program by regions. Part III deals with such related matters as free-world cooperation in assisting less developed areas, the surplus agricultural commodity program, stimulation of private investment in the less developed areas, and the impact of the Mutual Security Program on the U.S. economy.

The pamphlet is illustrated with charts, graphs, and photographs. Copies may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, for 55 cents each.

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